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## CONCERNING THE PARTHENOS

(PLATE 1)

A glance at the plan of the Parthenon (Fig. 1) will show that the base of the Parthenos was located well back in the east cella of the Parthenon, and that both the base and the hole for the "backbone" of the statue were on the axis of the nave.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, the Parthenos, it will be remembered, had a wooden core covered with bronze plates which in turn were covered with removable sheets of gold.<sup>2</sup> The extended right hand of the statue held a Nike some 1.80 m. high;<sup>3</sup> the Nike, too, was covered with sheets of gold.

An examination of the east cella reveals abundant traces of fire. The marble walls and the marble pavement are everywhere calcined except under the base of the statue where the marble blocks of the base, which was unusually large, protected the pavement. There is evidence, however, that the outside bottom blocks of the base had to be renewed on account of the fire.<sup>4</sup> If the fire was severe enough to cause the immense amount of damage still visible in the east cella, the fire, without doubt, destroyed the colossal wooden statue. Since all the bottom outside blocks of the base were replaced, evidently a thorough repair of the base was made so that a copy of the statue might be placed upon a base which had no fire defects. As indicated by the later dowels, this took place in Roman times.<sup>5</sup>

The gold sheets for the original colossal Parthenos were of great intrinsic value, for it is known that the sheets were *ca.*  $\frac{3}{4}$  mm. thick.<sup>6</sup> They could be removed for verification, which required a construction which added to the costliness of the statue. If the valuable sheets were lost in a fire, probably more than one ancient writer would have mentioned the fact. No such record has come down to us. We do know that Lachares removed the gold sheets in 296 B.C. to pay his troops, but, again, there is no record that he, or anyone else, put the gold sheets back. Probably the bronze plates were gilded after Lachares removed the sheets of gold<sup>7</sup> and again in the statue restored after the fire.<sup>8</sup> The amount of gold needed for gilding is so insignificant that no

<sup>1</sup> *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pp. 244 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 350-361.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIV, 1955, p. 266, fig. 16. Pausanias I, 24, 7 says 4 cubits.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIV, 1955, p. 270, fig. 18; Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, pp. 94 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*, p. 106 dates the rebuilding just before *ca.* 160 B.C.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 96 and note 3; *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 351 and note 7.

<sup>7</sup> Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*, p. 97 suggests that gold leaf replaced the sheets of gold against a "wooden (or, more likely, plaster) backing" soon after 295 B.C., but see *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 358 for bronze plates over the wood core.

<sup>8</sup> Although Dinsmoor believes gold sheets were restored, *op. cit.*, pp. 98, 106.



writer would be likely to mention its loss; as noted above, there is no ancient record of such a loss.

As for the second (restored) statue, it is unknown when it disappeared. It stood in the Parthenon until the 5th century after Christ, when it may have been lost in a second fire; another account, however, mentions it in Constantinople in the 10th century<sup>9</sup> after which there is no further reference to it.

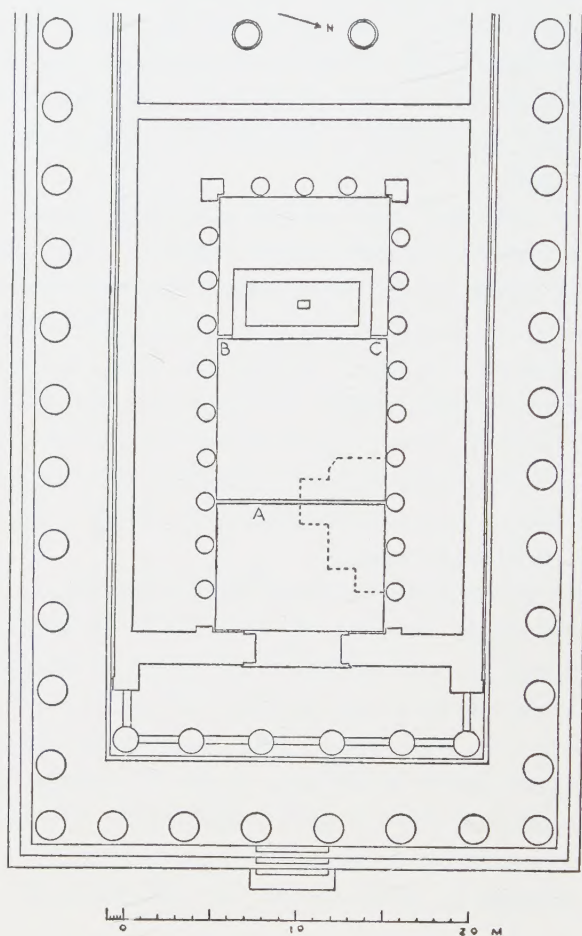


FIG. 1. Plan of the Parthenon.

Although the Parthenos was one of the most famous statues of antiquity and ancient writers refer to almost every part of it, they say nothing, unfortunately, about a support under the right hand which held the Nike. The statue was copied in antiquity more or less accurately, both at large and at small scale, in the round and in relief. It was carved in marble, and it also became a favorite *motif* on coins, terracottas

<sup>9</sup> G. M. A. Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, p. 220 with ancient references.

and the like. The evidence from these data, however, in so far as the support under the hand is concerned, is often contradictory.

There are two well-known marble statuettes representing the Parthenos, the Lenormant and the Varvakeion, both in the National Museum at Athens (Nos. 128, 129). The Lenormant is only half finished. It has no support under the right hand, but the sculptor may have had one in mind, for the extended arm and its Nike could hardly have been cut in marble without a support.

The Varvakeion statuette has a column for a support under the right hand (Pl. 1, d). This statuette is practically finished, except for the column. The good workmanship and the high polish of the marble indicate that, in all probability, it

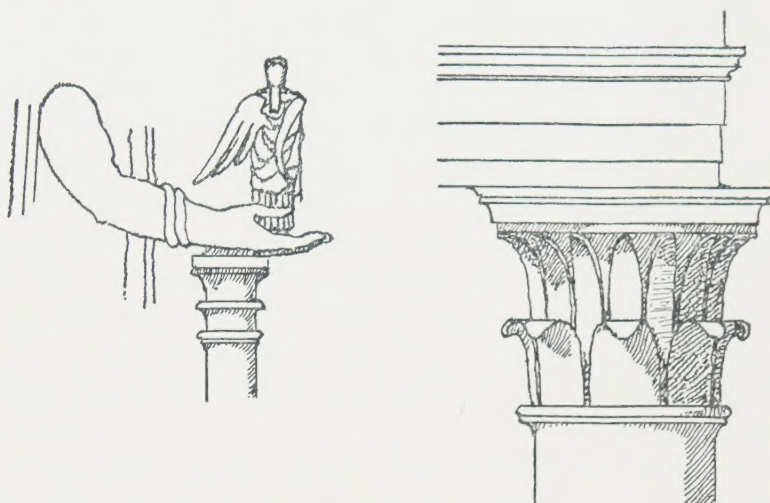


FIG. 2. Capitals of the Column of the Varvakeion Statuette and the Tower of the Winds.

was executed in the time of Hadrian. It probably, therefore, copies the restored statue. Note that the vertical section through the capital of the column shows a somewhat similar set of mouldings to that of the capital of the Tower of the Winds which dates from the first half of the first century B.C. (Fig. 2).<sup>10</sup> Do the similar profiles indicate that one capital was inspired by the other? If so, then, because the Varvakeion capital is unfinished while the Tower of the Winds capital is finished, the Varvakeion capital is likely to have followed the other. We see, then, that Pheidias' original support, if it was a column, could hardly have had a capital like that of the Varvakeion statuette, since there is no evidence for such capitals earlier than the Tower of the Winds, some three hundred years after his time.

That there was some support under the right hand of the Parthenos seems to be

<sup>10</sup> After Stuart and Revett, *Antiquities of Athens*, Vol. I, Chap. III, pl. VII.



confirmed by both structural and esthetic considerations. The original colossal wooden statue could not have been constructed in Pheidias' time without a support, as has been shown elsewhere.<sup>11</sup> This is further illustrated in Plate 1, a. The Varvakeion statuette was used by the writer in the drawings of Plate 1, a and b, using a height of 11.544 m. for the statue and its base, as established in *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, p. 256. In Plate 1, a, we see that the combined weight of the Nike and of the arm supporting it causes a tendency for the statue to tip to the spectator's left, a tendency which would be likely to prove disastrous in not many years.<sup>12</sup> In Plate 1, b, on the other hand, the combined weight of the Nike and arm is transmitted vertically to the base and there is no tendency to make the statue tip. Looking again at Plate 1, a, where the statue has no support under the right hand, the statue appears to be placed off the axis of the cella, a serious defect for a colossal statue standing practically at the end of the cella of a temple. Further, the base is loaded eccentrically; something is needed beneath the Nike to balance the shield and serpent on the other side of the statue. As soon as a support under the Nike is added, these defects disappear (Pl. 1, b).

In representing a statue on a coin, the ancient die cutter might make a fairly faithful copy of the statue, or then again he might take great liberties with his design provided the persons who were to handle the coin understood which statue was meant. In the case of the coins representing the Parthenos, it mattered little if the Athena was, or was not, shown with a support under the right hand, for the Nike, helmet, aegis, spear, shield and serpent were sufficient to indicate which statue was intended. Nor did the attributes need to be placed on the coin in the same relative positions as they occupied in the statue itself.

A number of coins representing the Parthenos have tree trunks beneath the Nike. One of Aphrodisias is dated *ca.* 375 B.C., and so must reflect the original Parthenos of Pheidias.<sup>13</sup> Let us suppose, for a moment, that Pheidias designed a support inspired from an olive tree with perhaps an owl perched in the branches to make use of *motifs* appropriate to Athena. The fire would destroy both statue and tree since both were made with wooden cores. Does it not seem possible that the restorer of the statue changed the nature of the support from a tree, which, with its leaves and possibly also owl, would require a sculptor to model, to a simple column which a mason could easily copy, perhaps from the column of the Tower of the Winds? In any case, it is fairly certain that, if Pheidias' support was a column, its capital (as we have said) was not like that of the Varvakeion statuette. Just what, then, was the support like?

A coin of Priene of the Roman Imperial period (Pl. 1, f)<sup>14</sup> shows the large scale

<sup>11</sup> *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pp. 264-267.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 264.

<sup>13</sup> *J.H.S.*, VIII, 1887, pl. LXXIV, Y, 22; *A.J.A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, p. 103, fig. 4.

<sup>14</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins, Ionia*, p. 235, nos. 57-58, pl. XXIV, 13. I owe this photograph to the kindness of Mrs. E. B. Mathiopolou.



copy of the Parthenos made for the temple of Athena at Priene in the mid second century B.C.<sup>15</sup> All Athena's attributes are on the coin, but the serpent is on the other side of the statue from that of the shield, while in the Parthenos the serpent and the shield are on the same side. Of special importance is the tree supporting the right hand, for it shows that the large scale Athena for Priene needed a support under the right hand for structural reasons, and, moreover, that a tree—probably an olive tree—was deemed appropriate for the support. It does not seem beyond the realm of possibility that the inspiration for the support on the Priene coin came direct from Pheidias' Parthenos by way of the colossal Priene Athena,<sup>16</sup> just as the inspiration for the other attributes did; the same may be true for the tree on the Aphrodisias coin mentioned above. In other words, it may be that Pheidias used an olive tree for a support.

On the other hand, at Athens, where the most accurate copies of the Parthenos on coins might be expected to appear, most of the representations of the Parthenos, both on Hellenistic and on Imperial coins,<sup>17</sup> lack the tree or any other support. It is disappointing to find that coin types found in the recent excavations of the Athenian Agora<sup>18</sup> do not change the picture; none show a support of any kind under the right hand.

An Attic relief of the Parthenos of perhaps the fourth century B.C. is illustrated in Plate 1, g.<sup>19</sup> There is a roughly indicated column beneath the right hand of the Parthenos, which seems to have been incised at a late date, perhaps in Roman times. We have already suggested that the Parthenos was restored with a column under the hand in Roman times.

The writer is grateful to Miss Gisela M. A. Richter for calling his attention to a lead tessera recently found by Professor Meliades, Ephor of the Acropolis of Athens, in his excavations south of the Theater of Herodes Atticus (Pl. 1, e).<sup>20</sup> The Parthenos holds a Nike in her right hand, and beneath the extended arm is an owl perched on what the editor of the *B.C.H.* considers an altar. Although a number of archaeologists agree with him, there are others who find the "altar" too irregular for an altar

<sup>15</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Greek Sculpture*, II, pp. 146, 152.

<sup>16</sup> If the restoration of the Parthenos occurred in early Roman times, the Priene statue certainly copied the original Pheidian statue, not the restoration. Even if the restoration was carried out in the mid second century, as Dinsmoor proposes, the Priene statue can have copied the Pheidian original, so recently burned. The tree on both the Aphrodisias and Priene coins suggests that the Priene statue goes back to the original.

<sup>17</sup> E.g., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins, Attica*, no. 377, pl. XII, 9, nos. 682-693, pl. XVI, 5, 6; J. Svoronos, *Les Monnaies d'Athènes*, pls. 82, 83; *Hesperia*, V, 1936, on p. 326 figs. 30, 3 and 31, 1-2, pls. II, 20, 23, 24, VII, 1, 19, 21, 28, 29, VIII, 1-17, IX, 7, 13, 14, 17, 18, 27-30.

<sup>18</sup> E.g., *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, p. 156, pl. 44, b, c.

<sup>19</sup> *Katalog der Sammlung antiker Skulpturen, Berlin Museen, III, Griechische Skulpturen des 5. und 4. Jahrh. v. Chr.*, pl. 83.

<sup>20</sup> *B.C.H.*, LXXXI, 1957, p. 498, pl. XI, 36.

and believe it may be the stump of a gnarled olive tree, for the roots seem fairly well defined. Moreover, there is an altar (within a wreath) on the reverse of the tessera. Why should there be two altars on the same tessera?

An olive tree with an owl in it often appears in connection with Athena, especially on coins of Athens.<sup>21</sup> The same combination also occurs in Renaissance times, derived probably from a classic prototype (Fig. 3).<sup>22</sup>

When we attempt a restoration of the Parthenos making use of the olive and



FIG. 3. From a Drawing by Bosch.

the owl, we find that the colossal statue and its various attributes are well balanced both on the pedestal of the statue and on the axis of the cella (Pl. 1, c). Surely an olive tree and owl would give Pheidias subjects far more worthy of his consummate skill in modeling than a column, and would also give more scope for his extraordinary inventive genius.

<sup>21</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica*, no. 695, pl. XVI, 7; Svoronos, *Les Monnaies d'Athènes*, pls. 87, 89; *Hesperia*, V, 1936, on p. 289 fig. 1, 3, on p. 297 fig. 8, 1-11, on p. 302 fig. 12, 5, pls. II, 5, 11, 13, III, 10, 21, 22, IV, 3, 22.

<sup>22</sup> From a pen and ink drawing by Bosch (ca. 1450-1516), Kupfer, former Staatsmuseen, Berlin.



It is doubtful that Pheidias invented the idea of a support in the form of a tree. There is a great variety of supports throughout all periods of Greek sculpture; they were necessary for the stability of the statues. But if it was Pheidias who first modeled a tree for a support, his invention is noteworthy, for it served many sculptors of later periods for some of their most effective and beautiful compositions.

We have seen that the presence of a column in Roman copies of the Parthenos suggests that in the Parthenos restored after the fire a column was substituted for the tree we have supposed for Pheidias' original. What became of the owl in the tree? It could hardly be left out of the composition completely. Perhaps it was set on the pedestal beside the column. Both the original and the restored owls would presumably have been of the same size in relation to life as the Parthenos herself and so would have been of about the size of the votive marble owl of the first half of the 5th century B.C. found on the Acropolis in association with early votive columns.<sup>23</sup>

Unfortunately it is impossible to say with certainty when the original Parthenos was destroyed, when it was restored, and when that copy finally came to an end. The inscription on the lead tessera does not help with these dates. It reads ΓΕΡ[ΟΥ]CΙΑC with the lunate form of *sigma* which appeared as early as the fourth century B.C. on boundary stones and vase inscriptions<sup>24</sup> and continued thereafter, more frequently in Roman times. The lunate *sigma* is of hardly any value, however, since its use extended over so long a period. The Roman dowels under the base of the restored statue are also of scarcely any help, for they, too, cannot be assigned to a period limited to a few years. An archaeologist is always hopeful that new facts will turn up to help him solve his difficulties. For the moment, about all that can be asserted concerning the history of the Parthenos is that there was a great fire in the cella, later than the third century B.C., which destroyed the statue and occasioned its restoration; and that, by the time the temple was changed into a church, even the restored copy of Pheidias' masterpiece had disappeared forever, leaving for all time, however, the memory of a marvelously beautiful statue which the Gods had bestowed as a special favor upon the citizens of Athens.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> S. Casson, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, II, No. 1347, pp. 252-253 and figure, G. M. A. Richter, *Animals in Greek Sculpture*, p. 38, pl. LXII, fig. 212.

<sup>24</sup> Professor John H. Young has kindly supplied the following references: Roberts and Gardner, *Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, Part II, *Attica*, p. xvi; W. Larfeld, *Handbuch der attischen Inschriften*, p. 469; Aeschryon of the 4th century B.C. (Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, II, p. 516, frag. 1) calls the new moon τὸ καλὸν οὐρανοῦ νέον σίγμα.

<sup>25</sup> Two articles which have appeared since this article was written should be mentioned: G. M. A. Richter, "Was there a Vertical Support under the Nike of the Athena Parthenos?" *Studi in onore di Aristide Calderini e Roberto Paribeni*, III, pp. 147-153; E. Tornaritou-Mathiou-poulou, 'Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1953-1954, III (1959), pp. 201-206.

## EPHEBIC TEXTS FROM ATHENS

(PLATES 2-4)

THIS epigraphical report offers a number of inscriptions found in the excavations of the Ancient Agora which concern the ephebic corps.

1 (Plate 2). Fragment of Hymettian marble, with part of the top preserved, found in the wall of a modern house (R 9) on September 24, 1937.

Height, 0.098 m.; width, 0.146 m.; thickness, 0.091 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.-0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 5012.

*fin. saec. IV a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[----- ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἔφ]ηβοι οἱ ἐ[πὶ -----  
 ἄρχοντος εὐτακτοῦσιν καὶ ποιοῦσιν πάντα ὅσα αὐτοῖς οἱ]  
 [νόμοι προστάττουσιν καὶ τῶι σωφρ]ονιστῇ [πειθαρχοῦσιν τῶι  
 χειροτονηθέντι ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου -----]  
 [-----] Σ[-----]

Line 1 is not the heading for a roster of epheboi, for which the wording is usually οἱ ἐφηβεύσαντες. The words οἱ ἔφηβοι οἱ commonly occur in the first clause of the general decree. In line 2 the letters -ονισ- must belong to the title sophronistes, and mention of this official at this point makes an early date for the fragment very likely. It is perhaps part of a decree of a phyle, of which the following examples survive: *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1156 (334/3), 1189 (334/3); *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 59, No. 8 (333/2); *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2976, as restored by Meritt in *A.J.P.*, LXVI, 1945, pp. 238-239 (333/2); *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, 1949, pp. 273-278 (330/29); *Ath. Mitt.* LXVII, 1942, pp. 21-22 (ca. 330); *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1918, p. 75, No. 95 (324/3); *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 121-126 (334/3-307/6); and an inscription which is soon to be published in *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, according to the advance notice in *Πρακτικά*, 1954, pp. 70-71 (333/2). The suggested restorations are from *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1156.

2 (Plate 2). Fragment of a stele of Hymettian marble, found on June 29, 1933, in late Roman filling near the north side of the Market Square (K 6). The piece is broken on all sides. It is part of a roster of names, most likely of epheboi, arranged by phylai. Kekropis is represented by part of one name, and Hippothontis by four names. Part of the caption for Aiantis is preserved.



Height, 0.075 m.; width, 0.075 m.; thickness, 0.015 m.  
 Height of letters, 0.004 m.-0.005 m. Line interval 0.01 m.  
 Inv. No. I 1034.

*init. saec. III a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----] λον Ἀλ[αieύς]  
 [Ἰπποθω]ντίδος  
 [-----]ωνος Ἀμα[ξαντεύς]  
 [-----] Δημ]ητρίον Πει[ραιεύς]  
 5 [-----] Δ]ημητρίον [-----]  
 [-----] Νίκωνος Ἐλε[υσίνιος]  
 [Αἰαντίδ]ος

**3** (Plate 2). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found in the debris of the Church of Christ (T 17) directly east of the Late Roman Fortification Wall, on February 12, 1936. Marks of a drove chisel are visible on the surface.

Height of face, 0.145 m.; width of face, 0.025 m.; thickness, *ca.* 0.08 m.  
 Height of letters, 0.006 m. Line interval, 0.012 m.  
 Inv. No. I 3370.

*saec. III a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[---]σ[---]  
 [---]τ[---]  
 [---]η[---]  
 [---]ν[---]  
 5 *vacat*  
 [--- εἰ]φηβ[---]  
 [---]νκα[---]  
 [---]και[---]  
 [---]λε[---]  
 10 [---]αα[---]  
 [---]ου[---]  
 [---]αυ[---]  
 [---]τ[---]

Line 6 suggests an ephobic decree.

**4** (Plate 2). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on March 11, 1936, in late fill east of the Church of Christ (T 17).

Height, 0.172 m.; width, 0.085 m.; thickness, 0.03 m.  
 Height of letters, 0.005 m.-0.006 m. Line interval, 0.015 m.  
 Inv. No. I 3722.

saec. III a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----]ω[-----]  
 [Αἶγ]εῖδ[ος]  
 [-----Φ]ορμ[ί]ω[νος-----]  
 [-----'Α]ντιφ[-----]  
 [Παν]διονίδ[ος]  
 [-----]ρακοντ[-----]  
 [Λεω]ντίδο[ς]  
 [-----]σίππον Φ[ρεάρριος]  
*vacat*

The names belong to the roster of epheboi from an ephebic decree.

5 (Plate 2). Part of a stele of Pentelic marble found on January 23, 1933, in the demolition of a modern house near the southeast corner of the Market Square. The right side is preserved; the other sides are broken.

Height, 0.075 m; width, 0.144 m.; thickness, 0.158 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.-0.007 m. Line interval, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 1233.

saec. III a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[Κεκροπίδος]  
*lacuna*  
 [-----] 'Αλαιεύ[ς]  
 [Ἰπποθωντίδος]  
 [-----]άτους 'Αζηγιεύς  
 5 [-----] 'Αχερδούσιος  
 [-----]ρος 'Ελευσίνιος  
 [-----]Πει]ραιεύς

The iota of line 7 is over an original lambda or alpha. The reading of alpha in the same line is subject to question, because of the almost invisible right oblique stroke. But see the right oblique stroke in the alpha of 'Αζηγιεύς in line 4, and the lambda in line 6.

6 (Plate 3). Fragment of Hymettian marble, with the left edge preserved but otherwise broken, found under the floor of the Church of Παναγία Βλασσαροῦ (Κ 11) on March 2, 1936.

Height, 0.08 m.; width, 0.08 m.; thickness, 0.027 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.-0.007 m. Line interval, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 3675.

saec. III a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 41

[-----]  
 Μηνόφ[ιλος -----<sup>19</sup>----- εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ]  
 ἔφηβο[ι οἱ ἐπὶ . . . ἄρχοντος ἐφηβεύσαντες διε]  
 τέλει[αν πάντες εὐτακτοῦντες καὶ πειθαρχοῦντες]  
 5 τ[ὼ]ι τε [κοσμητέῃ καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς -----]

If iota is the correct restoration in line 3, this is the mention of the epheboi in the introductory sentence of the general decree. This assumption is borne out by the remains in line 2, which are obviously part of a name, probably of the proposer of the decree.

For the restorations, see *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 199, No. 40, lines 9-12.

7 (Plate 3). Fragment of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides but with the rough-picked back preserved (?), found on March 1, 1935, in a late wall south of the Tholos (F 13).

Height, 0.148 m.; width, 0.078 m.; thickness, 0.162 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m. Line interval, 0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 2499.

ca. a. 240/39 a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[[Ἀντιγονίδος]]

lacuna

[---<sup>ca. 5</sup>---]α[-----]  
 [...]ωρος [-----]  
 [Φίλ]αγρος [-----]  
 5 [Χαι]ρέστρα[τος -----]  
 [[Δ[ημητριάδος]]]  
 [---]ος Ἀριστ[-----]  
 [---]ίδης Εὐ[-----]  
 [---]στ[ρατος Α[-----]  
 10 [---] Κεφάλ[ου -----]  
 Ἐρεχ[θείδος]  
 [---] Καλλισ[-----]  
 [---]τρίφ[υ -----]

Lines 2-5 contain names of the phyle Antigonis, as is made certain by the erasure in line 6 of the heading for the four succeeding names of epheboi of Demetrias. For the date of the fragment, Meritt suggests, by letter, "perhaps about 240 B.C." It is definitely not part of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 787.

8 (Plate 3). Fragment of banded blue and white marble, broken on all sides, which contains part of the general decree honoring the epheboi, the kosmetes, and the instructors of the epheboi. It was found on April 15, 1952, in a collection of marbles from the excavation near the southeast corner of the Agora.

Height, 0.16 m.; width, 0.23 m.; thickness, 0.17 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.-0.007 m. Line interval, 0.011 m.

Inv. No. I 6512.

*paullo ante a. 186/5 a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca.* 62

[-----] ΝΟ [-----]  
[εὐσεβείας ἔνεκεν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἢν ἔχοντες δι]ατε[τελέκασιν ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ ἐν]—  
[ιαντῶι καὶ φιλοτιμίας τῆς εἰς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον]· ἀνά[θημα δὲ δεδόσθαι  
αὐτοῖς]

[καθάπερ ἤιτησεν ὁ κοσμητῆς καὶ τούτου τὴν ἀνάθεσιν] ἐν Λ[υκείῳ ποιήσασθαι  
μνη]—

5 [μείον τῆς φιλοπονίας καὶ εὐταξίας καὶ ἐπιγράψαι τὰ ὁ]νόματα [αὐτῶν πατρόθεν καὶ]  
[κατὰ δῆμους καὶ τοῦ κοσμητοῦ καὶ τῶν διδασκάλ]ων· ἐπαινέ[σαι δὲ καὶ τὸν  
κοσμητὴν αὐτῶν]

[Θεόβουλον Θεοβούλου Ἐλευσίνιον ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ φι]λοτιμίας ἢν [ἔχων  
διατελεῖ πρὸς τὴν]

[βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς διδα]σκάλους τό[ν τε ἀκοντιστὴν  
Νικόμα]—

10 [χον Νικομάχον Ἀφιδναῖον καὶ τὸν ὄπλο]μάχον Περσαῖον [Συμμάχον Κικυννέα]  
[καὶ τὸν παιδοτρίβην Ἑρμόδωρον Ἑορτίον Ἀχαρ]γέα καὶ τὸν τοξότ[ην Σῶσον  
Προ]—

[ξένου Σφήττιον καὶ τὸν καταπαλταφέ]την Πεδιέα Νεάνδρ[ον ἐκ Κεραμέων]

[καὶ τὸν γραμματέα — — —] Πειραιέα, καὶ στεφανῶ[σαι ἕκαστον]

[αὐτῶν θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳι· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε] τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ γ γραμμ[ατέα τὸν  
κατὰ]

15 [πρυτανείαν ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ τὰ ὀνό]ματα τῶν ἐφήβων κατὰ φυ[λὰς καὶ]  
[στήσαι ἐν ἀγορᾷ· τὸ δὲ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα] εἰς τὴν στήλην καὶ τὴν [ἀνάθεσιν]  
[μερίσαι τὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν].

*vacat*

*vacat*

That this decree belongs to a type which I have called Class II (*Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, p. 226)—one general decree which honors epheboi, kosmetes, and instructors, followed by the names of the epheboi arranged by phylai—is shown by the specific inclusion of the formula praising the kosmetes, which immediately precedes the laudation of the instructors (lines 6-7). One may compare *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 900, lines 18-19

of about the same year, and also No. 9 below (pp. 15-17). This clause is lacking in ephebic inscriptions of Class III, which have a second decree specifically honoring the kosmetes.

The hoplomachos Persaios (line 9) may safely be identified with Περσ[αίων] of *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 195, No. 38, line 15, of the year 185/4, and with [Περ]σαίων Συμμάχου Κικυννέα of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 900, line 21, of about the same date.

In line 11, the katapaltaphetes Pedieus, son of Neandros, is doubtless the grandfather of [Π]εδιέα ἐκ Κεραμέων in the then unpublished fragment mentioned in *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 300, note 56, and of the same individual who appeared in a citation of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1007 (τὸν ἀφέντην Πεδιέα ἐκ Κεραμέων), both of which fragments are now known to be parts of the ephebic inscription Agora Inv. I 286, references to which should now be made to *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, p. 231, line 138, and p. 232, lines 292-294, respectively. Unfortunately, in the publication of this inscription the wreath with his citation has been misplaced; it should be on the extreme right end of the first row of citations on p. 232, following the citation for the toxotes, Mystilos of Oe, thus giving five wreaths in the first row. The two remaining wreaths, the one for the grammateus, the other for the hyperetes, should be in the second row, symmetrically placed between wreaths 2 and 3, and 3 and 4, respectively of the first row. The sketch on p. 221, the description in the body of the article on p. 238, and the photograph on Plate 78, Fragment N,<sup>1</sup> give the correct arrangement of the wreaths.

Finally, I think we are justified in restoring as paidotribes the name of Hermodoros, son of Heortios, who was associated with Persaios and Pedieus in the inscriptions just mentioned, because of the remains of his demotic [Ἀχαρ]γέα in line 10.

The family trees of Hermodoros and Pedieus have been worked out by Meritt in *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 301-302: Hermodoros, son of Heortios, of Acharnai of this inscription is to be identified with Hermodoros III; Pedieus, son of Neandros, from the Kerameikos is identical with Pedieus I.

Of the four inscriptions which now show Persaios, son of Symmachos, of Kikynna as hoplomachos, two are dated in or near 185/4 (*Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 193, No. 38; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 900) and two are undated (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 901; the present text). Our inscription, then, must belong about 186/5 or probably a few years earlier, for in 172/1 Neandros from the Kerameikos had taken his father's place in an unnamed branch (*Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 201, No. 40, lines 124-126).

Three, possibly all four, of these inscriptions show a change in the sequence in which the instructors were named for praise, specifically in the replacement of the paidotribes, traditionally the senior official, in first place by the hoplomachos and the akontistes, instructors in military branches:

<sup>1</sup> But the caption should be O, and O should be labelled N—it is *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1007.



## I

*ca. a. 185/4 a. or before: I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 901.* The citations on the preserved side of the stone give name and demotic only, but the position of each official is known from the other inscriptions. The sequence, however, cannot be absolutely determined, since the pertinent passage of the decree is not preserved.

- (1) paidotribes, (2) hoplomachos, (3) [--- ? ---], (4) [--- ? ---]

## II

*paullo ante a. 186/5 a.: the present text*

- (1) akontistes, (2) hoplomachos, (3) paidotribes, (4) toxotes, (5) katapaltaphetes, (6) grammateus

## III

*ca. a. 185/4 a.: I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 900 as corrected in Hesperia, XV, 1946, p. 197.*

- (1) hoplomachos, (2) paidotribes, (3) akontistes, (4) katapaltaphetes, (5) toxotes

## IV

*a. 185/4 a.: Hesperia, XV, 1946, p. 193, No. 38*

- (1) hoplomachos, (2) akontistes, (3) paidotribes, (4) aphetes, (5) toxotes

The paidotribes is named first in all inscriptions prior to II (above) in which members of the families of Hermodoros and Pedieus appear as instructors.<sup>2</sup> He appears in first place also in all inscriptions subsequent to 185/4, through the second century, wherever the sequence can be determined. It is clear that the order in which the posts and the names of the incumbents were given, both in the body of the decree and in the citations, followed a descending scale of importance, the paidotribes appearing in first place, the grammateus or hyperetes in the last.

The displacement of the paidotribes from the position of honor in the three inscriptions dating from shortly before 186/5 and the few subsequent years must then be explained on other grounds than those of chance, especially since the right to the traditional place was supported in the case of Hermodoros by the prestige of his family, several members of which had held the office of paidotribes in apparently unbroken succession since 267/6.

The disturbed political situation in Greece at this time seems to offer an explanation. In spite of the fact that Rome had put a temporary stop to the encroachments of Philip in Greece in the so-called Second Macedonian War, and had indeed through

<sup>2</sup> *I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 665 of 266/5; I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 700 and Hesperia, VII, 1938, p. 110, No. 20 of 258/7; I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 681, of 248/7; I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 766 and Hesperia, XVII, 1948, p. 3, No. 3 of 244/3; Hesperia, II, 1933, p. 159, No. 6 of about 232/1 (for the date see Hesperia, XI, 1942, p. 301).*

the proconsul T. Quinctius Flamininus, at the Isthmian games of 196/5, formally proclaimed all of Greece free, the Greek cities were keenly aware of the precarious nature of their independence. Their very independence isolated them from the military strength which alone made their states viable as political entities. This was particularly true of Athens and the other Greek cities which had no affiliation with the Achaian and Aitolian Leagues.

Philip had made clear his intention to extend his sovereignty over all Greece. In the period immediately preceding the Second Macedonian War he had encouraged and supported no fewer than three devastating incursions into Attica by his subordinates, Nikanor and Philokles, although Athens itself was not taken.<sup>3</sup> When all Roman troops withdrew from Greece in 188 or 187 B.C. the position of Athens became even more perilous. The tensions in Greece growing out of the relations of Philip V to the Greeks and to Eumenes II became so great that swarms of embassies from many Hellenic states came to Rome in 186/5 to pour into the ready ears of the Senate their fears, complaints, and requests.<sup>4</sup>

In this critical period Athens wished to make its ephebic corps as effective as possible in contributing to the defense of Attica. The military branches of instruction were apparently given greater emphasis than before, and this is reflected in the fact that one of the military instructors displaced the paidotribes as the senior member of the staff of the kosmetes. In 185/4 the paidotribes took third place after the hoplomachos and akontistes (*Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 193, No. 38, lines 15-16); in another year very close to this he took second place after the hoplomachos (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 900, lines 21-22); in the year of this present text he was almost certainly third in sequence, after the akontistes and the hoplomachos, since the remains of the demotic in line 10 ([*Ἀχαρ*] *γέα*) must belong to the paidotribes, who at this time is known to have been Hermodoros, son of Heortios, of Acharnai.

We have here an incidental indication of the predominantly military character of the ephebia in this period, which it perhaps retained until Athens was taken by Sulla.<sup>5</sup> The instruction which was given by the hoplomachos, akontistes, toxotes, and katalaphetes was still primarily for practical military use and not, as later, for primarily educational purposes. The transformation of the ephebia from a military to an educational institution took place slowly.

9 (Plate 3). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides but with the back preserved, found in the wall of a modern house (O 17) on November 24, 1937.

<sup>3</sup> *Cambridge Ancient History*, VIII, pp. 161-166.

<sup>4</sup> H. Bengtson, *Gr. Geschichte*, III, 4, pp. 457-458.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. Pelekides, *B.C.H.*, LXXXI, 1957, p. 481, notes the increase in numbers of the epheboi which began after 185 B.C.

Height, 0.093 m.; width, 0.175 m.; thickness, 0.054 m.  
 Height of letters, 0.007 m. (lines 1-7) and 0.01 m. (line 8).  
 Inv. No. I 5131.

ca. a. 184-171 a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----]ι πα[-----]  
 [--- διετέλεσεν ἕκαστα πράττων] ἀκολού[θως τοῖς τε νόμοις καὶ τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν ---]  
 [----- συνετήρησεν δὲ τ]οὺς ἐφήβο[υς παρ' ὅλον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ὁμονοοῦντας ---]  
 [----- ἐν Ἀκ]αδημείαι γυμν[άζοντας -----]  
 5 [----- τῶν πεπραγμέ]νων κατὰ δύνάμιν [ἐστὶν τιμηθῆναι -----]  
 [----- μεμέληκε δὲ θ]έσθαι ἔν τε ἀγῶσιν κ[αὶ γυμνασίοις ἄθλα -----]  
 [-----]το συντελεῖσθαι πάν[τα -----]  
 vacat 0.015 m.  
 [ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλ]ῇ τοὺς λαχόν[τας προέδρους -----]

This fragment presents two points of special interest. First, there is a clear mention of the gymnasium "in Akademeia," which is specifically named in only one other ephebic inscription, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1006, line 20 (122/1): ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις [φιλο]σόφοις ἅπασιν[ν] τοῖς τε ἐν Λυκείῳ καὶ ἐν Ἀκαδημ[αίαι δι' ὅλον τοῦ ἐ]νιαυτοῦ, κτλ. The reading in this fragment is unambiguous: the word cannot be ἀποδημία, which occurs in connection with trips to Delphi (e. g., *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, p. 228, line 18, of 127/6 B.C.), or ἐπιδημία in connection with the stay in Salamis (e.g., *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1006, line 74, of 122/1 B.C.); and here the visit to the Akademeia was not for the purpose of attending the lectures of the philosophers, but for gymnastic exercises. This fact would indicate a date before the Diogeneion became the regular center for the exercises of the epheboi, shortly after its founding about 200 B.C. (P.W., *R.E.*, V, p. 734). Obstacles to a date quite so early are the character of the writing and the fact that the words which can be read seem to be part of a separate decree for the kosmetes, which was a characteristic feature of the later Group III inscriptions, the earliest of which seems to have been *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pp. 198-201, No. 40, of 171/0 B.C.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, the four ephebic inscriptions discussed above under No. 8, which are dated about 185/4 B.C. or shortly before, contained only one general decree and clearly belonged to Group II. Yet the reference to gymnastic training in the Akademeia seems to me to favor as early a date as the type of inscription will allow. We may assume that in the present instance the activities of the kosmetes were given fuller mention than was customary in the earlier inscriptions of Group II; it would be a logical

<sup>6</sup> Ch. Pelekides, *B.C.H.*, LXXXI, 1957, p. 481, shows that *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1027, which belongs to this category and which Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. xxviii, had dated in 174/3, must be later, perhaps in the last third of the century.



development in the transition to a separate decree in honor of the head of the ephebic corps.

Secondly, to my knowledge, this is the only ephebic inscription in which the decree proper is separated from the motivating clauses and set off on the stone in larger letters. The most likely sequence is indicated by the suggested restorations, which are taken from *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1011, lines 36 and 38 (107/6 B.C.) for lines 2 and 3, from *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1006, line 20 (122/1 B.C.) for line 4, from *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1028, lines 95-96 (100/99 B.C.) for line 5, and from *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 170, No. 67, line 30 (116/5 B.C., with which compare *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, p. 228, line 12 of 127/6 B.C.) for line 6.

10 (Plate 4). This fragment of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, is part of the long inscription published as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1006, of the year 122/1 B.C., and fills out a lacuna in lines 70-76. In *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 23, No. 11, Meritt presented another considerable part of this inscription, and in *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1950/1951, p. 45, No. 25, Mitsos showed that *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2485, supplies five names in lines 109-114. The readings of this fragment add nothing to the restorations, except the word *πάλιν* in line 74. This presents no difficulty, and these lines of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1006, may now be read as given below (parts supplied by the new fragment are underlined).

Height, 0.218 m.; width, 0.139 m.; thickness, 0.176 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.-0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 4512.

a. 122/1 a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1006, lines 69-76

- 70 *ρίας· ἤγαγεν δὲ καὶ εἰς [τὸ Ἀμφιάρ]αον καὶ ἱστορήσαν[τες τῇ]ν γεγ[ονε]ῖαν τοῦ  
 ἱεροῦ [ἀπὸ ἀρχ]αίω[ν] χρόνων ὑπὸ [τ]οῦ δήμου προστασίαν κ[αὶ] θύσαντες  
 ἀπήλθον αὐθημερὲ εἰς [τὴν ἐ]αντῶν χώραν· ἀπέπ[λ]ευσεν δὲ κα[ὶ] ἐπὶ τρόπ[αιον  
 καὶ] ἔθυσεν [τ]ῶι Διὶ τῶι Τ[ροπ]αίῳ· ἐποιήσατο δὲ καὶ ἀμίλλας  
 τῶν πλοίων ἐν ταῖς γ[ενομέ]ναις ἐ[μ Πειραι]εὶ θυ[σ]ίαις τε καὶ πομπαῖς· ἔ[πλευ-  
 σε]ν δὲ καὶ εἰς [Σ]αλαμῖνα τ[οῖ]ς Αἰαντείοις καὶ πομπεύσας καὶ  
 θύσας τῶι Αἴαντι ἐπη[ινέθη κα]ὶ ἐσ[τεφανώθη ὑπ]ὸ τῶν τὴν νῆσον [κατοικοῦ]ν-  
 των ἐπὶ τῶ[ι] εὐτάκτ[ως] καὶ εὐσχημόνως πεποιῆσθαι τὴν  
 ἐπιδημίαν· ὑπαπήντ[ησεν δὲ καὶ τ]ο[ῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ] πάλιν προέπ[εμψεν αὐτά,  
 ὁμοίως] δὲ καὶ τῶι Ἰάκχων· συνετέ[λ]εσεν δὲ τὰς τε πομπὰς καὶ τὰς  
 75 λαμπάδας· ἐποιήσατο δ[ὲ καὶ τοὺς] ἐν τοῖς γυμνασ[ί]οις δρόμους, [τοῖς τε φίλοις  
 καὶ σ]υμμάχοις Ῥωμα[ί]οις ἐποιήσατο τὰς ἀπαντήσεις· παρέπεμψε δὲ καὶ  
 τὴν Παλλάδα Φαληροῖ κα[ὶ] κείθεν συνεισή[γαγεν μετὰ φωτός, ὁμοίως] [δὲ καὶ τὸν  
 Διόνυσον]ν συνεισήγαγ[εν] εἰς τὸ θέατρον· — — — κτλ. — — —*

I have made two minor corrections in the text of the *Corpus*: the reading in line 74 is ὑπαπήντ[ησεν] rather than ὑπαπάντ[ησεν], and in line 75 [σ]υμμάχοις rather than [συμ]μάχοις.

**11** (Plate 3). Four fragments of Pentelic marble, apparently containing parts of two ephebic decrees from the same stone. Almost conclusive in identifying the writing is the light upward stroke from the tips of the horizontal lines of the taus, gammas, and sigmas, and also from the vertical and oblique elements of the nus and kappas in all four fragments. They were all found in filling of the second century after Christ, between the foundations of the Stoa of Zeus and the exhedra (H 6). The restorations are to be regarded as those most closely corresponding to the sequences of letter collocations which occur in similar inscriptions, if one assumes a more or less fixed length of line.

a. Height, 0.057 m.; width, 0.059 m.; thickness, 0.029 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m. Line interval, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 1013a.

This fragment was found on June 22, 1933. It is broken on all sides and at the back.

b. Height, 0.066 m.; width, 0.045 m.; thickness, 0.015 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m. Line interval, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 1013b.

This fragment was found on June 23, 1933. It is broken on all sides and at the back.

c. Height, 0.065 m.; width, 0.03 m.; thickness, 0.018 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m. Line interval, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 1518a.

This fragment was found on March 10, 1934. It is broken on all sides and at the back.

d. Height, 0.056 m.; width, 0.035 m.; thickness, 0.013 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m. Line interval, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 1518b.

This fragment was found on March 10, 1934. It is broken on all sides and at the back.

saec. II a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

a [-----] καὶ [-----]  
[-----] φιλοτ]ιμίας ἢ[ν ἔχοντες -----]



- 5 [----- τόν τε παιδο]τρίβην [-----]  
 [----- κ]αὶ τὸ [ν-----]  
 [-----] Σ Ο [-----]  
*lacuna*
- b* [-----] Ν [-----]  
 [----- κα]ὶ τοῖς [ἄλλοις θεοῖς-----]  
 [----- τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ ἀ ἀπα]γγέ[λλει γεγονέναι ὁ κοσμητῆς-----]  
 [----- ἐφ' ὑγίαιαι καὶ σωτηρί]αι τῆς [τε βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου-----]  
 10 [----- προαιρούμ]ενοι [ἐπικοσμεῖν τὸν ναὸν-----]  
 [----- προνοούμενοι τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὖ]σεβ[είας-----]  
*lacuna*
- c* [-----] Η [-----]  
 [----- πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον] ν φ[ιλοτιμίας ἔνεκεν-----]  
 [----- στεφ]ανῶ[θῆναι-----]  
 15 [----- τόν τε] παιδ[οτρίβην-----]  
 [----- κατὰ πρυτανεία] ν ἐν σ[τήλῃ-----]  
 [----- ἐκ τῶν ε]ἰς τ[ὰ κατὰ ψηφίσματα-----]  
*lacuna*
- d* [-----] τα [-----]  
 [----- ἐ]γγραφο[-----]  
 20 [-----] αμεν [-----]  
 [-----] οτ [-----]  
 [-----] ε [-----]

From mention of the paidotribes (line 3) one may conclude that fragment *a* is part of the decree which praised the epheboi and their teachers, a decree always present down to the end of the first century B.C. in Groups I-IV in extant ephebic inscriptions (*Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pp. 226-227).

The collocation of letters in line 8 commonly occurs, except for proper names, only in two formulaic words in the ephebic decrees from the third to the first century before Christ: (1) in the locution, "(the kosmetes) kept the epheboi obedient τοῖς παραγγελλομένοις," and (2) in the phrase "ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπαγγέλλει ὁ κοσμητῆς concerning the sacrifices and processions carried out by him for the well-being and the safety of the Council and the Demos." The first formula is found in the separate decree in praise of the kosmetes when it is present. The three sequences of letters in lines 9-11 cannot readily be duplicated at the expected intervals in the phraseology which is found in conjunction with the first formula, but they do fall into place when set on the "grid" of the wording associated with the second formula. This is found in a distinctively new type of decree in ephebic inscriptions (Group III) of the second century

B.C.<sup>7</sup> In *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1011, lines 63-83 (107/6 B.C.) there are two identical, and in *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pp. 230-231, lines 103-127, two very similar decrees of this type in one inscription. In all probability, then, these fragments are to be dated in the second half of the second century, from which period the extant inscriptions containing a decree of this kind originate.

If the restorations in lines 15-16 are correct, only one other instructor (at most two) was named in addition to the paidotribes, if the line is not to be overlong. Line 16 is based on *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1009, line 25, and line 17 on *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, p. 231, lines 141-142.

In line 19 the first gamma is certain, both from the visible horizontal stroke with its finial and from the spacing. The terms *epengraphoi* and *protengraphoi*, which occur first in the second century after Christ, and are, in any case, regularly spelled with nu, must be excluded from consideration as possible restorations here. The omikron makes impossible the common expression *θύσαντες ταῖς ἐγγραφαῖς* found in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1008, line 5, and elsewhere.

**12** (Plate 4). Part of an Ionic column capital of Pentelic marble, found in the wall of a modern cellar (M 10) on April 6, 1935. The lower and right top edges show rough pick marks where the molding was hacked away. Eugene Vanderpool has kindly furnished a description of the stone from which I quote in part below.

The inscriptions on this stone are in three different hands and were written on it after it had served its original purpose and had been reduced to its present shape. "The main inscription is on the top surface of the capital where an area has been specially smoothed down to receive it." The left part consists of two lines and is written in "finer, sharper letters"; the right is written in "larger, coarser letters." Three phi's visible in the upper left corner of the main face indicate as many starts in writing *φίλοι*; the last time, the word was apparently completed "in a decorative frame" and then erased except for the initial letter.

On the rough broken surface of the left side of the capital part of the name Artemidoros was written in deeply cut letters about 0.03 m. high. On the bolster side of the capital are "four marks which somewhat resemble letters," which, in Vanderpool's judgment, "cannot be counted as an inscription."

The *philoi-gorgoi* inscriptions are dated from *saec.* I *p.*, to which period this inscription, no doubt, also belongs. Cf., e.g., *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1968, 1969, 1979, 1984, 1985, 1989.

Height, 0.19 m.; width, 0.32 m.; thickness, 0.23 m.; the top surface on which the main inscription was written measures 0.20 m. by 0.315 m.

<sup>7</sup> A similar type of inscription is found among the so-called prytany-decrees.

Height of letters in the main text, *ca.* 0.01 m.-0.017 m.

Inv. No. I 2713.

*saec.* I *p.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

φ

φ φ *rasura*

|   |               |            |
|---|---------------|------------|
|   | φίλοι γοργοί  | φίλοι      |
|   | Γαῖος Στράτων | Γλανκίας   |
| 5 | <i>vacat</i>  | Καλίμαχος  |
|   | <i>vacat</i>  | Φιλαθήναι- |
|   | <i>vacat</i>  | ος Ἑρμᾶς   |

*On the left side*

|    |       |
|----|-------|
|    | Ἄρτ-  |
|    | εμί-  |
| 10 | [δω]- |
|    | [ρος] |

**13** (Plate 4). Fragment of Hymettian marble, with the top and smooth left side preserved, and with a rectangular cutting *ca.* 0.05 m. deep in the center of the top, found among collected marbles (P 12) on April 28, 1938.

Height, 0.088 m.; width, 0.174 m.; thickness, 0.101 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 5412.

*saec.* II *a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

|              |           |                                     |
|--------------|-----------|-------------------------------------|
| [οἱ ἐφηβεύ]  | σαντες    | [ἐπὶ - - - - ἄρχοντος]              |
| <i>vacat</i> | Ἑρμῆ      | [ <i>vacat</i> ]                    |
| [ - - - ]    | ν Καλλίου | ῥα [μνούσιος]                       |
| [ - - - ]    | ης Μην    | [ <i>rectangular cutting here</i> ] |

This type of dedication to Hermes by ex-epheboi may be seen in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2981-2985.

**14** (Plate 4). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found in a sandy fill of late date (F 12) on February 16, 1935.

Height, 0.101 m.; width, 0.072 m.; thickness, 0.039 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.-0.007 m. Line interval, 0.008 m.-0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 2418.

*saec.* I/II *p.*            NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

Ε[ - - - - - ]  
 Εἶς[ - - - - - ]  
 Ἄπο[ - - - - - ]  
 Δημο[ - - - - - ]  
 5 Προσδο[ κ - - - ]  
 Ἡρακλᾶς  
 Εὐφρόσυν[ ος ]  
 Ἡλιόδωρο[ ς ]  
 [ . . ]ροσ[ - - - ]

The text preserves part of one column of names (9 lines), and is perhaps part of an ephebic roster.

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# FIVE NEW FRAGMENTS OF THE ATTIC STELAI

(PLATES 5-6)

FIVE new fragments of the Attic Stelai are presented below, in the order of the individual stelai with which they have been associated. The number given to each fragment continues the numbering system as presented in Part I, published in *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 225-299. Other parts of the Attic Stelai, published in collaboration with Professor D. A. Amyx and Dr. Anne Pippin Burnett, include *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, pp. 178-328 and XXVII, 1958, pp. 163-310.

## STELE I

(*i* and *j*) (Plate 5). Two fragments of light yellowish gray marble, exhibiting traces of iron ore minerals. The larger piece (fragment *i*) was found in the foundation of a house in the area of the Eleusinion (U 20) on May 25, 1959.

Height, 0.12 m.; width, 0.15 m.; thickness, 0.114 m.

Inv. No. I 236 *cc*.

The smaller piece (fragment *j*) was found in a modern fill in the area of the Eleusinion (U 20) on June 3, 1959.

Height, 0.08 m.; width, 0.06 m.; thickness, 0.032 m.

Inv. No. I 236 *dd*.

### frag. *i*

|   |    |    |    |   |           |
|---|----|----|----|---|-----------|
|   | -- | -- | -- |   | ἰμά[τιον] |
|   | -- | -- | -- |   | ἰμάτ[ιον] |
|   | -- | -- | -- |   | ἰμάτ[ιον] |
|   | -- | -- | -- |   | ἰμάτι[ον] |
| 5 | -- | -- | -- |   | ἰμάτιο[ν] |
|   | -- | -- | -- | " | ἰμάτιο[ν] |
|   | -- | -- | -- |   | ἰμάτιον   |
|   | -- | -- | -- |   | ἰμ[άτιον] |

### frag. *j*

|   |  |             |
|---|--|-------------|
|   |  | [ἰμά]τι[ον] |
|   |  | [ἰμ]άτιο[ν] |
|   |  | [ἰμ]άτιο[ν] |
|   |  | [ἰμ]άτιον   |
| 5 |  | [ἰ]μάτιο[ν] |
|   |  | [ἰ]μάτ[ιον] |
|   |  | [ἰ]μά[τιον] |

The geological structure of the marble and the dressing on the small preserved portion of the original back suggest, but do not prove, that the larger piece, and with it presumably the smaller piece, belongs to Stele I. Since fragment *g* of this stele contains a list of *himatia* and fragment *h* begins with the same entry, these stones, which had been set in plaster for display, were dismantled; but no join with the new pieces was discovered. Moreover, spatial considerations of the column of prices suggest that if the new pieces come from Stele I, they should be placed in column II rather than in Column III, for the former is the broadest column for the sales price, having an estimated width of 0.065 m. as against *ca.* 0.05 m. for the other columns. The width of the column of sales prices in line 9 of the new fragment *i* measures 0.047 m. for the four figures which are preserved. The price of four drachmas for an *himation* is inordinately low; since the garment regularly brought prices of from 10 to 30 drachmas.<sup>1</sup> It would seem probable, therefore, that there were numerals, probably two in number, to the left of the figures for 4 drachmas.

Also a candidate for a position in Stele I is the following stone.

(*k*) (Plate 5). Fragment of light yellowish gray marble, preserving the original back, found on April 6, 1959, in a house in the area of the Eleusinion (U 21).

Height, 0.19 m.; width, 0.16 m.; thickness, 0.114 m.

Inv. No. I 236 *aa*.

| column I |                     | frag. <i>k</i> | column II |         |
|----------|---------------------|----------------|-----------|---------|
| — —      | <i>ια</i>           |                | III       | — — — — |
| — —      | <i>ρια</i>          |                | I         | — — — — |
| — —      | <i>ρια</i>          |                | I         | — — — — |
| — —      | <i>ρια</i>          |                | III       | — — — — |
| 5 — —    | <i>υρια</i>         | 15             | III       | — — — — |
| — —      | <i>υρια</i>         |                | III       | — — — — |
| — —      | <i>υρια</i>         |                | III       | — — — — |
| — —      | <i>υρια</i>         |                | III       | — — — — |
| — —      | <i>ρια</i>          |                | III       | — — — — |
| 10 — —   | [κεφάλαιον ἐπ]ονίον | 20             | !![I]     | — — — — |

The back exhibits a carefully dressed pattern similar to the dressing on Stele I. This differs from the irregular rough-picked dressing on the back of Stele II or the pattern on Stele III with its long narrow lines made by the edge of the chisel. Moreover, the width of the columns of sales tax on the new piece was at least 0.03 m., the measurement normal for this column in Stele I.

I had considered the possibility of restoring in lines 1-9 *πυρία*, "bathtub," a word which is found in the tenth book of Pollux where so many of our items appear, and

<sup>1</sup> *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, pp. 206-207.

a word which is well attested from Herodotos, Athenaeus, and other authors. However, this restoration would give to the width of the column of items only 0.11 m., narrower than any column of the Attic Stelai which can be measured. A second possibility is that our letters are part of an adjective modifying a noun in the feminine gender. On the assumption that line 10 was aligned with the list of items, there would be *ca.* eight letter spaces to the left of — — *υρια*. The two words would comprise *ca.* twelve letter spaces, and the width of the column of items would amount to *ca.* 0.175 m. Adjectives in *-υριος* are collected in Buck and Petersen, *Reverse Index of Greek*, pp. 107-108. The feminine of adjectives in *-ιος* is often the same as the masculine; but Buck and Petersen (p. 43) note that the feminine in Attic is sometimes *-ια*. A third possibility is to make the restoration of the ethnic *Ἀσσυρία*. In this case, the ethnic might have been preceded by the word *δούλη*, which would permit a wider column. But there is no parallel for such a combination in the case of the other slaves sold in the Attic Stelai.

## STELE II

(*j*) (Plate 6). Fragment of very light gray marble preserving the original back, found in a house in the area of the Eleusinion (U 21) on April 23, 1959.

Height, 0.23 m.; width, 0.30 m.; thickness, 0.114 m.

Inv. No. I 236 *bb*.

This new piece joins fragment *f* of Stele II (to its right) over an extensive area. It does not make a binding join with fragment *b* (on its left), but touches at one point. Both our new fragment and fragment *b* contain part of a column-wide heading (line 5), preceded by two, and only two, items, with another heading above. When these fragments are brought into contact in the way I propose, there is a small contact surface, and the lines of the text correspond perfectly.

The position of fragments *b* and *f* in the reconstructed stele can be seen in the diagram in *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 238. The new fragment contains parts of columns II and III of the stele, which is now displayed on the upper storey of the Stoa of Attalos. Line 5 of the new fragment contains part of the text of line 167 of the stele as numbered in *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 252; line 30 part of line 235. A photograph of fragments *b*, *f*, and *j*, as they have been brought together, is shown in Plate 6.

## Column II

ἐν τ[ὸι . . . . .<sup>11</sup>. . . . .] |  
 ΞΞΗΗ . . ΘΑ| - - - υ  
 (=165) III Δ . . . . ες  
 III Γ . . πρὸς

|   |  |
|---|--|
| 5 | ἐ[ν τοῖ χο]ρίοι τοῖ ἐν Χσυ<br>[πετεό]νον<br>-- -- -- -- -- λενὸς λιθίνε<br>-- -- -- -- -- κε[λό]γεια    <br>[κεφάλα]ιον [τὸ]ν Ἀδεῖμ<br>10 [άντο . . . ]    <br>[Ἀχσιόχο τ]ὸ Ἀλκιβιάδο<br>[Σκαμβονίδ]ο ἀνδράποδα<br>---- ---- [Ἀ]ρέτε Θράιττα<br>---- ---- [Γρ]υλίον Θράιχς<br>15 ---- ---- [Ἀβ]ροσύνε Θράιττα<br>---- ---- [Διο]νύσιος<br>---- ---- [. . . ] εὐς Σκύθες<br>[--- ἀπεν]ένχθε<br>-----ο |
|---|--|

## Column III

|    |   |
|----|---|
| 20 | I I I I I -- --<br>I ΠΔΔΔΔΠ κ[ιβοτός]<br>I I I I I κλ[ίνε]<br>I I ΠΔΔΔ κιβ[οτός]<br>vacat θυρ[ιστή]<br>25 I I I I I κλίν[ε]<br>I I I I I κλίν[ε]<br>I I I I I κλί[νε]<br>I I I I I κλί[νε]<br>I I I I I κλί[νε]<br>30(=235) I I I I I κ[λίνε] · ἐπίκλιν-<br>vacat [τ]ρον· θρόνος<br>I I I I I κριθὸν φορμοί ΔΙ<br>I I I I I ὄνος ἀλετόν |
|----|---|

Line 4: The bases of two vertical strokes are preserved in the third letter space of the entry in such positions that the letter *pi* seems to be the only possible reading.

Line 8: An upright stroke is preserved to the left of the *epsilon* in the fifth letter space. The reading of a *mu*, which would have suggested the restoration of the word *κεράμειαι* (cf Stelai II, 9-10, 103-104, 229-230; V, 32), is therefore impossible.

Line 13: A circular letter is partially preserved in the second letter space to the left of the first *epsilon*.

Line 15: The last two letters of the entry were cut smaller than the other letters to avoid running into the next column.

Line 21: The surface to the right of the *kappa* is sufficiently preserved to suggest the restoration of an *iota* in the second letter space. Any broad letter, such as a *lambda*, is to be rejected.



The new text gives us one word which had not previously appeared in the Attic Stelai, includes a list of slaves with their ethnics, provides us with a list of prices for several articles of furniture, and furnishes us with some information about the price of barley.

The new word *κηλώνειον* is another of the numerous words of the Attic Stelai which occurs in the tenth book of Pollux, although not explicitly associated by him with the *Demioprata*. Pollux lists the word among items of equipment used in drawing water from a well (VII, 142 and X, 31). Liddell-Scott-Jones defines the word as "swing-beam, for drawing water," and references to the apparatus are found as early as Herodotos.<sup>2</sup> Early water-lifting devices are illustrated in C. Singer, E. J. Holmgard, and A. R. Hall, *History of Technology*, I, Oxford, 1954, pp. 522-524. The shadoof, as our word is frequently translated, is also discussed at some length by R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology*, II, Leiden, 1955, pp. 16, 31, 35. Specific Greek devices are treated in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire, s.vv. Machina*, p. 1468 a and *Puteus*, p. 780 b. For an illustration of the *keloneion* on an Attic red-figured vase of Hischylos, see E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, III, Munich, 1923, no. 276. The item, along with the stone press-bed (*lenos*) from the preceding line, was sold from the property of Axiochus in the deme Xypete, a deme belonging to the Kekropid city-trittys, which also included the populous Melite.

The five slaves of Axiochus, named in lines 13-17, bring to a total of thirty-three the number of slaves sold in the Attic Stelai. Three of the new slaves were Thracian, one was Scythian. The most common slaves were Thracian—twelve of the thirty-three—and this fact accords with the evidence concerning the nationality of slaves collected in *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, p. 278. The restoration of the name Γρυλίων in line 14 (Mr. Grunt) seems the most appropriate for a slave of the names in -λίων collected in F. Dornseiff and B. Hansen, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, Berlin, 1957, pp. 110-111. For the common practice of giving slaves the names of abstract nouns, such as 'Αβροσύνη and 'Αρέτη, see M. Lambertz, *Die griechischen Sklavennamen*, Vienna, 1907, pp. 39-41.

The new piece provides prices for the diphros, kline, and kibotos. The diphros, or backless stool, was discussed in *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, pp. 215-217. The new price of one drachma is consistent with the two other prices we have from Stele II, one obol in line 223 and one drachma two obols, now restored in line 227.

The kline, couch or bed, was studied in *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, pp. 227-229. Restoration of the word in the singular number in lines 22, 25, 26, 28 and 29 seems required by considerations of the prices, and in line 30, the spacing permits only the singular. The prices of nine simple klinai were already known. Although some restoration is involved, the total amounted to 56 drachmas 5 obols or *ca.* 6 drachmas, 2

<sup>2</sup> I, 193 and VI, 119.

obols per bed. The new prices of the five klinai in lines 22, 25, 26, 28 and 29 reduce the average price to 5 drachmas 2 obols. Condition apparently had a great deal to do with the price; a broken kline as recorded in lines 6-7 of this same stele sold for 3 drachmas 1 obol.

It was already recognized that the prices of kibotoi were the highest paid for any piece of furniture in the lists.<sup>3</sup> The two new prices of 95 drachmas (line 21) and 180 drachmas (lines 23-24) are probably to be attributed to their construction from metal or carved wood.

Our joining pieces were so fractured that the figure for the sales price of the eleven phormoi of barley was destroyed. However, the sales tax is preserved as three obols. This figure represented the tax on sums from five drachmas up to fifty drachmas. The barley, therefore, was sold at some figure under *ca.* four and a half drachmas per phormos, clearly less than the price of wheat.<sup>4</sup>

#### STELE VI

(*p*) (Plate 5). Fragment of white marble with very pronounced mica bands, containing the original back, found in a house in the area of the Eleusinion (U 20) on May 5, 1959. The marble is very sugary in texture and the stone was damaged in the center of the inscribed face by a pick.

Height, 0.23 m.; width, 0.30 m.; thickness, 0.14 m.

Inv. No. I 6881.

| frag. <i>p</i>         |         |                               |
|------------------------|---------|-------------------------------|
| column I               |         |                               |
| -- ν --                |         |                               |
| ---                    |         |                               |
| ---                    |         |                               |
| -- α. \ρο <sup>v</sup> |         |                               |
| column II              |         |                               |
| 5                      | ΠΔΗ     | Τ --      ---                 |
|                        | ΔΔΔΗΗ   | XXX --      ---               |
|                        | Π[Η]    | ΠΠΔ... ΗΗ      ---            |
|                        | [Η]Η[Ι] | Η Η <sup>v</sup> ---          |
|                        |         | <i>vacat</i>                  |
| 10                     | ΗΔΗ     | ΜΧΗ --      ---               |
|                        |         | <i>vacat</i>                  |
|                        | ΔΗΗ[Ι]  | ΧΗΗΔ --      ---              |
|                        |         | 'ΑΧσ[ιόχ]ο [τὸ 'Αλκιβιάδο --] |

<sup>3</sup> *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, p. 225.

<sup>4</sup> For the evidence for prices of barley and wheat, see *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, pp. 186 and 196-198.

This piece is the seventeenth fragment to be assigned to this stele; many are of considerable size, yet no piece contains an original edge, and it is difficult to relate the pieces except where joins have been made.

The assignment of this piece to Stele VI as fragment *p* has been made on geological evidence, namely the direction of the mica bands, and because the dressing on the back seems to be the same.

In column I, the *nu* is inscribed opposite line 6 and the line ending in *po* opposite line 9.

The high sums in the columns of sales prices suggest a list of real property. The figures of the taxes accord with the tables presented in *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 226-229.

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## THE FIRST HALF OF A BOULEUTAI LIST OF THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.

(PLATES 7-8)

IN the excavations at No. 7 Hadrian Street (*Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 291-293), an inscribed statue base of Hymettian marble was discovered built into a wall of a house of Byzantine times.<sup>1</sup> The base is preserved in a single piece, though several large cracks have begun to open across it. It is somewhat broken around the edges, particularly at the upper right part of the front face where some sizeable pieces are missing. The surface is more or less damaged at various points.

On the top of the base are cuttings for the feet of a bronze statue, a standing figure with the left foot slightly advanced and the toes turned outward.

The base (Pls. 7, 8) is inscribed on three sides, the left (A), the front (B), and the right (C). The back is roughly dressed and was evidently not meant to be seen. The inscription, which consists of a list of names arranged by phyle and deme, is laid out in columns, two columns for each phyle. On the left side are two columns which are carved on the right half of the face, the other half being left uninscribed. On the front and right sides there are four columns which cover the entire face. In each column the personal names are listed beneath the name of the deme to which they belong, and they are indented one letter space so that the deme name stands out clearly. At the head of each pair of columns is the name of the phyle written in letters twice the size of those used for the names and twice as widely spaced. The phylai are in the official order for the period before 306 B.C. Across the top of the front face in still larger letters a bit of the general heading is preserved. Only parts of the first two letters of this heading remain. It begins over the second column of the face, and, if placed symmetrically on the stone, must have contained approximately eight letters.

The dimensions of the base are: height, 0.49 m.; width, 0.50 m.; thickness, 0.52 m. The letters in the list are 0.005 m. high, those used for the phylai are 0.01 m. high. The height of the letters in the heading may have been about 0.015 m. The arrangement of the letters in the lists is generally stoichedon, but the letter *iota* usually, though not always, occupies rather less than a full letter space. The letters are generally deeply and clearly cut, making the inscription easy to read except where the surface is damaged.

<sup>1</sup> I wish to express my gratitude to John Meliades, ephor of the Acropolis, for permission to publish this inscription and to Eugene Vanderpool and Eva Brann, who have helped me in many ways in the preparation of the manuscript.

## SIDE A

## ΕΡΕΧΘΗΙΔΟΣ.

|    |                 |    |                |
|----|-----------------|----|----------------|
|    | E[ύ]φ[ν]υμῆς    |    | [K]ηφ[ισι]ῆς   |
|    | Ἄνυτος          |    | [— — — —]      |
|    | [ . . . ]χάρης  |    | Βλέπης         |
| 5  | Ἰσώνυμος        |    | Χαρίας         |
|    | Φίλλης          | 35 | Στέφανος       |
|    | Ἀνθεμίων        |    | Λεόντιος       |
|    | Ἰσηγόρος        |    | Ἀντιφάτης      |
|    | Ὀμόφρων         |    | Περγασῆς       |
| 10 | Δημόστρατος     |    | Ἀντίχαρμος     |
|    | Ἀντιφάτης       | 40 | Νικόμαχος      |
|    | Μόσχος          |    | Ἀριστοκράτης   |
|    | Ἐκ Κηδῶν        |    | Ἐπιτέλης       |
|    | Πυθιάδης        |    | Θημακειῆς      |
| 15 | Ἱέρων           |    | Ἀντίφιλος      |
|    | Ἀγρυλεῆς        | 45 | Φηγούσιοι      |
|    | Λύσιππος        |    | Μνησιφῶν       |
|    | Σώσιππος        |    | Λαμπτρῆς       |
|    | Εὐθίδικος       |    | Ἡγεμ[— —]      |
| 20 | Τιμοκράτης      |    | Ξεν[— —]       |
|    | Ἱππων           | 50 | Λακρατ[— —]    |
|    | Παμβωτάδαι      |    | Εὐθύμαχο[ς]    |
|    | Λυκῖνος         |    | Αὐτοκράτης     |
|    | Ἀναγυράσιοι     |    | Ὀψιος          |
| 25 | Δόκιμος         |    | Ἀριστοκλῆς     |
|    | Ἰσοκράτης       | 55 | Διόδωρος       |
|    | Τείσανδρος      |    | Ἀρχίας         |
|    | Δ[ημα]ίνετος    |    | Πουλυδάμας     |
|    | Φι[ . . . ]ο[ς] |    | Λυσίθεος       |
| 30 | Ἀρχ[ῖ]νος       |    | Ἰσόνομος       |
|    |                 | 60 | Ἀρχ[ι]κρ[άτης] |
|    |                 |    | Εὐδη[μ]ο[ς]    |

## SIDE B

| <i>vacat</i> |  | Γ   [ - - - - - ] | <i>[vacat]</i>   |     |  |
|--------------|--|-------------------|--|-----|--|
| [ΑΙΓΗ]ΙΔΟΣ   |  |                   | ΠΑΝΔ[ΙΟΝΙΔΟΣ]  |     |  |
| 65           | [Ἀλαιῆ]ς<br>[... <sup>6</sup> ...]ς<br>[...] <sup>6</sup> μαχος<br>[Φιλόμ]ηλος<br>[Χα]ιρ[ιδ]ημίδης<br>[...] <sup>6</sup> ινιππος | 100               | Ἐκ Κολωνοῦ<br>Φίλιππος<br>Ἀνθεμίων<br>Ἔστιαιῆς<br>Σπίνθαρος<br>Βατειῆς<br>Λέων | 135 | Παιανιῆς<br>Πολυάρκης<br>Φανοκλέης<br>Σωσθένης<br>Δημοκλῆς<br>Σωτάδης<br>Βλεψίας         |
| 70           | [Διομε]ιῆς<br>[... <sup>6</sup> ...]ίθεος<br>[Ἄρα]φήνιοι<br>Εὐθυκλῆς<br>Κλέων  | 105               | Ἐρικειῆς<br>Ἰασίμαχος<br>Ὀτρυνῆς<br>Ἀγάθαρχος                                  | 140 | Θρασυμήδης<br>Φιλόδημος<br>Θεόπομπος<br>Δημάδης<br>Χαρινάδης<br>Θεόδωρος                 |
| 75           | [Φη]γαιῆς<br>Πυθόδωρος<br>[Ἄ]γτισθένης<br>[Π]ολυκράτης<br>[Ἐκ] Μυρινούττης   | 110               | Πλωθειῆς<br>Ἀριστόδημος<br>Ἐρχιῆς<br>Νικίας<br>Καλλίας                         | 175 | Κυδαθηναίης<br>Πυθάρατος<br>Θεοδωρίδης<br>Δημάδης<br>Χαρινάδης<br>Θεόδωρος               |
| 80           | [Ν]εοπτόλεμος<br>[Τει]θράσιοι<br>[Πρ]οκλείδης<br>[...] <sup>6</sup> σις<br>[... <sup>6</sup> ...]ε[.]ος                          | 115               | Ἡγήτωρ<br>Βάθυλλος<br>Εὐθόινος<br>Δίογνις<br><i>vacat</i>                      | 150 | Κυδαθηναίης<br>Πυθάρατος<br>Θεοδωρίδης<br>Ἀριστόδημος<br>Διόδωρος<br>Δημήτριος<br>Πασίας |
| 85           | Εὐφ[ο]ρος<br>[Ἄ]γκυ[λε]ιῆς<br>Δίων<br>Σώστ[ρα]τος<br>[Ἰ]καριῆ[ς]   | 120               | Γαργήττιοι<br>Κτέων<br>Προκλέης<br>Δρομοκλέης<br>Κλεόκριτος                    | 185 | Πασίας<br>Ἰππεύς<br>Θεόφιλος<br>Φιλόδημος<br>Πυθέας<br>Λεωκράτης                         |
| 90           | Πειθ[ - ]<br>[...] <sup>6</sup> ων<br>[...] <sup>6</sup> όθεος<br>[... <sup>6</sup> ...]διππος<br>[... <sup>6</sup> ...]λος      | 125               | Ἰωνίδαι<br>[.]ρξιμένης<br>[Κυ]δαντίδαι<br>[Κ]αλλιτέλης<br>[Ξ]ενοκλέης          | 190 | Ἰππεύς<br>Θεόφιλος<br>Φιλόδημος<br>Πυθέας<br>Λεωκράτης<br>Ἀριστογένης                    |
| 95           | [Κολλυτῆ]ς<br>[...] <sup>6</sup> οκλῆς<br>[... <sup>7</sup> ...]ῆς   | 130               | Φι[λα]ίδαι<br>Πυθοκλῆς<br>Ἀντικλῆς<br>Φανόστρατος                              | 160 | Ἀριστογένης<br>Προβαλίσιοι<br>Λεπτίας<br>Χαρίσανδρος<br>Πολυκλῆς<br>Μειδοκράτης          |
| 97 bis       | [... <sup>7</sup> ...]ς  |                   |  | 165 | Θεόφιλος   |



## SIDE C

## [Λ Ε Ω Ν Τ] Ι Δ Ο Σ

## Α Κ Α Μ Α Ν Τ Ι Δ Ο Σ

|     |                |                |                |                    |
|-----|----------------|----------------|----------------|--------------------|
| 195 | [Σουνιή]ς      | Ἀλιμούσιοι     | Θορίκιοι       | Χολαργής           |
|     | [. . . .]αχος  | Εὐβιόδημος     | 265 Διονύσιος  | Τιμοκλῆς           |
|     | [. . . .]ράδης | Ἀθηνόδωρος     | Ἀριστοφάνης    | Πρόξενος           |
|     | [ . . . .]λέης | Θεόγνητος      | Μνησικράτης    | Τελεσαρχίδης       |
|     | [ . . . .]ινος | 235 Χολλήιδαι  | Ἀγνόδημος      | 300 Λυσιφῶν        |
| 200 | [Δειρ]αδιῶται  | Θεάγγελος      | Καλλιφάνης     | Ἴφιστιάδαι         |
|     | [ . .]μίας     | Χαρίδημος      | 270 Κεφαλεῖς   | Μολοττός           |
|     | [᾽Α]γαθωνίδης  | Αἰθαλίδαι      | Ἴππαρχ<ί>δης   | Εἰτεαῖοι           |
|     | Ποτάμιοι       | Νικόστρατος    | Φιλιστίδης     | Κλεόβουλος         |
|     | Σωκλείδης      | 240 Καλλίμαχος | Ἱεροφῶν        | 305 Δημοκλείδης    |
| 205 | Φωκίων         | Παιονίδαι      | Ἐπαγρος        | Σφήττιοι           |
|     | Διοπίθης       | Λυσίστρατος    | 275 Ἐργομέλης  | Αὐτοκλείδης        |
|     | Ἀριστοκλῆς     | Φιλέας         | Ἀγάθαρχος      | Θράσων             |
|     | Ἀντιφάνης      | Ὀνομακλῆς      | Προκλῆς        | Τιμοκλῆς           |
|     | Φρεάρριοι      | 245 Κολωνῆς    | Φιλωνίδης      | 310 Φιλοκλῆς       |
| 210 | Ἀντιχάρης      | Νικόστρατος    | Δημοτέλης      | Εὐθυκράτης         |
|     | Δήμαρχος       | Ἀριστοφῶν      | 280 Πόριοι     | Ἀγνούσιοι          |
|     | Ναυσίστρατος   | Ἵβάδαι         | Φιλοκράτης     | Σπενυσίας          |
|     | Ἀρχέστρατος    | Λάχης          | Ἰσχυρίας       | Ἴσανδρος           |
|     | Λύκων          | 250 Λυσανίας   | Στράτων        | 315 Καλλίφημος     |
| 215 | Φιλοκλῆς       | Εὐπυρίδαι      | Ἐκ Κεραμέων    | Χαιρέδημος         |
|     | Ἀνδρομένης     | Θεόδοτος       | 285 Καλλίας    | Λυσιμένης          |
|     | Κάλλαισχος     | Τιμοκλείδης    | Θεόπομπος      | Προσπάλτιοι        |
|     | [vacat]        | Πήληκες        | Εὐκτῆμων       | Ἱεροφῶν            |
|     | Σκαμβωνίδαι    | 255 Φείδων     | Μενέστρατος    | 320 Ἐπι[ . . ]άτης |
| 220 | Ἀρχέστρατος    | Ὀνησιών        | Τιμόθεος       | Τιμωνίδης          |
|     | Καλλιάδης      | Ἐξ Οἴου        | 290 Εὐκλέης    | Πολύευκτος         |
|     | Ἀρχέστρατος    | Χίονις         | Εἰρεσίδαι      | Νικόστρατος        |
|     | Κήττιοι        | Κρωπίδαι       | Καλλίας        | Κικυννῆς           |
|     | Μελανωπίδης    | 260 Δ[ί]πολις  | Ἑρμειοι        | 325 Εὐφίλητος      |
| 225 | Σμίκυθος       | Ἐκαλειῆς       | Εὐάγγελος      | Καλλικράτης        |
|     | Δημόφιλος      | Ἐμμενίδης      | 295 Εὐχειρίδης |                    |
|     | Λευκονοῖς      |                |                |                    |
|     | Λυσανδρίδης    |                |                |                    |
|     | <᾽Α>κεστορίδης |                |                |                    |
| 230 | Δα[μ]αῖς       |                |                |                    |

It is evident that we have on this base a list of bouleutai of the fourth century B.C. The phylai, which are arranged in the official order of the period prior to 306 B.C., are each represented by fifty men. In the cases of Aigeis and Leontis where only forty-nine names appear, a blank space has been left for the fiftieth. The names are distributed among the demes in the proportions familiar from other bouleutai or prytany lists of the fourth century.

A question arises, however, at the very start: why do we have only the first five phylai? We know of no other similar dedication, nor does it seem possible that a dedication could have been made by the "first half" of the boule. The boule was never divided in half in this manner, the order in which the phylai held the prytany being determined by lot.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, despite the fact that our base is a complete monument, there can be no doubt that it represents only one-half of the whole dedication and that there must have been another similar base standing near it with the names of the bouleutai of the last five phylai.

A second question cannot be answered so easily: what was the occasion for the dedication? The heading at the top of the front face (line 62) is almost entirely missing, and the few traces of letters do not admit of restoration. We can only say that the heading was very short and contained about eight letters.

ERECHTHEIS, lines 1-61. Fifty bouleutai are listed and their distribution among the demes is the same as that of the prytany decree of 367/6 B.C. published by Pritchett, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 235. In that list, however, the demes of Agryle and Lamptraia appear divided into their upper and lower halves, but the number of councillors for each deme as a whole is the same as here. The deme of Pergase appears divided in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1700 (335/4 B.C.). The only deme of Erechtheis that has been omitted is Sybridai which is listed with one representative in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1697 (first half of the fourth century B.C.) and in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 913 (about 200 B.C.); but these two lists, the first a fragmentary "bouleutai"<sup>3</sup> list and the second a complete list of the prytaneis of Erechtheis, differ considerably from our list in the number of representatives from each deme.

AIGEIS, lines 63-132. The total number of names, or traces of names, seen on the stone is 49. A blank space at the end of the names listed under the deme of Erchia (line 118) must have been reserved for the seventh representative, with whom the number of fifty councillors would be completed; this deme gives six councillors, too, in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1749 (341/0 B.C.), but here again the total number is 49. In this last inscription, which is the only other complete fourth-century list for Aigeis, two

<sup>2</sup> See C. Hignett, *A History of the Athenian Constitution*, Oxford, 1952, p. 237 and note 5 (cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 109b, lines 17-18).

<sup>3</sup> Which is certainly wrong; see below, note 5.

separate demes called Ankyle are mentioned, represented by three and one bouleutai respectively, whereas on our stone there are two bouleutai for this deme. In *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1747, there are likewise two bouleutai from Ankyle. On the other hand, this last inscription (dated *ca.* 350 B.C.) has two councillors from Ionidai as against one on our stone.<sup>4</sup> Another discrepancy is the omission from *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1749 (which is complete), and, perhaps, from *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1747 (which is not complete), of the deme Diomeia, which I have restored here in line 70 partly on the basis of the traces on the stone and partly to keep the number of bouleutai from Halai down to five, its usual number. Diomeia appears with a single representative (as here) in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1700, the bouleutic list of 335/4, which, as far as its portion concerning Aigeis is preserved (seven small demes), has no discrepancy at all from our list.<sup>5</sup>

PANDIONIS, lines 134-193. There are no problems concerning the representation of this phyle. In line 166 I restore Oaieis, since of the four demes not listed<sup>6</sup> this one occurs in both *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1740<sup>7</sup> and 1751 with four bouleutai, as here. This last inscription is the most nearly complete fourth-century list with bouleutai of Pandionis.<sup>8</sup> The single discrepancy between it and our inscription is in the number of Angeleeis, which is three there, as in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1740 and 1753 (dated end of the fourth century, but possibly not so late), instead of two here. In the last case this difference is counter-balanced by Kydathenaieis, who seem to have been eleven there as against twelve here.

LEONTIS, lines 194-262. The total number of names actually inscribed is 49, but there is a blank space for the fiftieth. Eight names were originally written under Phrearrioi,

<sup>4</sup> Now the suspicion of Kirchner, based on the evidence of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1747, that a name had been lost from *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1749, where one councillor is listed under Ionidai, seems groundless.

<sup>5</sup> I have not taken into account *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1697, a supposed bouleutai list, dated in the first half of the fourth century (too early a date, I think), because of the many and considerable differences from our list; thus no one of the four demes of Aigeis which are there wholly preserved has the same number of names as in our list; three of them have a greater number (Phegaieis six against three). On account of this considerably larger number this cannot be a list of *diatetai*, either. I suggest the possibility of a casualty list, which would be one explanation for the non-occurrence of the names in later times despite the fact that in several instances their sons are met in documents of the second half of the fourth century B.C.; this exclusiveness is non-characteristic of the bouleutai list, because of the great span of age of the men who constituted the boule. If the loss were equally heavy for the other phylai too, the total would greatly exceed the number of five hundred; this indicates a very important battle (or war, if the list was referring to the activities of a whole year); the very fragmentary condition of the stone does not permit fruitful speculation as to the occasion.

<sup>6</sup> The others are Graeis, Kaletteis, and Phegaieis.

<sup>7</sup> For the date (not before 388/7, as Kirchner believed) and the distribution of the demes in this inscription see A. W. Gomme, *The Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.*, Oxford, 1933, p. 51, note 2.

<sup>8</sup> For a complete list of all the inscriptions set up by Pandionis see D. M. Lewis, *B.S.A.*, L, 1955, p. 22 where the last item must be corrected to *Hesperia*, XI (instead of X). Add now *Rev. Et. Gr.*, LXXIII, 1960, pp. 88-99 (northeast tower of Acropolis [= Belvedere?]).



but one was omitted by mistake; the last four names of this deme were therefore erased (lines 214-218) and rewritten with slightly less space between the lines so as to leave room for the ninth name in line 218. In the end, however, this ninth name was never actually written. The distribution of councillors is the same as in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1742,<sup>9</sup> except that there the Potamioi are divided into three groups whereas here they are all together. Since all the demes of Leontis are represented in our list, the restoration of Sounieis in line 195 is certain.

AKAMANTIS, lines 263-326. The list of this phyle is completely preserved except for slight damage in line 320. No other fourth-century document with the councillors of Akamantis is nearly so well preserved as this one. In *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1700 (335/4 B.C.) only a portion with three demes remains showing the same representation as here. Only two demes appear in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2397 + 2433 (combined and proved to be a bouleutai list by D. M. Lewis, *B.S.A.*, L, 1955, pp. 26-27).<sup>10</sup>

#### COMMENTARY <sup>11</sup>

Line 3. Probably the same as Ἄνντος [E]ὐωνυμ(εύς), trierarch in the year 323/2 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1632, lines 224, 229-230, 237), certainly a descendant of his homonym, the accuser of Socrates, who is shown to have come from Euonymon (see below, line 7; cf. A. E. Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis*, Cambridge, Mass., 1949, p. 206).

Line 4. The restoration [Ἐπι]χάρης can be supported from *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1388, line 3, 1391, line 6, and 1392, line 4, and from the curse tablet published in *Sitzb. Akad. Berlin*, 1956, 3, p. 59, no. 205.

<sup>9</sup> Tentatively dated in 370/69 B.C. by B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 151.

<sup>10</sup> There is one document, the fragmentary prytany list published by Sterling Dow in *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 30, no. 1, which shows considerable divergence from our list. The main difference consists in the number of Sphettioi, which is ten, twice that of our list. This difference can be reduced if we insert a demotic instead of a name in line 45 where no letters are preserved. This gives six names from Sphettos as against five on our list. But even after this improvement, which of course is only a guess and cannot be proved, there are other difficulties which cannot be overlooked. The difference in the number of representatives from Kephale (twelve against nine) is greater than normal and a disturbing factor. But the greatest difficulty arises from the arrangement of the list as a whole. It has only 58 lines instead of the 63 which would be required for a full register of 50 councillors and 13 demotics. Dow's explanations of this sub-normal representation seem to me not satisfactory. He suggests (*op. cit.*, pp. 28 and 34) that the year of the decree (327/6 B.C.) was a year of famine "when it seems that five small demes were unable to send bouleutai, and the larger demes made up the deficiency." But how can it be explained that the famine affected only the small demes? There is certainly an anomaly in this list, but no satisfactory explanation of it has been given as yet.

<sup>11</sup> On the probabilities of the proposed identifications see note p. 35.

Line 6. Φίλλης<sup>12</sup> sounds rather strange as a name; cf., however, Φίλλης, *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 5, indices; F. Bechtel, *Historische Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit*, Halle, 1917, p. 453 and M. Mitsos, 'Αργολικὴ Προσωπογραφία, Athens, 1952. See also *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 8377; *Inscriptions de Délos*, nos. 148-449 passim, (*Comptes des Hieropes*) and the "tableau synoptique" after no. 509 (archons, years 296, 275, 259, 204, and hieropes, years 297, 268). It is perhaps constructed from Φιλιάδης (cf. *Ath. Mitt.*, XXVII, 1902, p. 196).

Line 7. Ἀνθεμίων was the father's name of Anytos, the accuser of Socrates (Plato, *Menon*, 90a; Diodoros, XIII, 64, 6; Plutarch, *Alcibiades*, 4). As neither Anthemion nor Anytos is a very common name, it can be taken for granted that Anytos belonged to the deme of Euonymon and that both Anytos (line 3) and Athemion are among his descendants.

Line 9. The name Ὀμόφρων occurs for the first time in Attica.

Line 10. Identified perhaps with Δημόστρατος Λυσι[— —] Εὐων(μεύς) on a *tessera iudiciaria* of the fourth century B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1874). See also *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1034, line 4, and 1759, line 36 (cf. *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 12, 52).

Line 11. Probably the same as Ἀντιφάτης Ἀντιφάνους Εὐωνυμεύς, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6159; his father must then be the same as Ἀντιφάνης Εὐωνυμεύς, who was *epistates* of the *proedroi* in 337/6 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 240, line 6). For another Ἀντιφάνης Ἀντιφ[άτους], perhaps the son of our Antiphates, see *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 275, no. 130 (= *S.E.G.*, XIV, 232).

Line 14. The name Πυθιάδης occurs here for the first time on an inscription. Our Pythiades belongs certainly (Kedoi being one of the smallest demes in Attica) to the family of Πύθων Πυθοδώρου known from both *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1, line 57, and 6383, where the stemma of the family in *P.A.*, 12471, is rearranged; Pythiades must be put in the fourth generation of this stemma, on the same line with Πυθοκλῆς and Πυθόδωρος. For members of the same family in the third century B.C., see *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, no. 9, line 66 (for the date, 256/5 B.C., see *Chronology*, p. xxi) and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 681, line 19 (249/8 B.C. according to W. B. Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 315).

Line 18. The name Σώσιππος Ἀγρυλῆθεν occurs twice on a stele of the early fourth century B.C. (*I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5294; A. Conze, *Attische Grabreliefs*, no. 708, pl. 38). As this monument appears to be earlier than our inscription, we cannot identify either of the men with our councillor who might, however, be the son of one of them.

Line 21. An Ἰππων Ἀγρυλῆθεν is included in a list of *thiasotai* of the first half of the fourth century B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2345, line 78).

<sup>12</sup> [Φ]ίλλης, instead of [Κ]ίλλης, can now be restored and perhaps identified on a fragmentary list from the end of the fourth century B.C. Κίλλης is very rare and of later date (*Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 77, no. 11, line 6).

Line 29. Φι[λιν]ος seems to be the more plausible restoration; Φί[λαι]ος is also possible.

Line 31. [Κ]ηφ[ισι]ῆ[ς] is restored here with complete certainty, on account of the traces of letters (especially the φ) and because, apart from the small deme of Sybridai, no other deme of Erechtheis is missing from our list. This deme is known to have supplied also six councillors in 367/6 B.C. (*Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 235).

Line 33. Βλέπης is a name hitherto unknown; cf. Βλέπυς in *I.G.*, XII, 3, 776, 777 (Thera). Cf. also Βλεπαῖος in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1675, line 32, and in *Hesperia*, Suppl. IX, pp. 13-15, no. 26.

Line 34. Cf. *I.G.*, XII, 8, 101 (dated in the fourth century B.C. by Kirchner, *P.A.*, 160).

Line 36. By restoring the demotic Λεοντεύς Ἀντικλείδου Κ[ηφισι(εύς)] in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1590, line 16 (343/2 B.C.) we bring our Leontios into connection with Ἀντικλείδης Κηφισιεύς, trierarch in 356/5 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1612, line 36 and possibly, too, 1616, line 97) and perhaps councillor in the first half of the fourth century B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1697, line 2). If the construction holds good, then Leontios was the brother of Leonteus and son of Antikleides.

Line 37. Ἀντιφάτης Κηφισιεύς is certainly related to Ἀντιφάνης Κηφισιεύς (cf. line 11), of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1697, line 3 (thought to be a bouleutai list and dated in the first half of the fourth century B.C., but see what is said on the character of this inscription above, p. 35, note 5) and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3105 (line 37), dated after 333 B.C. by J. Pouilloux, *La Forteresse de Rhamnounte*, Paris, 1954, pp. 111-112, no. 2 *bis* (cf. also here lines 49, 54, and 61). Our Antiphates belongs certainly to an intermediate generation between the two and thus the one Antiphates is not the son of the other, as Kirchner supposed.

Line 42. The full name of this man, Ἐπιτέλης Σωινόμου Περγασῆθεν, is known from an Athenian decree of the year 329/8 B.C., found at the Amphiareion near Oropos, where he served as one of the commissioners of the festival (*I.G.*, VIII, 4254, lines 26-27; cf. D. M. Lewis, *B.S.A.*, L, 1955, pp. 34-35), together with Demades (here in line 144). There is no hint that he or any of them was a councillor at that time. We soon meet Epiteles at Delphi, as one of the *ναορῶν* in the year of Kaphis (327/6 B.C., according to La Coste-Messelière, *B.C.H.*, LXXIII, 1949, p. 236; for the inscription see *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 5, 58, line 22 = Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>3</sup>, 252N, line 22). This same year he was rewarded with the honor of proxeny for his good services (*F. de D.*, III, 1, 408,<sup>18</sup> where again his full name and demotic are cited). From other

<sup>18</sup> For a new fragment of the inscription, see *B.C.H.*, LXXVIII, 1954, pp. 375-376, where its date has been corrected by G. Daux.



Delphic documents<sup>14</sup> we learn that he continued serving as *ναορῳιος* for at least three years. In the late summer of 323/2 B.C. he proposed a decree at Athens (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 365). For his ancestors see *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 580; A. E. Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis*, no. 384; and *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 233, line 32. Cf. also *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 929, line 150 (for the date see *Athenian Tribute Lists*, III, p. 174); *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 943, line 4; *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 506 (corrected by Raubitschek, *op. cit.*, no. 90); *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 507 (= Raubitschek, *op. cit.*, no. 10).

Line 48. Two restorations are possible: Ἡγέμ[αχος] and Ἡγέμ[ων].

Line 49. This is probably the father of Ξενοφῶν Λαμπτ(ρεύς), one of the *lampadephoroi* at Rhamnous (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3105, line 26). Cf. also *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6685 and 6655, both of much later date.

Line 50. The only possible restorations are Λακράτ[ης] and Λακρατ[είδης].

Line 51. For descendants of this man see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6363 and *I.G.*, XII, 8, 51 (and *B.C.H.*, LXXX, 1956, p. 464, line 16).

Line 54. This man must be the grandfather of another Ἀριστοκλῆς Λαν(πτρεύς), *lampadephoros* at Rhamnous (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3105, line 15; see line 37, above, and cf. lines 49 and 61).

Line 55. Diodoros' son is probably Δίων Διοδώρου Λαμπτρεύς, prytanis in the first half of the third century B.C. (*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, no. 9, line 28); cf. also *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6708 (middle of the third century B.C.).

Line 56. Archias' son is probably the Ἀρχεδημίδης Ἀρχίου Λαμπτρεύς of the fragmentary list, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 497-498, no. 13, line 12 = 499, no. 14.<sup>15</sup>

Line 57. The form Πουλυδάμας occurs also on a dedicatory inscription of the middle of the fourth century B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4375), possibly, then, erected by the same man.

Line 61. Εὔδη[μ]ο[ς] seems the only possible restoration, the name Εὔδηλος being unknown in Attica (and known only from Pausanias, V, 21, 9); two men of this name are in a list of dedicants from Lamptrai (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2967, lines 4 and 5); one of the two can be fairly well identified with our councillor, the inscription being dated in the middle of the fourth century B.C.

Line 64. The restoration of the deme name [Ἄλαιη]ς seems certain because of the

<sup>14</sup> *F. de D.*, III, 5, no. 20, lines 33 and 38, no. 61 IIB, line 25; cf. also no. 58, line 22 and no. 91, line 26; nos. 47B, line 11, and 60A, line 11, are restorations not entirely sure.

<sup>15</sup> I do not agree with Dow (*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 43, no. 8) that the inscription must be dated between 280 and 230 B.C.; the similarity of the cutting with our stone and also with the list of *diaitetai* *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1926 (325/4) points to an earlier date and I think that any year immediately after 307/6 B.C. cannot be excluded.

final *sigma* in the right place and on account of the number of the councillors, whose names follow: five, as in both *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1747 and 1749. The only other deme of Aigeis with five representatives is Ikaria, which appears below in line 89.

Line 67. [Φιλόμ]ηλος, the only Attic name in -ηλος having exactly the length required, is known from a decree of the year 285/4 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 654; for the date see *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 314) which was passed on the day that a Φιλόμελος Φιλ[ομ]ήλου Ἀλαιοῦς, probably our councillor's son, was *epistates* of the *proedroi* (cf. also *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5523).

Line 70. I restore [Διομε]ιῆς, because this is the only one of the demes with a demotic ending in -εύς missing from the list of Aigeis. This deme appears also with one councillor in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1700 and 1749.

Line 71. The restoration of the rather unusual [Τιμασ]ίθεος (fitting well since the space requires a little more than four letters) is supported by *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 353, line 3.

Line 72. The reading [Ἄρα]φήνιοι is beyond doubt; this deme appears, with two representatives as here, in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1747 (*ca.* 350 B.C.) and 1740 (341/0), and with three representatives in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1697 (first half of the fourth century B.C.).

Line 74. The Araphenian family to which Κλέων belonged is known from the speech of Isaios, *On the Estate of Astyphilos* and from a number of fourth century inscriptions; the stemma of the family is established by Kirchner in *P.A.*, 8669 (but he does not mention the sister of Astyphilos; cf. Isaios, IX, 29); it is hard to tell if we can identify our councillor with Κλέων Θουδί[ππου] Ἄρα]φήνιος, treasurer of Athena in the year 377/6 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1411, 1412), since, by that time older than thirty, he must have been very old after *ca.* 340 B.C. Our Kleon should rather be his grandson, either the son of Θούδιππος, trierarch in 323/2 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1631, lines 470, 592, 600, 679) or the son of Μυρωνίδης, prytanis in one of the years between 354 and 335 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1747, line 31, as dated by Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 306).

Line 76. The same as Πυθόδωρος Φηγαι[εύς] (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1632, lines 182 and 334).

Line 78. Probably the same as Πολυκράτης Πολυ[ε]ύκτου, known from *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1747 (line 18), a prytany list dated 354-335 (for the date see above, note on line 74). If the identification is correct, he is now serving a second time as councillor. This same man also proposed a decree in the year 349/8 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 207 A, line 2).

Line 79. The spelling Μυρινοῦττα with one *rho* is exceptional.

Line 82. The restoration [Πρ]οκλείδης, which seems to be the only possible one, is confirmed by *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1749, line 58 of 341/0, when a Προκλείδης Προξενίδου Τειθράσιος was prytanis of Aigeis. If he is in fact the same man, he will have been councillor twice, this being his second term.

Line 84. [Θεός]ε[νος] is the most likely name which can be restored here.

Line 90. I restore Πείθ[ων], following *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2816, a dedication of Πείθων Σωσιγέ-  
νους and three other *pythaistai* coming undoubtedly from Ikaria (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2816; cf.  
also here, line 92). A. Boethius, *Die Pythais*, Uppsala, 1918, p. 27, has shown that  
these *pythaistai* were the children represented in a relief which he illustrates (plate  
facing p. 148, fig. 2 taken from *La Collection Baracco*, pl. 50); one of them was  
councillor in 341/0 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1749, line 36) and he must have been born before  
*ca.* 370 B.C.

Line 91. [Δί]ων seems the more obvious restoration, but [Αῖ]ων, [Βί]ων, and [Χί]ων  
occur also in Attica.

Line 92. We may restore [Ἀγν]όθεος from the father's name of one of the *pythaistai*  
referred to above, line 90 (the son of an elder brother).

Line 93. [Ποσει]διππος seems the only probable restoration; the name is known from  
Ikaria in later times (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2445, line 4, middle of the second century B.C.).

Line 95. I restore [Κολλυτῆ]ς, which fits exactly the space available; this deme has  
also three representatives in both *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1747 and 1749.

Line 98. For the distinction between ἐκ Κολωνοῦ (from Kolonos of Aigeis) and  
Κολωνεύς or Κολωνῆθεν (from Kolone of Leontis) see the remarks of D. M. Lewis,  
*B.S.A.*, L, 1955, p. 12.

Line 106. The name Ἰασίμαχος was known before in Attica only from two mid-fifth  
century red-figured lekythoi (see J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase Painters*,  
Oxford, 1942, p. 927).

Line 113. Ἐγέρτιος Καλλίου Ἐρχιεύς, of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6105 (Conze, *op. cit.*, no. 1557,  
pl. 326), dated 360-350 B.C.<sup>16</sup> was perhaps Kallias' father, though we must not forget  
that Kallias is one of the commonest Attic names. Our Kallias is perhaps the same as  
the trierarch of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1622, line 626, serving in 359/8 B.C. (cf. lines 574-575).  
Probably of the same family are the persons appearing in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6121, 6122, and  
6123. Cf. Isaïos, XII, 6 and 12 (*Pro Euphileto*, delivered in 344/3 B.C.).

Line 115. In all probability it was Bathyllos' father, Βράχυλλος Βαθύλλου Ἐρχιεύς,  
who proposed a decree in 342 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 223 C, line 10) and another later, *ca.*  
330 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 408, line 5).

Line 118. A blank space has been left for the seventh councillor from Erchia, whose  
name, however, was never inscribed. Erchia is represented by six councillors in *I.G.*,

<sup>16</sup> H. Möbius, *Die Ornamenten der griechischen Grabstelen*, Berlin, 1929, p. 89 dates it  
340-317 B.C.; but I prefer the earlier date accepted by Kirchner in the *Corpus*.



II<sup>2</sup>, 1749 of 341/0 B.C. (No other fourth century list concerning Erchia is preserved).  
Line 120. The same as [Κτέω]ν [Μ]ίκωνος [Γ]αργήτιος (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5936; Conze, *op. cit.*, no. 1322).

Lines 121, 122. The ending -έης, instead of the usual contracted form in -ῆς occurs rather frequently in our list; there are seven instances of it (lines 121, 122, 128, 136, 198, 277, and 290) and twelve of the contracted form (lines 73, 96, 130, 138, 163, 193, 207, 215, 244, 297, 309, and 310).

A. Wilhelm (*Jahreshefte*, VII, 1904, p. 116) remarks that this form is not to be found later than the fourth century B.C. (more precisely not after the time of Demetrios of Phaleron) and therefore does not occur down to the third century B.C. as K. Meisterhans, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*<sup>3</sup>, 1900, p. 132, note 1177, misled by inaccurate dating of some inscriptions, wrongly asserts.

We can identify Δρομοκλέης with Δρομο[— — Γα]ργήτιος of a fragmentary decree (*Ath. Mitt.*, LXVI, 1941, p. 236, lines 6-7) and restore Δρομο[κλέης] instead of Δρομο[κλείδης]; this decree is dated roughly in the second half of the fourth century B.C. (*ibid.*, p. 235) and, owing to the rarity of the name, the identification here proposed is highly probable.<sup>17</sup>

Line 125. [Ε]ρξιμένης occurs only in a casualty list of *ca.* 460 B.C. (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 929, line 125; for the date see *A.T.L.*, III, p. 174).

Line 127. This man is probably the same as Καλλιτέλης [— —]ους Κυδαν[τίδης], who was praised in the year 337/6 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 343) and who served as *diatetes* twelve years later (325/4 B.C.: *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1926, line 28; cf. here, lines 281 and 323).

The chances of our Kalliteles being one of the contributors to a dedication of the *boule* to Amphiaraios in 328/7 B.C. are equal to those of Καλλιτέλ[ης Ἐροιάδης], since he, too, was *diatetes* in 325/4 B.C. (cf. Lewis, *B.S.A.*, L, 1955, p. 35) and, in addition, by the existence of a decree (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 243) honoring him, seems to be a more important personality. On the other hand the fact that another of our councillors (Demades, line 144) and possibly still another (see line 326) appear in this list of contributors gives some support to the candidature of our man.

Line 128. Ξενοκλῆς Κυδαντίδης appears on a curse tablet (*Sitzb. Akad. Berlin*, 1954, p. 1023, no. 1A 69).

Line 130. This name suggests the restoration [Πυθ]οκλῆς Φι[λαίδης] in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 37 (the demotic has been already restored by Hiller; for the date of this fragment see Meritt, *Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, pp. 224-226).

Line 132. The same Φανόστρατος Φιλαίδης served also as councillor in 333/2 B.C., and he was *proedros* on the day the decree *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 337 was passed (lines 29-30); but

<sup>17</sup> Equally arbitrary is the restoration Δρομοκλε[ίδος] made by Kirchner in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1370, line 7.

this did not happen during his term commemorated by our dedication, since in the same inscription (lines 5-6) we find that on another day of this year a certain Theophilos Phegousios held the same office and he does not figure among the Phegousioi of our list. See also *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 338, which offers similar negative evidence.

Line 135. Πολνάρκης Παιανιεύς, who served as councillor at the beginning of the fourth century B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1740, line 37), is in all probability our councillor's grandfather, if the dating of the inscription before 388/7 is right (but see A. W. Gomme, *The Population of Athens*, p. 51, note 2).

Line 140. Βλεφίας is a name which occurs here for the first time in an inscription; cf. Pindar, *Olympian Odes*, VIII, 75.

Line 141. See *I.G.*, XII, 8, 47, line 16.

Line 142. Φιλόδημος Παιανιεύς may be the grandson of Aischines' father-in-law, who sponsored Demosthenes when he was enrolled as an Athenian citizen (Aischines, II, 150; Demosthenes, XVIII, 312; see also P. W., *R.E.*, XIX, col. 2444). [Φι]λόδημος [Δη]μοκύδων on a grave stele from Liopesi (the site of ancient Paiania) is identified with him by D. M. Robinson, *A.J.A.*, LI, 1947, p. 367. See also Πολέμων, VI, 1956/7, pp. μέ f., no. 15, fig. 20.

Line 143. Α Θεόπομπος Παιανιεύς is also mentioned in the sepulchral inscription *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7054, of unknown date.

Line 144. Δημάδης Παιανιεύς is, in all probability, to be identified as the well-known orator; his career can afford at least some negative evidence for the date of this dedication. We do not know much about his activity before 338/7, when he was taken prisoner at the battle of Chaironeia. He was liberated by Philip in order to arrange the peace with Athens (cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 236); he could not have been a councillor this year, since councillors were exempted from military service (Lykourgos, *In Leocratem*, 37). We also know that he was not a councillor in the year 328/7, when he is mentioned after the councillors, among the other citizens who participated in an offering to Amphiaraos ('Αρχ. Έφ., 1917, p. 41, α line 20). The previous year (329/8) he was one of the ten commissioners for the festival at the same sanctuary, with another of our councillors, Epiteles of line 42 (*I.G.*, VII, 4254).

We cannot fix the year when he was sent as a member of the Pythais to Delphi (*F. de D.*, III, 1, 511) and apparently on this occasion (see Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>3</sup>, note on 297 A)<sup>18</sup> he was awarded proxeny by Delphi (cf. also *B.C.H.*, LXVIII, 1934, pp. 168-172). As Lewis has rightly remarked (*B.S.A.*, L, 1955, p. 34) these three boards are interrelated by the presence of a number of persons in all three of them

<sup>18</sup> But his restoration with the resulting chronology is arbitrary; see below and cf. the commentary on line 42.

and the events which led to their creation must also be closely related in time (the last years of Lykourgos' prominence at Athens); Lewis is willing to take 326/5 as the year of the Pythais; but the evidence is not conclusive and such a dating breaks the connection of the corresponding events. If we draw up a list of the persons who participated in more than one of these manifestations we obtain the following table:

|             | <i>F. de D.</i> , III,<br>1, 511<br>Pythais<br>(Delphi) | <i>I.G.</i> , VII,<br>4254<br>Amph. Games<br>(329/8) | <i>Ἀρχ.</i> , <i>Ἐφ.</i> , 1917,<br>p. 41<br>Dedication<br>(328/7) |
|-------------|---|--|--|
| Phanodemos  | v   | v  | v  |
| Demades     | v   | v  | v  |
| Lykourgos   | v   | v  | —  |
| Nikeratos   | v   | v  | —  |
| Kephisophon | —   | v  | v  |

It is thus evident that the board of the *agonothetai* at the Amphiareia constitutes the backbone of the common elements in all three committees, sharing five names with the two other boards together, which, in their turn, share only two with one another, both of them present in all three boards. Thus the Pythais is nearer to the festival at Oropos and more remote from the dedication of the boule. I do not think, as Lewis does, that 329/8 is "nearly impossible," but as this special Pythais (as he also suggests) seems to be associated with the dedication of the new temple at Delphi, which probably was in a Pythian year, 330/29 comes into account with the strongest evidence.

During the years 324-322, as a result of the Harpalos affair, Demades is said to have lost his political rights (Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, 31; *Phocion*, 26, 2-4 and 30; Diodoros, XVIII, 48).<sup>19</sup>

Line 150. *Ἀριστόδημος Κυδαθηναεύς*, one of the most fervent disciples of Socrates (Plato, *Symposium*, 173 and *passim*), was probably an ancestor of this man, possibly his grandfather.

Line 152. This man is perhaps related to, if not identified with, the *[Δημή]τριος*

<sup>19</sup> For the epigraphical evidence concerning Demades see the article of A. N. Oikonomides in *Πλάτων*, VIII, 1956, pp. 105-129. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 400 must be omitted from the list of the decrees proposed by him (no. 16 of this list, p. 106; see also pp. 119-120) and put at the end, under Demades the Younger (p. 128), since it is now dated in the beginning of the third century B.C. (See W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens*, p. 28). For the literary sources concerning Demades see V. de Falco, *Demade Oratore: Testimonianze e Frammenti*<sup>2</sup>, Naples, 1954, which offers very poor biographical data. Cf. also M. N. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, II, Oxford, 1948, p. 238, no. 181).

Δημοστράτον Κυδαθηναίους of a catalogue dated *ca.* 400-350 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2370, line 7).

Line 155. For other members of the same family see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2370, line 3, and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 665, line 47 (for the date, 267/6 B.C., cf. *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 314).

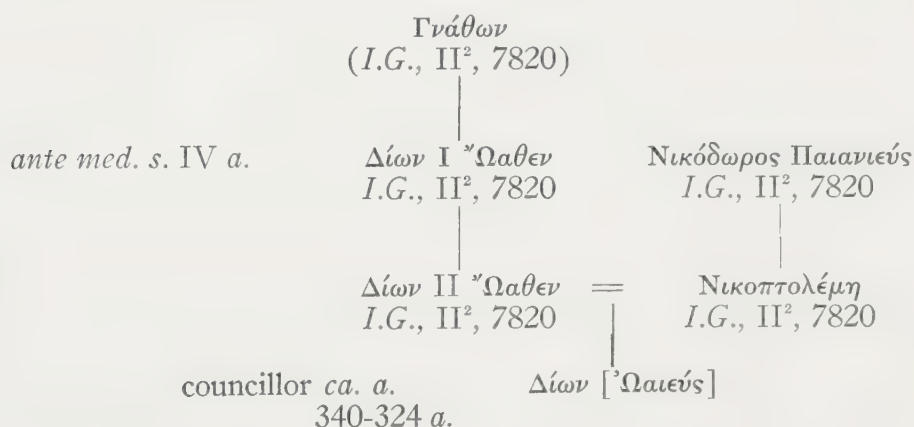
Line 157. An Ἀντιφῶν Πυθέου from Kydathenaion, the son or the father (or just a relation?) of our Pytheas, is to be found in a prytany list of the second half of the fourth century B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1751, line 48). An uncle of this last, according to Kirchner, but evidently rather a cousin, must be Ἀντιφῶν Ἀρχίου, curator of the dockyards in 349/8 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1620, line 48).

Line 163. Πολυκλῆς is related to Πουλυτίων Πολυκλέους, councillor in the year 335/4 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1700, lines 60-61). It is hard to tell whether he is the father or a son (for a similar case see the note on line 247).

Line 164. The name Μειδοκράτης occurs for the first time, but several other composites with Μειδο- are known in Attica; cf. here, line 174 (Μείδων).

Line 166. The restoration [Ῥαιῆς] is based on the fact that, of the three demes of Pandionis which do not appear on the stone, this is the only one which supplies four councillors, according to the existing epigraphical evidence (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1740<sup>20</sup> and 1751, of the second half of the fourth century B.C.).

Line 169. For the immediate ancestors of this man, probably his father and grandfather,<sup>21</sup> see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7820 (Conze, *op. cit.*, no. 1138, pl. 241). On the monument the wife of the younger Dion, consequently our councillor's mother, is commemorated and we can here with some certainty establish the family's stemma.



<sup>20</sup> For the date, before 388/7 B.C. according to Kirchner, see above, commentary on line 135.

<sup>21</sup> Dion himself is apparently the child represented between the two men on the relief; cf. Kirchner's argument.



Unfortunately we cannot fix the date of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7822, and so we cannot tell whether Ἡράκλεια Δίωνος Οἰαθεν γυνή could be our Dion's wife; the name Herakleia sounds late, but it is met from the fourth century B.C. on (see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 11594).

Line 176. The date of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6900 is not well known and thus we cannot be sure of the relationship or, possibly, of the identity of our councillor with Νίκανδρος Θεογένους Μυρρινούσιος.

Line 177. Probably the same as Αἰσχυλίδης Ἀριστάρχου, councillor in another year in the second half of the fourth century B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1751, line 29).

Line 178. See *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1152, lines 4-6 (but the restoration of the demotic is not entirely certain).

Line 183. The last two letters of the name Χαρίας have been cut in a *rasura*; it seems that the stonecutter had written at first another, longer, name beginning also with Χαρι- (Χαρίδημος, I think) which was to be cut just two lines below, first among the representatives of Steiria, the deme inscribed immediately after Charias' name.

Line 195. The restoration [Σουννῆ]ς is not only absolutely certain but also necessary, since this is the only deme of Leontis not appearing in this list; it supplies the same number of bouleutai as in both *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1742 and 1752 (first and second half of the fourth century B.C. respectively), being the only deme of this phyle represented by four councillors.

Line 196. We may restore [Φανόμ]αχος from *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7429/30 (end of the fourth century B.C.) and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7449 (341/0 B.C.).

Line 197. [Κλεοφ]ράδης seems the only possible restoration; the name occurs once in Attica, restored with certainty from [...]οφράδης: *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 381, lines 2-3 = *S.E.G.*, X, 111; cf. *Sitzb. Akad. Wien*, 217, Abh. 5, p. 39.

Line 198. [Προκ]λέης seems the more probable restoration; the name is quite common in Attica and a Προκλῆς Σουννιεύς was demarchos in 329/8 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1672, line 273); see also *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2434, line 6; *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 58, no. 16, line 11; *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 113, no. 28, line 8; and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 417, line 16<sup>22</sup> (dated ca. 330 B.C.).

Line 199. [Εὔθο]ινος, a rather common name in Attica, seems the more plausible restoration; of other names, only [Ἐρασ]ῖνος occurs (rarely) in Attica.

Line 201. [Δα]μίας, which occurs in line 230, is a possible restoration, as well as [Σα]μίας and [Σι]μίας.

<sup>22</sup> Whence it has been safely restored in *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 153, no. 3, line 37 (cf. here, line 196) = *Hesperia*, X, p. 288, no. 78, line 33.

Line 210. An Ἀντιχάρης Φιλίωνος was prytanis in the first half of the fourth century B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1942, lines 45-46; possibly of 370/69 B.C.); we cannot tell whether our councillor is the same as this man or his grandson or even his son.

Line 211. Διεύ[χη]ς Δη[μ]ά[ρ]χου Φρ[εάρρι]ος, secretary in 348 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 206, 207A, 208, and 209) and *diaitetes* in 330/29 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2409,<sup>23</sup> lines 50-51), was probably Demarchos' father (but, as always, possibly an uncle, since we do not know his father's name).

If this is true, then the earliest possible date for his son serving as a councillor would be *ca.* 340 B.C.<sup>24</sup> (see also lines 294 and 367); if Lewis is right in lowering the date of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4359, then Ἐπεύχη[ς] Διεύχος and Διάκριτος Διεύχος are Demarchos' younger brothers (or possibly cousins; see above).

Line 213. Two men from Phrearrioi bearing the name Ἀρχέστρατος are known: the one, active at the end of the fifth century B.C., died perhaps in 406 B.C. (Lysias, XXI, 8; see *P.A.*, 2430); the second was among the heirs of Plato (according to Diogenes Laertios, III, 41) who died in 348/7 B.C.; he may, then, be the same as our councillor or one of his nearest relations.<sup>25</sup>

Line 214. This man is to be identified with Δύκων Θερσίου Φρεάρριος, a polemarch praised in a decree of the klerouchs of Lemnos dated between 318 and 307 B.C. (*I.G.*, XII, 8, 47, lines 7 and 14; *B.C.H.*, VII, 1883, p. 154). Cf. also line 141.

Lines 214-218. Four names were originally written in this space; they were erased and rewritten with slightly closer spacing to allow a fifth to be added. This was never done, and so line 218 remains blank. Together with the name that was to have been written in line 218 we count nine councillors from Phrearrioi, which is the same number as in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1742 and gives fifty councillors for Leontis.

Line 215. I cannot tell whether this man is the same as the Φιλοκλῆς Φρεάρριος of a Samian inscription dated 346/5 (C. Curtius, *Inscripten und Studien zur Geschichte von Samos*, Luebeck, 1877, p. 10, no. 6, line 3; Ch. Michel, *Recueil d'Inscriptions Grecques*, Brussels, 1900, no. 832), serving then as a treasurer of Athena, and, being a klerouch, a regular resident at the island. He belongs perhaps to the family of Themistokles.

<sup>23</sup> Proved to be a list of *diaitetai* by D. M. Lewis, who combined it with *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1924; see *B.S.A.*, L, 1955, pp. 25, 32-33.

<sup>24</sup> There can be no doubt that all who were sixty years old (fifty-nine by modern reckoning) served for one year as *diaitetai*, as is expressly stated by Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 53, except those who held another office or were not in Athens. Cf. Lewis, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-65 and P. Roussel, *Rev. Arch.*, XVIII, 1941, p. 219.

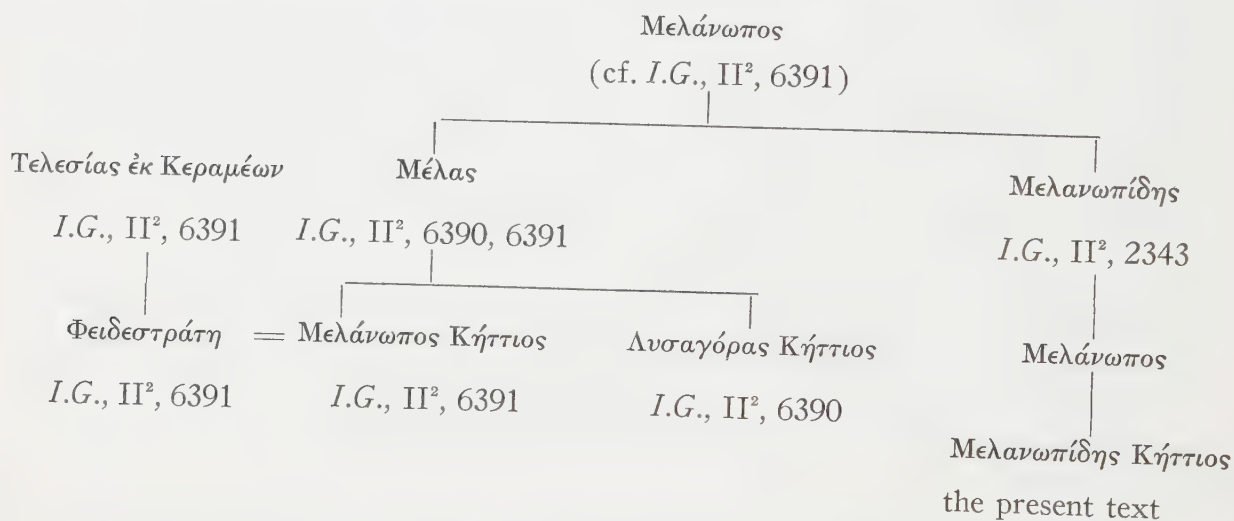
<sup>25</sup> [Ἀρχέσ]τρατος is now a tempting restoration in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1742, line 59 (possibly 370/69; cf. *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 151).

Line 217. For a possible ancestor of this man, perhaps his grandfather, see *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 847 b = *S.E.G.*, III, 49; cf. *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 3, no. S2, line 8.

Lines 220 and 222. The appearance of the same name twice in one small deme is not unparalleled (cf. line 323) and can be explained in more than one way.<sup>26</sup> Related to this family must be the Ἀρχεστράτη Σωστράτου of a funeral inscription of the fourth century B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7731). The name Sostratos brings them also into connection with Φιλοκράτης Σωστράτου Φρεάρριος, *daitetes* in 329/8 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1925, line 5), identified by Peek with one of the *lochagoi* of an ephebic inscription from Rhamnous or Sounion (*Ath. Mitt.*, LXVII, 1942, p. 21, no. 24, line 8).

Line 221. Cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7404; Conze, *op. cit.*, 1460, pl. 302.

Line 224. In the light of the evidence obtained from our list, it is possible to restore Μελανωπ[ίδης] instead of Μελάνωπ[ος] in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2434, line 18, a prytany list of the middle of the third century B.C., republished in *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 58, no. 16 (line 28) and in *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 113, no. 122 (line 25), in each case with the addition of a new fragment. The name Μελανωπίδης also appears (written twice) in a catalogue of *thiasotai* of the fourth century (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2343). See also *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6391 (and cf. 6390, of his brother very probably). If all those datings prove right, we can tentatively build the following stemma:



Line 225. Σμίκυθος Ξενοκλέους Κήττιος, probably a grandson of our councillor, was ephebe in the year 324/3 B.C. (Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1918, p. 75, line 38).

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1926, lines 76-77 and comments, and J. W. Headlam-Morley, *Election by Lot at Athens*, 2nd edition, revised by D. C. Macgregor, Cambridge, 1933, p. 56 (4). For the danger of identifications based only on name and demotic cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, p. 277, and *B.S.A.*, L, 1955, p. 29.

Line 229. *Κεστορίδης* is incised on the stone; the name sounds strange and is so close to *Ἀκεστορίδης* that we may assume an error of the stonecutter (cf. line 271).

Line 230. *Δα[μ]ίας* occurs for the first time in Attica (but see line 201).

Line 232. The name *Εὐβιόδημος* appears for the first time in Greek prosopography; but its formation is easily understood: *Εὐβιος* is not an unusual name; cf. also *Βιόδαμος* on Lakonian inscriptions (*I.G.*, V, part I, 93, line 18, and 1127).

Line 236. *Θεάγγελος Χολλήιδης* is apparently related to *[Ε]ὐάν[γελ]ος Θεανγέλου Χολλ[είδης]* in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1556, line 33, republished with the addition of a new fragment (and combined with *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1554, 1555, 1557, 1558, and 1559) by D. M. Lewis, *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 208-238 (221, line 8) who dates it *ca.* 320 B.C.

Line 243. This man is probably the same as *Φιλέας Ἀντιγένου Παιονίδης* of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 348 (331/0 B.C.), where his patronymic and demotic have been restored from *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 410, a decree dated *ca.* 330.

Line 245. For *Κολωνῆς* see the note on line 98.

Line 247. *Ἀριστοφῶν* is related to *Εὐμηλος Ἀριστοφῶντος Κολωνεύς*, councillor in the year 335/4 B.C., (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1700, lines 90-91 = *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIX, 1904, p. 244). It is hard to tell whether he is the father or a son (for a similar case see the note on line 163).

Line 255. This man's father was probably *Ἱεροκλείδης[ς] Φείδωνος Πήληξ*, prytanis of Leontis in the first half of the fourth century B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1742, lines 77-78<sup>27</sup>). His son served as an ephebe in 324/3 B.C. (*Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1918, p. 75, line 33); thus we know four generations, as the following stemma will illustrate:

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <i>fin. s. V / init. s. IV</i>                | Φείδων<br><i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 1742, line 78         |
|   |   |
| <i>ante med. s. IV</i>                        | Ἱεροκλείδης[ς]<br><i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 1742, line 77 |
|   |   |
| councillor <i>ca. a.</i><br>340-324 <i>a.</i> | Φείδων<br>our present text                                      |
|   |   |
| ephebe <i>a.</i> 324/3 <i>a.</i>              | Ἱεροκλῆς<br><i>Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.</i> , 1918, p. 75, line 33              |

Line 256. The name *Ὀνησίων* occurs for the first time in Attica (but *Ὀνήσιμος* and *Ὀνήσιππος* are known).

<sup>27</sup> Tentatively dated 370/69 B.C.; see note 25.



Line 260. Δ[ί]πολις, despite its regular construction and the great number of names which have as their second component -πόλις<sup>28</sup> appears for the first time as a personal name. The word was used as an epithet of place-names, especially of islands having two towns (see Strabo, III, 4, 8 and XIV, 2, 15 and *Et. Mag.*).

Line 265. Α Διονύ[σ]ιος Καλλιάδου [Θορίκ]ιος is met with on a fragmentary inscription in the Agora, which was recognized by G. A. Stamires as part of a prytany list (*Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 236, no. 95, line 10).

Line 269. Καλλιφάνης is probably the same as Καλλιφάνης Λυσανίου Θορίκιος of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6226, dated in the second half of the fourth century B.C.; for his position in Lysanias' family see the stemma at *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6217.

Line 271. The second *iota* of Ἰππαρχ<ι>δης was omitted by the engraver. This is his only obvious error (but see also line 229). Hipparchides is probably the same as Ἰππαρχίδης Καλλίππου Κεφαλῆθεν mentioned twice in a list dated *ca.* 330 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1561, lines 24 and 28-29).

Line 273. Hierophon is probably the same as Ἱεροφῶν Κεφαλῆθεν of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6358; Conze, *op. cit.*, no. 1060, pl. 215. (Cf. also *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6357; Conze, *op. cit.*, no. 1326, pl. 280).

Lines 274, 275. The names Ἐπαγρος and Ἐργομέλης, both of quite normal formation, occur here for the first time in Greek prosopography, so far as I have been able to discover. The word ἔπαγρος (meaning "in quest of prey") occurs in Aristotle (*Hist. Anim.*, 616b, 34). Cf. also the name Εὔαγρος (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7314, of the first half of the fourth century B.C.).

Line 281. This man is very probably the same as Φιλοκράτης Πόριος, who was trierarch *ca.* 342/1 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1632, line 238). From this inscription Φιλοκ[ράτης] Πόριος has been restored in the *diaitetai* list of the year 325/4 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1926, line 86), where two more names occur which can be attributed to persons included in our catalogue (see lines 127 and 323). This gives another year which must surely be eliminated from the possible dates of our dedication.<sup>29</sup>

Line 285. This man's father, or perhaps another member of the same family, is Διόφαντος Καλλίου ἐκ Κεραμέων of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4385.

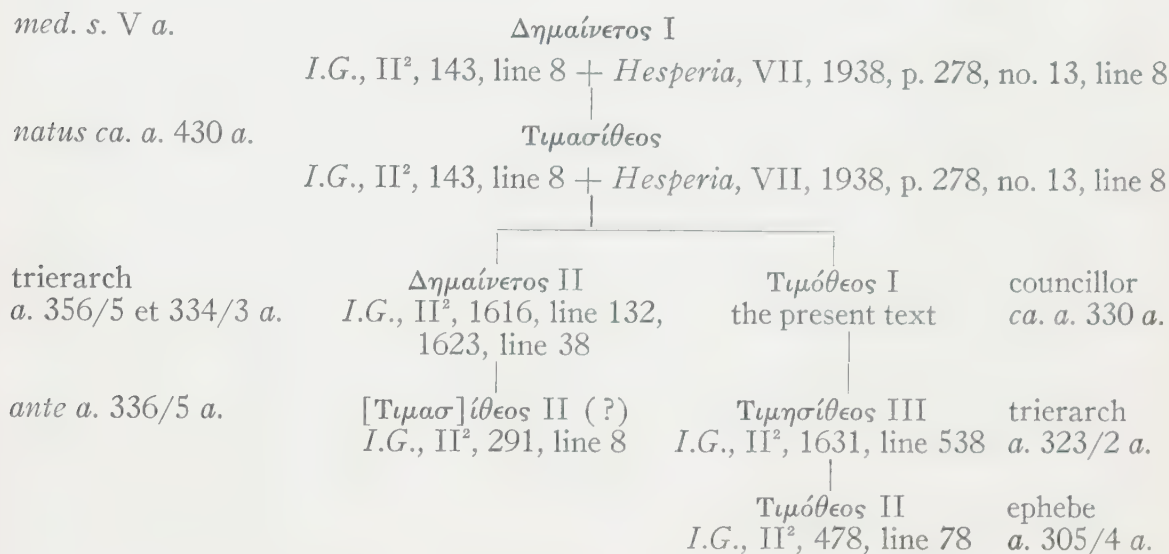
Line 286. This man is possibly the same as [Θε]όπομ[πος ἐκ] Κερα[μέ]ων of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2410, line 21.

<sup>28</sup> Fr. Bechtel (*Historische Personennamen*, pp. 375-376) has a list of forty-seven such names.

<sup>29</sup> In *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 217, no. 7, we may venture to restore [Φιλοκράτης] Φιλιάδου Πόριος on account of the patronymic and the length required; if the restoration, as well as the dating of the inscription in the middle of the fourth century B.C., prove right, we have here not our councillor himself but rather his grandfather.

Line 288. *Μενέστρατος* is perhaps a member of the family known from *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6313 (see also W. Peek, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXVII, 1942, p. 212, no. 3; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6333 is possibly also related).

Line 289. With the new evidence brought by our inscription and a re-examination of the older data, the stemma of the family to which *Τιμόθεος* belonged, as given in *P.A.*, 3273, may be rearranged as follows:



It seems that there was a fluctuation of spelling between *Τιμασίθεος* and *Τιμησίθεος*. I have retained the restoration *[Τιμασ]ίθεος* of the *Corpus* for the practical purpose of making a distinction between the two cousins, since *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 291 seems considerably earlier than *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1631, a difference in time which accords with the activities of Demainetos on the one hand and those of Timotheos I on the other.<sup>80</sup>

Line 294. The stele of an *Εὐάγγελος Θεοφίλου Ἑρμείου* and his wife (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6077; Conze, *op. cit.*, no. 661, pl. 120) is, very probably, the funeral monument of this man. If this identification is correct, we also know his father, *Θεόφιλος Εὐα[νγέλο] Ἑρ[μείου]* (*Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 4, no. 2, lines 9-11). If, as Raubitschek thinks, Theophilos was married soon after the year this dedication was made (*Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 308), then his son Euangelos could not have been born before *ca.* 370 and so could not be at an age to be elected councillor before *ca.* 340 B.C. For descendants, see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 787 c, line 12, and 6078.

<sup>80</sup> Kirchner in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1966, line 2, rejects the restoration proposed by Sundwall, *Epigraphische Beiträge*, 1906, p. 46: *Δημαίνετος [Τιμασιθέου ἐκ Κεραμέων]* for one of the epistatai of the Eleusinia in the years 356/5-353/2 B.C., on account of the letter-spacing.

Line 295. The name Εὐχειρίδης appears for the first time in Attica (where Εὐχειρ and Εὐχειρος exist).

Line 299. Τελεσαρχίδης is evidently related to Τελέσαρχος Χολαργεύς, who made a dedication to Asklepios in 340/39 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1533, line 14); certainly the one is son of the other but we cannot tell whether our councillor was the son or the father of the dedicant.

Line 300. Λυσιφῶν is evidently the son of Κηφισοφῶν Λυσιφῶντος Χολαργεύς, one of the commissioners of the Amphiareia in 329/8 B.C. (*I.G.*, VII, 4254, lines 30-31); we know his age from the fact that he served as *diaitetes* in 330/29, as Lewis has shown by combining *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1924 with 2409 in *B.S.A.*, L, 1955, p. 27, where (p. 33) more information is given about this important Athenian of the Lykourgan period.

Line 305. This man is possibly the same as Δημοκλείδης [ς Φ]ιλοκλέους [Ε]ἰταῖος, epistates of the Eleusinia in the years 336/5-333/2 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1543, lines 3-4; cf. 1544, lines 2-3);<sup>31</sup> his father was evidently Φιλοκλέης Δημοκλείδου Εἰταῖος (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6010 of the fourth century B.C.).

Line 307. Autokleides' father, Εὐετίων Αὐτοκλείδου Σφήττιος, seems to have been a very busy man; his activities are known from *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1582, lines 50-51 (after 348/7 B.C.); 1925, lines 16-17 (*diaitetes* in the year 329/8 B.C.); *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1917, p. 41,<sup>32</sup> line 12 and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 354, line 32 (councillor in 328/7); and 1632, lines 11-12 (trierarch in 323/2 B.C.). Autokleides could hardly have reached the age of thirty and so become a councillor by 340 B.C. See further *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7522 (beginning of the fourth century) and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7503 and 7529.

Line 308. This man's grandfather and father were probably Θράσων Ἀρρωνος Σφήττιος and Ἀρρων<sup>33</sup> Θράσωνος [Σφήττ]ιος (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1635, lines 130 and 132; cf. *B.C.H.*, VIII, 1884, p. 317, lines 18 and 19).

Line 309. This man is probably the same as Τιμοκλῆς Σφήττιος (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2411, line 20). For one of his descendants, probably his grandson, see *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 59, no. 17, line 6. Members of the same family are probably all those inscribed in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7501 and 7528, both dated at the middle of the fourth century B.C.

Line 310. Of the same family, possibly his daughter, is [Π]αμφίλη Φιλοκλέους Σφηττίου (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7525; Conze, *op. cit.*, no. 1637, pl. 345). For a member of the same family in the second century B.C. see *P.A.*, 14561.

<sup>31</sup> This identification could be very important, since, as is shown below (p. 56), the year 336/5 in which Demokleides was appointed to this office has the greater probability of being the very year of his councillorship; but there is always a possibility of homonymy (cf. here, lines 220 and 323).

<sup>32</sup> Published also in *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 171-172.

<sup>33</sup> Sometimes corrected to Ἀβρων; cf. *P.A.*, 17.



Line 311. The mother of Εὐθυκράτης was perhaps Τιμήσυλλα Εὐθυκράτου Κειριάδου, wife of [Τ]ε[ισαμε]ν[ός?]. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7527, dated at the middle of the fourth century B.C.).

Line 315. The name Καλλίφημος, though of a normal formation, appears here for the first time in Attica.

Line 316. This man is possibly identical with Χαιρέδημος Ἀγνού(σιος), lessee of the mine of Leukippeion in 367/6 B.C. (*Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 17, no. 1, line 83 = *S.E.G.*, XII, 100. Cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5273, 5280, and 5279 a).

Line 317. Δυσιμένης apparently belongs to a family from Hagnous, several members of which were active at about the same period (see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3850, 1622 line 660, 1672 line 278).

Line 320. Restored as Ἐπι[κρ]άτης this man can be identified with Ἐπικράτης Καλλίου Προσπάλτιος (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7307). Another possible restoration is Ἐπι[στ]άτης, of which we know but one example in Attica (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2398, line 14).

Line 322. This man is probably the father of [...]ίας Πολυνέκτου Προσπάλτιος of a list of the year 327/6 B.C. (*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 31, no. 1, line 52).

Line 323. Two men from Prospalta with the name Νικόστρατος are included in the list of *diaitetai* of 325/4 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1926, lines 76, 77).

Line 325. This man is possibly the same as Εὐφίλ[ητ]ος Εὐφι[λ]ήτ[ον], who proposed a decree in 323/2 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 448).<sup>34</sup>

The inscription here published is the most extensive list of bouleutai available up to date. Unfortunately, it gives only the first names and the demotics of the councillors; no father's names are given, which would have been of great value in identifying the persons named and would have eliminated the danger of the identifications attempted.<sup>35</sup>

The type of the offering is quite peculiar and the unusually short heading is not sufficiently preserved to help in understanding it. Since we must assume a similar stone for the other five phylai, we are justified in envisaging the whole dedication as consisting of two separate bases supporting two bronze statues (personifications of

<sup>34</sup> His demotic is there restored as [Κηφισιεύς], a repetition of a hypothetical restoration by Lolling, who proposed it with a question mark (Δελτ. Ἀρχ., 1892, p. 58). This restoration was not adopted in *I.G.*, II, 5, 231b; but it was taken over, without any question mark, in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 448; both demotics fill equally well the space available, the inscription being stoichedon.

<sup>35</sup> I wish to point out that all the identifications proposed in this paper are within the limits of a certain degree of probability, even when that caution is not expressed. One case, which concerns the dating of the inscription itself, is dealt with in note 31.



the Boule and the Demos perhaps; but there are, of course, other possibilities). Bases of Hymettian marble, like ours, are preserved also in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2400, an unspecified fragmentary list of Aiantis, possibly a list<sup>36</sup> of prytaneis of the second half of the fourth century B.C., and in a prytany decree of 341/0 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1749; inscribed, too, on three sides). Other name-lists, arranged like ours, make their appearance in the first half of the fourth century B.C. Most of them are prytany lists;<sup>37</sup> some of them are also bases and thus they share this common feature with our list. Examples are the prytany records *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1749 (341/0 B.C.), a base of Hymettian marble (dimensions 0.46 m. x 0.78 m. x 0.78 m.) inscribed, too, on three faces, and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1751, a similar base but not for a statue (dimensions 0.37 m. x 0.64 m. x 0.47 m.). The main difference in the arrangement of these two inscriptions is that they include the patronymic also, written on the same line with the councillor's name.

Apart from the purely epigraphical data which place our inscriptions not very early in the second half of the fourth century B.C., the upper limit in time is deduced from the estimated age of four of the men, who could not have been born before *ca.* 370 B.C. and consequently could not have been elected councillors before *ca.* 340 B.C. (see lines 211, 294, 300, and 307, and the argument below concerning the possibilities of the years 340/39 and 339/8). The lower limit in time is given by Demades' death in 320/19 B.C.

The activity of several of our councillors is attested for a period including these years but also extending in either direction beyond the limits established; this is explained by the difference in age of those who served at the same time as councillors, namely, men hardly above thirty and others perhaps well above sixty. The earliest well attested year in which one of our men is mentioned is 367/6 (see the commentary on line 316; but see also line 210). The lowest date for the career of one of our councillors lies between 318 and 307 (see the commentary on line 214).

Upon reviewing one by one all the years taken into account we can eliminate a number of them:

341/0: excluded (prytany list of Aigeis, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1749).

340/39 }  
339/8 } : No document; possible, but rather early.

338/7: excluded (see line 144; Demades at Chaironeia).

377/6: excluded (see line 11).

336/5: possible (see below).

335/4: excluded (bouleutai-list, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1700).

<sup>36</sup> Certainly not the other half of our list, primarily because of the difference in the size of the letters (0.01 m. as against 0.005 m. of our inscription).

<sup>37</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1740 (dated by Kirchner before 388/7 B.C., too early a date, as Gomme rightly thinks, *Population*, p. 51, note 2); 1742 (first half of the fourth century B.C.); 1745 (360/59); 1749 (341/0); 1751 and 1752 (second half of the fourth century B.C.).

- 334/3: excluded (see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 335, 336, 405, 414a, and cf. *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 339-340, and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2791).
- 333/2: excluded (see line 132 and cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 337 and 358).<sup>38</sup>
- 332/1: excluded (see *I.G.*, VII, 4253 and cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2792).
- 331/0: excluded (see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 349).<sup>39</sup>
- 330/29: excluded (see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 351 + 664 [*Addenda*, p. 660]).
- 329/8: excluded (see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 353).<sup>40</sup>
- 328/7: excluded (see commentary on lines 144 and 307).
- 327/6: excluded (see *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 3, no. 5).<sup>41</sup>
- 326/5: possible, but see commentary on line 42.
- 325/4: excluded (list of *diaitetai*, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1926; see lines 127, 281 and 323 of our text); cf. also *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1629, line 273, 1631, lines 250-252, 241-242, and 245-246.
- 324/3: possible, but see commentary on line 42.
- 323/2: excluded (*atimia* of Demades; see commentary on line 144).
- 322/1 }  
321/0 } : possible.
- 320/19: excluded (see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 380, 381, 382, 383 + 399<sup>42</sup> and *Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, p. 234, no. 6, line 7).

Seven years out of twenty-two are not certainly excluded, but special considerations make certain of these years less likely than others. Thus, the first two possible years (340/39, 339/8) seem a bit too early, since we have one case (line 307) when the father of a councillor was born in 388/7 and two other cases (lines 211 and 300) when the fathers were born in 389/8, as is shown by the fact that they served as *diaitetai* in 329/8 and 330/29<sup>43</sup> respectively. In another case (line 294) it is probable

<sup>38</sup> The date of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 358 has been fixed to 333/2 by Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens*, 1931, p. 357.

<sup>39</sup> Dorotheos from Halai was proedros; this could be only Halai Araphenides of Aigeis, since Halai Aixionides belongs to Kekropis, which was then the prytanizing phyle. There is a missing name in our list under the heading of this deme (line 65), but before the final *sigma*, which is clearly preserved, there is a space for exactly six letters and Δωρόθεος needs seven.

<sup>40</sup> The day this decree was passed [...] ππος was proedros; we have two incomplete names under the heading of this deme in our list (lines 167, 168) but neither of them can be restored to a seven-letter name ending in -ππος.

<sup>41</sup> The demotic of the proedros has been restored to Πάμφιλος Π[αιανιεύς] by A. W. Gomme, see *Hesperia*, *Index* to Volumes I-X, Supplements I-VI, s.v. Πάμφιλος. I do not take into consideration the list in *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, 1, because of the doubts about its character I expressed when dealing with Akamantis (see above, note 10; cf. also the preceding note).

<sup>42</sup> Combined by Leonardos, Δελτίον, I, 1915, p. 222, completing Πάμφιλος Φι[λαίδης] in line 3 (cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, *Addenda*, p. 660).

<sup>43</sup> I reckon the years as Lewis does (see his argument in *B.S.A.*, L, 1955, p. 29). It must also be noted that the list of *diaitetai* of 329/8 is poorly preserved, with only ten names (and some of

that the father of one of our councillors was married after 373/2 B.C. It seems difficult to suppose that in three or four known cases it happened that these men had sons born when they were hardly twenty years old<sup>44</sup> and that in all these cases their sons became councillors as soon as they reached the age of thirty.

The next year possible is 336/5; its probabilities are greatly strengthened by two facts: (1) First, no father's name can be detected in the wholly preserved list of *diaitetai* of 325/4 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1926) and thus we do not encounter the difficulties which arose for the years 340/39 and 339/8; on the contrary, we have three probable cases of identity between our councillors and the *diaitetai* of 325/4 (see lines 127, 281, 323). (2) Secondly, in the partly preserved list of bouleutai of the following year (335/4 B.C., *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1700) there is no one name which appears in our list;<sup>45</sup> this may be accounted for by the fact that it was not possible to hold the bouletic office for two consecutive years.<sup>46</sup>

There is difficulty about this year, because of the possible identification of one of the councillors (Demokleides, line 305) with one of the epistatai of the Eleusinia appointed for the same year; but against strong evidence this difficulty may be overcome as suggested in footnote 31, above.

The year 326/5 is also possible, but its candidature is considerably weakened by the fact that Epiteles was almost certainly at Delphi in this year (see commentary on line 42). The same is true of 324/3.

No conclusive evidence can be brought against 322/1 and 321/0, but for historical reasons it seems unlikely that any important dedication was set up by the boule in those difficult years. We can, I think, take the year 336/5, with a large degree of probability, as the year of the councillorship of the men recorded in the list here published.

This was an important year for Athens, the first year of recovery after the disaster at Chaironeia. Philip's death and Alexander's absence in Thrace gave the Athenians respite. We know that a number of warships were built (see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1623, lines 286-289), and this could be a very appropriate occasion for the boule to receive

them incomplete) and this may account for the fact that we have but one case of a father of one of our men serving then as *diaitetes*; moreover, since we do not have the patronymics of our councillors, there are probably cases where the relation of father and son has escaped us, since not every child took his paternal grandfather's name and some of the names in the list of *diaitetai* are given without the patronymic.

<sup>44</sup> That a marriage at a very young age was not the usual case for men in fourth-century Athens is seen from Demosthenes, *Against Boiotos*, II, 56, where the defendant, married at eighteen (*ibid.*, 12) says that his daughter, when seen, will be thought to be his sister and not his daughter.

<sup>45</sup> It is worth noting that we have two cases of father and son (lines 163 and 247).

<sup>46</sup> See Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 45, 3 and 55, 2; cf. also Hignett, *op. cit.*, p. 228, note 3; U. Kahrstedt, *Studien zum öffentlichen Recht Athens*, II, pp. 135-136, maintains that by analogy with Erythrai (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 10, line 11) we may assume that there was a rule forbidding one to be councillor more than once in four years.

some special honor, for it was the boule who had charge of and took care of the building of ships (Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 46, 1). Indeed, it was strictly forbidden to award honors to the boule which failed in this duty (Demosthenes, *Against Androtion*, 8, 12, 16).<sup>47</sup> We already know that the boule of Pythodelos' year made a dedication, possibly of a silver cup (according to the restoration introduced into the inscription), to the sanctuary at Eleusis (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1544, line 47).

S. CHARITONIDES

ATHENS, GREECE

<sup>47</sup> Ten ships (at least) had to be built, according to the scholia of the *Anonymus Argentinensis* (*Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 164, lines 9-11).



# THE WALLS INSCRIBED WITH NIKOMAKHOS' LAW CODE

(PLATES 9-11)

THE fragments of the Law Code in *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 31-37, were published without personal examination by me of the marbles themselves in Athens, but instead from descriptions sent to this country. Ordinarily such descriptions might suffice; autopsy, always ideally desirable, is often practically unnecessary. The Code inscriptions, all of them, have turned out to be exceptional. With the aid of scholars more expert in architectural details, I was able recently in Athens (April-August 1960) to make repeated examinations of all the fragments, and the physical aspects were found to be of great importance. The present article reports the findings.<sup>1</sup>

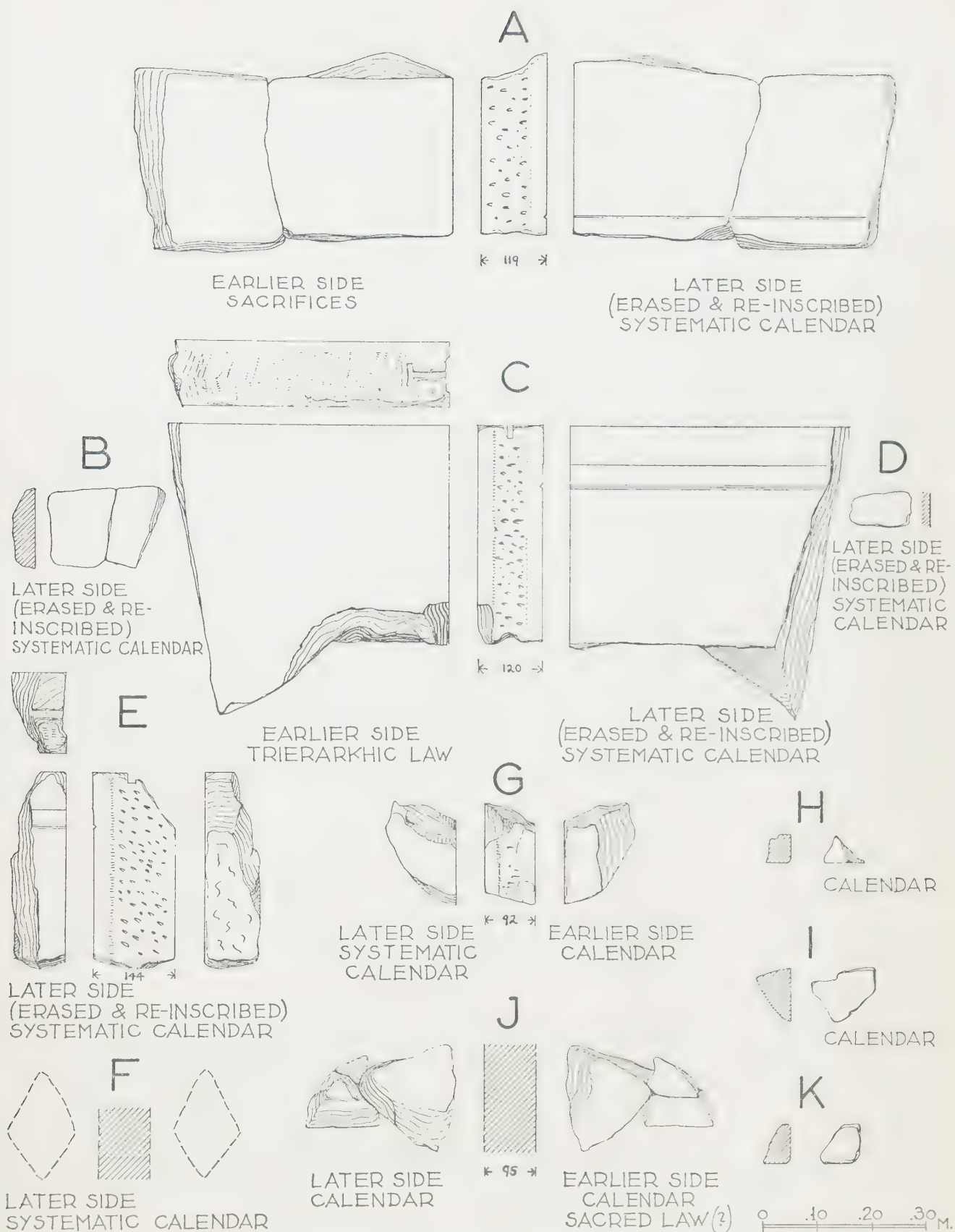
There is bound to be much theorizing about the Code; the theorizing must not contradict facts. I have therefore put the new findings in a context of full descriptions, trying however to omit particulars which cannot conceivably have historical or archaeological significance. Scholars who wish to read only what appears immediately to have new historical interest can turn to the summary at the end.

The numbering of the fragments, A through K, is meant to serve temporary convenience. The eventual order and numbering may differ somewhat. The descriptions of the stones will generally be self-intelligible. They imply no criticism. "Dirty" means ingrained with (pre-museum) dirt. No one will blame anyone for some slight scratches reported as incurred in museums. Careful workers will always lay inscribed faces on clean newspapers; but all workers cannot be forced to be careful.

TERMS. The narrow ends of blocks intended to be joined so as to form a wall were normally cut with smooth flat *bands* to make joint surfaces at the front and back edges. Between the (two) smoothed bands was a *trough* hollowed out with a pointed chisel and left rough. These features are well shown e.g. on Plate 9, a. The words *bands* and *trough* have been used strictly as terms to describe the various instances of anathyrosis in the Walls.

For the Walls as such, now that a third one (fragment E) has been proved, the only precise designations must be numerical. The former "Thicker Wall" (0.120 m. thick) is now the "120 mm. Wall," except for Fragment E, which (alone) represents the "144 mm. Wall." The former "Thinner Wall," with thicknesses which vary slightly, 0.092-0.095 m., is treated as one, the "92 mm. Wall."

<sup>1</sup> Figure 1, drawn by John Travlos, illustrates all the fragments. For a bibliography of the Code, see *Historia*, IX, 1960, pp. 292-293.



## THE 120 MM. WALL

## FRAGMENT A

*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 843 (Earlier Side) and II<sup>2</sup>, 1357 *a* (Later Side)

Two squarish pieces of goodish size, joining tightly throughout their height, but different in their post-fracture history. One, the larger, has a door socket on the Later Side, and the E(pigraphical) M(useum) number 6721; it is orange-brown all over, from patina. The lesser piece, E.M. 8001, is white.

*Earlier Sides.* *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 31, photograph, p. 32, text. While still one, the two pieces received heavy horizontal wear, as if from dragging. The surface is left very hard, but small patches in it stand up to, or near to, the original height. At some time, 8001 was eroded by moisture, whereas the lettered part of 6721 was smoothed a little, perhaps by wear, although the letters are sharp. The slab as a whole was a good piece of marble, different, apparently, from the marble of the slabs represented by Fragment C. A little mica shows only on the Earlier Side of 8001, which also has some patches of dark brown, like those on the Earlier Side of Fragment C.

*The Later Side of E.M. 8001.* *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 22, photograph, p. 23, text. The preserved areas of the Later Side are smooth—they may have received some footwear—but even so there are traces of tooth-chisel marks, as if the slab had been erased. (In a vague way, the Earlier Side of E.M. 6721 affords a control: letters equally clear, no marks of a tooth chisel). The Later Side is worn in the same manner as the Earlier, whatever the agent; but the wear is very shallow. It extends across the middle in a band up to 0.14 m. high.

*The Later Side of E.M. 6721.* *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 22, photograph. The larger, brown, piece is heavily footworn all over. A socket for a door, cut near one end in the middle (the usual place), was hardly used at all. Possibly the stone was broken too soon; but a chisel mark for breakage purposes shows at the top. In any case the surface is worn smooth, obliterating all letters, though not deeply enough to remove the (deeper) incised line near the bottom.

*The Anathyrosis on E.M. 6721.* Plate 9, a. Patinated like nearly all the other surfaces of this piece, the end with anathyrosis has notable features. The point strokes in the trough are mere quasi-circular hollows, with almost (so to speak) no length and no predominant direction. The trough was notably shallow, evidently; adequate perhaps but not careful. The band at the Later edge is fairly well preserved: evenly bordered, it may well have been straight and true. The width of this band is 0.026 m. The band at the Earlier edge is hard to know about. Wear has rounded off the edge.

There *may* have been a matching band, equally wide and smooth, but if so, hardly a trace remains. A right-angle shows that if the anathyrosis was true, then *ca.* 0.002 m. is missing from the surface of the band at the Earlier side, where some attrition has certainly taken place.

## FRAGMENT B

*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1357 *b*

Two hand-palm-sized pieces joined, preserving only the one (inscribed) face; otherwise broken away. Bottom, etc., Plate 9, b.

*Inscribed (Later) Side.* *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 24, photograph and text. Worn and dirty, nevertheless tooth-marks are visible (see photo), three sets near the upper right corner, and others at left. In the course of the inscribing or re-inscribing, some error was made: a slightly curved gouge worked on the area of lines 4-6 (the photo shows this also). It was not an attempt to erase the present text, but rather to correct it; the cutting is too shallow, and moreover begins only in the area of the second letter in each line. The inscription being corrected was evidently cut fairly deep just here, and it can be conjectured that the erased lines had letters of about the same height and spacing as the later. In line 5, just above the sigma of *ἱερεῶννα*, two marks can be seen which would make an (erased) *upsilon*, but neither they nor any other strokes of earlier letters can be read with confidence.

*Other Surfaces.* The two fragments were for long embedded in some road, upside down, like rude cobble stones. The bottoms are rounded, and the wear extends up the front, some also up the left side and back. The left side is worn throughout. The top is one break, all the way across both fragments; in the break, some oxidizing—the break is not recent. The right side is worn enough to show that the cobblestone was never much wider. The backs, dirty and somewhat patinated, were split off in even planes.

Altogether a much-suffering Fragment.

## FRAGMENT C

Agora Inv. I 727

Photographs: Plate 10, a (Later Side), Plates 10, b and 11 (Top and End). *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, Earlier Side p. 14, Later Side p. 20, texts on facing pages in both instances; Later Side, *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, LXXI, 1953-1957, facing p. 3.

*The Marble* has notable defects. It has veins of mica which when exposed gleam



like silver; marking faults in the stone, they lie in a plane diagonal to the preserved surfaces. The erosion of the Earlier Side has exposed two kinds of harder matter, one being solid white and quartz-like, the other a dead, non-luminous white with many small cracks. Both the inscribed Sides also have deep pittings, as if softer stone had been eaten out by water.

*Dimensions and Workmanship.* The maximum height (0.537 m.) is preserved on the Earlier Side, the maximum width (0.510 m.) is preserved in the middle of the top. The thickness, at the top, is just under 0.120 m.: but at a point 0.35 m. below the top, on the preserved (joint) side, it is hardly 0.119 m.; and the same at the bottom. As a straight-edge shows, this slight but distinct difference is due to the wearing away of the lower surface on the Earlier Side. The original thickness was uniformly 0.120 m. The angle formed by the preserved side (with anathyrosis) and the top is an exactly true right angle. In these respects the block was carefully cut. It is notable therefore that the top was not trimmed precisely even. When the fragment is rested (upside down) on the top, it leans some 0.003 m. (measured at the full height) toward the Later Side. This is because the top edge of the Later Side was worked down smooth, whereas the roughest part, not worked down, is over the Earlier Side. In the area just around the clamp cutting, however, the surface is smooth.

On the *Earlier Side*, the area of fairly-well-preserved letters is *ca.* 0.19 m. in height (14 lines), and extends across the stone *ca.* 0.35 m., *i.e.* about two-thirds of the whole width, measured from the (broken) edge at the left. The rest of the surface was exposed to erosion by water; the surface is not crumbly, but has been eaten away sufficiently so that hardly any letters except an occasional *omicron* (made as usual with a point, hence tending to be cut deeper) can be read. The erosion not only removed the surface, it also cut rivulets and pits. All this results, here and elsewhere, from condensation of moisture on the undersides of blocks which span wet places. Gravity, and perhaps also faults in the stone, made the water trickle toward the lower right, creating long scars. In this period, therefore, the slab may be supposed to have been used as a cover of the Great Drain.

*Earlier Side, Other Damage.* Apart from the erosion by moisture, the history of the Earlier Side is difficult to understand. At some time or times before it was discovered in the excavations, it received two further kinds of damage. One is a deposit of very hard mortar. This is seen only in the non-eroded area, where it still fills many letters; cleaning has evidently removed some. Distinct apparently from this deposit is a darker brown matter, found in the non-eroded part only a little, but much over the rest of the surface, where it lies in patches and in curved streaks. There is a certain amount also in the (otherwise fairly fresh) break at the bottom; hence some of this deposit occurred when the stone lay in the place where it was found.

A heavy block to shift about, it has received the following post-discovery damage. Some small white areas in lines 13 and 14 are due doubtless to early cleaning, and in areas where no letters could be read, two scratches show white; they were caused by moving the stone on its shelf in the course of setting up the epigraphical collection. At some recent date a small chip has apparently been knocked off the (broken) left at lines 11-13; one or two letters may have been lost.

*Treatment of the Later Side* (Pl. 10, a). From the time of its discovery in 1933, it has been supposed by everyone who has dealt with the fragment that the slight cutting back of the surface below the (uninscribed) fascia at the top was due to a desire to secure an ornamental effect. The fascia, projecting slightly, would receive a running painted design. No trace of the design (or paint) can be detected, but the bare area is definitely the original well-smoothed surface, and undoubtedly it was left uninscribed for ornamental purposes.

The projection constitutes a feature of a different sort. The amount of projection is very slight indeed, only some 0.001 m., but no one knew enough to be troubled by this until H. A. Thompson pointed out that the amount of projection is most unusually slight, and queried (*per litt.*) whether the projection was in fact planned in advance for ornamentation. He suggested that instead the entire surface below the fascia had been removed, i.e. erased, in order to be re-inscribed with a text presumably different.

The issue thus raised affects Fragments A, B, and E also, but it was raised, and it can be fully tested, in the case of Fragment C. Thanks to the interest which the problem aroused, several scholars examined the stone: C. N. Edmonson, M. Lang, D. F. Ogden, W. K. Pritchett, R. Stroud, E. Vanderpool, and later H. A. Thompson. There was general agreement in the principal finding, viz. the fact of erasure.

In the first place, the amount of projection is indeed very slight, being of the order of 0.001 m. Contrary to appearances and to common belief, letters of the size used in calendars would rarely be cut to any depth greater than this, viz. *ca.* one millimeter. The fact that often erased letters can be read is explained by the shallowness and carelessness—and sometimes the intent—of many erasures. In the present instance, no erased letters can be read with certainty. With a light raking from the lower left, ΜΑ appear very doubtfully just above the third and fourth letters of line 1; a few traces above, as if in the original line 1 of this slab, appear even more doubtfully. I am unable to find others.

But the theory that the entire surface below the (uninscribed) fascia was stripped bare of inscriptions does not depend on the reading of letters erased. There are two other indications. The lower edge of the fascia is not quite even; it has the slight irregularity and the tooth-chisel marks which the process of erasing might leave. Secondly, the surface below the fascia was not smoothed as carefully as that of

the fascia itself. The fascia shows only a few traces, and slight at that, of the teeth of a tooth-chisel. Beginning just below the fascia, as we have seen, tooth-chisel marks appear clearly; and over the inscribed surface generally, at least a score of sets of tooth-marks are plainly visible.

In sum there are three items of positive evidence: (1) the uniquely slight projection of the fascia; (2) its lower edge, by no means as sharply measured and cut as would be expected on the part of the workmen of these slabs; and (3) the difference in treatment resulting from the failure to rub down the erased surface so as to obliterate chisel marks.

*Later Side, Other Features.* The Later Side has holes several millimeters deep. One or two at the bottom clearly were made by blows, one or two at the right clearly were made by erosion in faults; about the others it is hard to say. The surface is a little worn along much of the left side; the lower two-thirds of the first (half-) column is slightly dim. There is a patch of iron-rust at lines 2-7. Otherwise the letters of this face are crisp and clear—including the incompletely-smoothed-away tooth-chisel marks of the erasing. So many letters still so fresh probably, though not necessarily, reflect the fact that the Wall stood under a roof.

*The End with Anathyrosis* (Pl. 10, b) has smoothed bands *ca.* 0.03 m. in width. The trough in the middle was made by strokes of the point cross-wise, and slightly oblique, but again not regularly. The trough is fairly deep, 0.003-0.005 m. The inner edge of the smoothed bands, where they slope off to the central trough, is very irregular.

On the surfaces of this end, there is no cement or other hard deposit. It is notable, however, that all the surface, except most of the band along the Earlier Side, is eroded by moisture, just like most of the Earlier Side itself. Similar erosion of the narrow sides of stelai is to be seen on certain other Drain covers.

There is one bothersome fact. As the fragment is at present, the anathyrosis is inexact. When stood upright on this (anathyrosis) side, the fragment leans markedly toward the Earlier Side; and measurement shows that the smoothed (contact) band of the anathyrosis projects 0.002 m. less on the Earlier than on the Later Side. The difference shows clearly in a photograph (Pl. 11). The Later-Side band is somewhat battered, but much of the surface looks and feels original; yet a straight-edge shows there is some irregularity. The eroded (Earlier-Side) band is straight and true; only a little is lost. Since the inscription on the Later Side was carried over the cracks, the conclusion must be that the next slab was trimmed with a compensating difference of projection in the contact bands of its adjoining anathyrosis. This is quite unusual and surprising.

The one more-or-less preserved corner was chiselled off by vigorous strokes with a point. This was done before the slab was exposed to moisture; the surface is eroded



where the chisel marks show. The chiselling may have been done in the course of removing the clamp.

*The Clamp Cutting* (Pls. 10, b and 11). The block was joined to its neighbor by a double-T clamp. The clamp was set 0.019 m. down into the stone, and presumably was itself *ca.* 0.015 m. high. The width of the cutting at the bottom is 0.012 m., and it extends *ca.* 0.08 m. from the joint into the slab. The cutting is not exactly centered; it is 0.057 m. from the Later Side, but 0.052 m. from the Earlier Side. Nor are the angles right angles; the two arms of the T turn slightly upwards, as it were. From tip to tip they measure 0.038 m.

#### FRAGMENT D

A very small piece, its membership in the Code was realized very soon after it was discovered. A squeeze was made at once, and is shown in *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 34, Fragment E with text. The squeeze had been marked with soft black pencil on the right sides of the strokes (to give the effect of shadow). In printing, the image was reversed, so that the text reads from left to right. The readings are indubitable throughout—fortunately, because the fragment disappeared even before it could be catalogued; nor has the record of excavation been recovered. The fragment was certainly found before May 1936. Measured from the squeeze, it was *ca.* 0.065 m. in height, *ca.* 0.11 m. in width; the thickness was a few centimeters.

The lettering and arrangement are unmistakably like those of the Later Side of Fragments A, B, C, and E.

#### THE 144 MM. WALL

#### FRAGMENT E

Agora Inv. I 4310

Photograph of right end with anathyrosis, Plate 9, c; of back, Plate 9, d; of inscribed ("Later") Face, before (recent) cleaning, with text, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 35.

*Marble.* The marble shows some traits similar to those of Fragment C: straight faults with some mica visible, and a habit also of breaking in curves.

*The Inscribed Face* has considerable patina—oxidized brown color—more than any other fragment. Hard matter, still darker, is seen in patches on the front, bottom, and preserved side. It seems to be mortar. The right edge, like the edges of Fragment C, has been somewhat worn and battered, taking most of the last column of letters; and much has also been chipped away.



*Top.* The original top is preserved in a small patch near the front. The surface here, which is tooth-chiselled, is slightly concave, as if it were not a bearing surface. Along the edge over the Later Side, moreover, there was only a narrow smoothed band, less, certainly, than on Fragment C; actually none whatever is preserved. The clamp cutting, 0.012 m. wide, is 0.059 m. long and ends in a break. At the break, i.e. at the end farthest from the preserved left side, the edge of the clamp cutting is 0.060 m. from the front surface; but the cutting is not straight. It bends slightly toward the front, so that near the joint it is 0.058 m. from the front. The distance from the present back surface is *ca.* 0.070 m. The depth of the cutting, only 0.016 m., is somewhat less than that of the clamp cutting on Fragment C.

*The Left End* (left as seen from the Later, inscribed, face) is all broken, long enough ago to be dirty, but it has no patina and only one or two small spots of soft plaster. *The Bottom* is similar, but there is more plaster. *The Right (Anathyrosis) End* (Pl. 9, c) is patinated all over, and some of the hard dark brown matter (mortar) adheres at the front. The flat band for anathyrosis, preserved at the Later Side, is like that on Fragment C in being 0.03 m. wide; its original surface, straight vertically, is largely preserved. Next it a fairly regular tooth-chiselled slope is cut down into the rough central trough. The trough was fashioned by a blunt point; the strokes are comparatively short, and tend to run in slanting rows. In these latter respects the cuttings differ from those of Fragment C; the mason was different.

*Back* ("Earlier" Side; Pl. 9, d). At first glance the back seems to preserve some at least of a quarry (i.e. original rough-picked) surface. This appearance is the one recorded in the excavation records, and it was so published, unseen, by me. I supposed that this part of the (120 mm.) Wall was unfinished and that hence it was left thicker than the rest of the 120 mm. Wall, perhaps because the back of this part of the Wall was in a dark corner. Just where such a dark corner would be was hard to imagine; moreover it seemed strange that although some of the surface of the 120 mm. Wall was still available, scil. on this present fragment (E), where it needed only to be cut back and smoothed, the codifiers proceeded to construct, and to inscribe on both faces, another, thinner (92 mm.) Wall.

The recent close examination of the fragment has altered rather than solved the difficulties. Part of the back has a hard yellow matter of uncertain nature; but much of the back is unsmoothed white stone. H. A. Thompson has explained this white surface: Late Roman mortar, used to hold the block in place, was so strong that when it broke away, it took the surface with it. Some of this mortar still adheres to the end of the stone. It is for this reason that the back is at present somewhat uneven; although it happens that a few less worn spots have surfaces near enough one plane so that when the fragment is set upon this uneven back surface, the side then uppermost, viz. the Later Side, is within 0.002 m. of being horizontal.

The 'right' end, as we have seen, had a contact band of anathyrosis of normal width at the Later edge. At the Earlier edge the surface is preserved only in scattered areas. About some of these areas it is not easy to be sure that they are ancient. But it is certain that *if* there was a band of anathyrosis, it was extremely, indeed implausibly, narrow. Practically, in fact, there need be no doubt whatever that no anathyrosis joint was provided at the back. The blocks met only at the front. In more than one protracted and thorough examination, H. A. Thompson and others have established this conclusion. It may fairly be called astonishing.

It follows that the back was intended never to be seen. The back, as we have seen, appears not to have been finished with an inscribable surface. This impression agrees exactly with what has now been discovered about the lack of anathyrosis at the back.

Nor does the strangeness end here. The anathyrosis at the front does not project as far as the rough surface of this same end at the back. Accordingly the next block in the series must have been cut to allow for this; we have seen that Fragment C demands a similar adjustment on the part of its neighbor.

## THE 92 MM. WALL

### FRAGMENT F

*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 844 (Earlier Side) and 845 (Later Side).

Fragment F, long lost, is known solely from a copy and notes by L. Ross. It was claimed by me as part of the Code before (*Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 31) and no objection has been raised. The facts that it was opisthographic, one side being Old Attic Letters and the other Ionic, and that both Sides are Sacred Law, the Later Side being in calendar form and resembling e.g. Fragment C, are sufficient proof that it belongs to Nikomakhos' Code. The problem is where to put it. Because its Later Side appeared to have been stoichedon, I had supposed that it belonged to the "Thicker" Wall. There is evidence now, which can be set forth more conveniently elsewhere, that the Later Side was not stoichedon. Consequently Fragment F should be assigned to the 92 mm. Wall.

### FRAGMENT G

Agora Inv. I 251

*Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 46, no. 34, drawing and text. The Later Side has two kinds of thin brown deposit which is not mortar, nor is there any erosion by moisture. Similarly with the more battered Earlier Side. The three broken faces show no mica in the marble, nor erosion, nor mortar on it; some surfaces have patina, all are

dirty. The end with anathyrosis has a flat band, straight vertically although now much battered, *ca.* 0.027 m. wide, and sloping a little toward the trough. Except for a chip lost (not recently) at the bottom, the end with anathyrosis is heavily patinated. It is remarkable how the band for anathyrosis on the Earlier Side has disappeared without a trace. The right angle shows that more than 0.007 m. of stone are missing; the area is rounded off and heavily patinated, as if there never had been a joint, and indeed the fact that the Earlier Side bore a text is the only evidence for a contact surface. It is therefore notable that the text on the Earlier Side seems to respect the edge.

#### FRAGMENT J

Agora Inv. I 687 + 1026 *a* + 1026 *b*

*Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 33, 36, Fragment C, photographs and text. There is some light patina on all the exposed (i.e. non-joined) surfaces, but no other deposit save for a streak of hard brown matter below the lowest line of the Earlier Face, and some very small traces of dirt or plaster. Apart from blows, the inscribed surfaces have received very little damage. Marks of the tooth-chisel show faintly and evenly as lines on the Earlier Side; on the Later Side, tooth-marks show in abrupt rows, as on the (crased) Later Side of Fragment C, but more faintly; the surface is fairly smooth, no trace of earlier letters is detectable, and there is no positive indication that Fragment J was erased.

#### FRAGMENT I

Agora Inv. I 945

*Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 32, Fragment B, photograph and text. There is some patina on front, top, and back; this small piece has long been broken and exposed. There is also some brown deposit, part of it plaster. But except for one hole, the front is very crisp.

#### FRAGMENTS H AND K

Agora Inv. I 591 and 590

*Hesperia*, X, 1941; Fragment H is p. 32, Fragment A; Fragment K is p. 34, Fragment D. Faces only a little browned; but the (bottom) edges had enough wear to make them battered and rounded; while broken surfaces behind show fresh breaks (contrast Fragment I). The bottom of Fragment K (Pl. 9, e) shows only tooth-chisel marks. The bottom of Fragment H (Pl. 9, e) is preserved to a larger extent. Beyond the (more even) tooth-chisel band at the front, deeper point strokes show, and in fact it was a very uneven bottom on which to rest a Wall. Still, the cutting



is so exactly parallel to the lines of the inscription that one is reluctant to assume that the cutting is post-classical.

### THE THINNER WALL

The problem created by the new study of the fragments of the Thinner Wall arises from the thicknesses. Fragment G was associated with the group of three joined pieces, now called Fragment J, because the thicknesses of G and J were thought to be the same. The lettering, to be sure, was different, but the Earlier Side of the Thicker Wall showed various hands and arrangements. The marble too looked different, but the two pieces could be from different slabs. Most troublesome, perhaps, but not a detail that anything could be made of, was the fact that the Thinner Wall was inscribed, at least in two columns (Fragments H and K) to the very bottom. Still, none of these obstacles was fatal. Against them were the facts that both fragments were opisthographic, which is rare in Athens, and both apparently dealt with Sacred Calendars, of which there are few from all the periods together. Most impressive was the fact that Fragment J has an Earlier Side with (Attic) letters of ante-403/2, and a later Side with (Ionic) letters of 403/2-. In agreement, seemingly, was the thickness, catalogued as 0.094 m. for Fragment G and as 0.095 m. for Fragment J.

Autopsy has given rise, again, to an awkward difficulty. Fragment G is worn on the Earlier Side, and slopes a little; but where it is better (though not perfectly) preserved, the thickness is 0.095 m. Fragment J, which is not worn on either side, is only 0.092 m. in thickness, at most 0.093 m. The difference is clear when the two fragments are set on a level surface side by side. (In Figure 1 the thicknesses of Fragments G and J, through an error of my own, have been interchanged.)

There is no other new fact. Certainly the two Fragments cannot be regarded as parts of one and the same slab. The question is doubtful whether they are parts of one and the same Wall. Inscribed to the bottom, the monument made up of Fragments J, I, K, and H (all these certainly belong together) has some strange features. But to divorce this group altogether from the rest of the Code, even if a fourth (!) wall had to be admitted, would be hazardous. Opisthographic walls in the Athenian Agora, one side inscribed ante-403/2, the other 403/2-, and devoted to Sacred Calendars with related matter, would naturally all be assigned, apart from the physical characteristics of the inscriptions, to one large undertaking. No one can have been doing, independently of him, in the very same years, what Nikomakhos was doing.

### THE WALLS

THE ASSIGNMENT OF FRAGMENTS TO WALLS. Formerly it appeared that all the fragments belonged to one of two Walls: a Thicker Wall, which was planned and



inscribed on its Later Side with great care—the Calendar proper was to be stoichedon—; and a Thinner Wall not designed as a whole, and presenting a somewhat chaotic appearance—parts are stoichedon, parts are irregular, and parts are non-stoichedon. The Thicker Wall had a thickness of 0.120 m. To it belonged, certainly, the largest Fragments, A and C, and with them seemed to go the small pieces B and D, which preserve only a little thickness. Fragments E and F were also assigned to it.

Fragment E has an inscription on the Later Side similar in arrangement to those of Fragments A, B, C, and D, and the mason appears to have been the same. But it now seems unlikely that the Wall was also the same. Because of the lack of an anathyrosis joint at the back, it is quite clear that there was never any intention of the back being trimmed down and inscribed; this is no “unfinished” part of a wall. Nor does it seem likely that one long wall would be planned to be set partly in the clear (so that the part in the clear could be inscribed on both sides), and then to continue straight alongside a wall of the building (so that this part of the inscribed wall could be inscribed on only one side). The obvious probability is that the 120 mm. Wall, which being opisthographic certainly stood in the clear, proved to have an area insufficient for the Systematic Calendar, and that it was then supplemented by a wall 0.144 m. thick set alongside a near-by wall of the building, where it would take a minimum of floor space, but of course could never be inscribed on its reverse side.

The two walls, then, bore the Systematic Calendar of Sacrifices. It was laid out on one side only, the Later Side, of the 120 mm. Wall, and on the newer one-sided 144 mm. Wall. The two Walls together sufficed.

So much seems clear enough. When the 144 mm. Wall was set up, there was already standing a thinner Wall, 0.092-0.095 m. in thickness, represented for us by Fragments G, H, I, J, and K. One side of it had already been inscribed. The other side was either (a) inscribed already, or (b) was not inscribed but was already assigned to Calendar matter considered suitable for it, or (c) was clearly too small for all that remained to be inscribed, or (d) stood in a position unsuitable for the continuation of the great Systematic Calendar. Its thinness, and the related fact that it stood on a base (so that it could be inscribed to the bottom), suggest that (c) is the preferable alternative.

Whether the small Fragments B and D belonged to the 120 mm. or to the 144 mm. Wall cannot be decided at present. The lost Fragment F should now be assigned (*supra*) to the 92 mm. Wall. This Wall certainly included Fragments H, I, J, and K, which are bound together by similarity of hand. Fragment G, with a thickness up to 0.095 m., and with distinctive lettering on both Sides, *may* represent a fourth Wall; but until more evidence appears, it is better to regard the slight difference of thickness as insignificant, and to treat Fragment G as part of the 92 mm. Wall.

THE ERASURE. It can be no accident that all the preserved fragments with

Systematic Calendar whose surface is reasonably intact (Fragments A, B, C, E) bear unmistakable traces of erasure. Inscriptions which covered one whole side each of two Walls were obliterated and replaced by others. On such a scale, it was a most unusual action. One may doubt whether there ever stood in Athens a larger erased area, or more extensive inscriptions written *in rasura*.

The whole area laid out to bear the systematic Sacred Calendar was inscribed at some time earlier than the time when the surviving inscription was inscribed, with a text sufficiently different so that erasure of the whole and a new inscription were necessary. About the erased inscription a few inferences can be made.

(1) It had an (the same) ornamental fascia above. This means that the side herein called the 'Later' Side was regarded doubtless from the beginning as the more ornate side, the side intended for the long series of columns which made up the Systematic Calendar, and the side which in fact presently was reinscribed with the Systematic Calendar of Sacrifices. It seems reasonable to infer that the first (erased) inscription was also Systematic Calendar of Sacrifices.

(2) And yet the Later Side *was* inscribed and then erased—a process so long and so laborious that it would not have been undertaken without extreme provocation. What sort of provocation could this have been? Clearly the text which had to be supplanted had such faults, i.e. differed so much from the text which was to supplant it, that partial corrections—a numeral here, a victim there—would not suffice. Not even the substitution of different texts for entire days would be enough. So much was null and void that the whole had to be obliterated.

(3) The doubtful traces of the first (erased) inscription will have to be read less doubtfully before we can be more specific; but the letters of the first (erased) inscription can hardly have been deeper, and hence can hardly have been much larger, than the letters of the second (surviving) text.

OBVERSE AND REVERSE. At an early stage in my study of the Code fragments, it appeared that there was a close relation between the provision of walls, in place of separate stelai, and the needs of a systematic calendar, which called for the broad surface of a wall. If correct, this meant that the inscriptions of 410-404 were cut on the poorer side, which thus became the Earlier, whereas the Later Side was left uninscribed until the various systematic Dramosynai were successively ready. It is now learned that the Later Side bore an inscription of unknown date, which was erased before the present inscription was carved. The question might therefore be asked, Does the Later Side still appear to have been the principal one, regardless of when it was first inscribed? The answer is that the two pieces of non-epigraphical evidence are still valid. One is that on the top of the stone the edge above the Later

Side was smoothed, above the Earlier not. The other is that the Earlier Side is inscribed to within 0.010 m. of the very edge, i.e. there was not space for another line—i.e. for heading or for ornament—above the first line. These facts are still conclusive.

CROWNING MEMBERS? Formerly I assumed that on an inscribed wall, as regularly in Greek stone construction, clamps would not be left uncovered, and that a crowning course ought to be "restored." This was certainly an error. Clamps high enough to be out of sight, I am told, need not be covered. The recent examinations of the stones have added relevant facts. The top of Fragment C, as noted *supra*, is not trimmed to a perfect right angle with the sides. Nor is it perfectly level horizontally; although a straight-edge shows that most of it was trimmed to match a straight-edge, nevertheless over the Earlier Side, in an area *ca.* 0.10 m. from the break, too much stone was left protruding upward. The top of Fragment E, only a small patch to be sure, is slightly hollow. These facts settle the matter. The 120 mm. and 144 mm. Walls certainly had no crowning course; and doubtless also the 92 mm. Wall. The only crowning ornament preserved is the uninscribed smooth band at the top of the Later Sides of the 120 mm. and 144 mm. Walls.

OTHER FEATURES. With respect to architectural features, inscribed walls might be expected to throw light on each other. No study of inscribed walls had ever been made, and I was able only to complete enough of it to settle the problems about the Code. Apart from the Code Walls, there are in Athens fragments of eight other walls erected solely to be inscribed. In the first place, they prove that some at least of such walls could be free-standing; no posts or columns at the ends were felt to be necessary, and for the Code we need no longer seek a building with interior columns suitably placed. The study also confirmed the finding *supra* about the absence of a separately-cut crowning member.

Clamps set at a slight angle, as in Fragment E, are also not unusual. The irregularities of anathyrosis are however without parallel elsewhere in Athens in this period, and altogether are surprising. Fragments A (?), C, and E have one band of the anathyrosis, or at least had a surface of some sort, protruding slightly beyond the other. This too is most extraordinary. But only Fragment C did certainly have a trimmed band at the Earlier Side; E had none, A and G are doubtful.

In short, only the Later Sides show good workmanship, and this is matched by the fine quality of the inscription there. Moreover the joints were good enough so that the inscriptions could be carried across the cracks. For the rest it would appear that the restored democracy after the revolutions of 411/10 B.C. sanctioned some cheap crude workmanship in the Walls that were to bear the re-codified Law. The alternative, looking at the whole in another way, is that strictly only Fragments A, B, C, D, and E can be said positively to belong to the Code. They are the ones



united by design and lettering. Apart from content only for Fragment J, and the fact, known in some cases, that they come from opisthographic Walls, all the other fragments could be from quite other documents. It may be wise to keep this in mind, however unlikely it seems.

Study of the four preserved instances of anathyrosis (Fragments A, C, E, and G) suggests that no two were trimmed by the same workman, and it is also clear from all the indications that no two of these four fragments came from the same slab. Only Fragments H, I, J, and K are enough alike to have come from one slab. Considering all the eleven fragments as a group, the diversity of their post-classical histories is to be noted: Fragment A had been a sill, B a cobblestone, C a drain cover, E and others building blocks. This then is a further indication that what we have is some six (at least) pieces which came from six different areas of three extensive inscribed Walls.

By the same token, the Walls were much broken up. Before joins were made, our eleven fragments were 15 stones. Study of the places of finding will show that they had been scattered (though all come from the Agora). The largest, C, is no more than one-eighth of the slab from which it came. On the other hand, the study of the fragments—both of their varied workmanship and of the indications of varied post-classical history—has emphasized once again the great size and complexity of the Code. Limited though they are, our fragments give us some 350 lines. The elaboration which all this diversity attests fits better than ever with the fact that Nikomakhos required ten years to complete the Code.

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## THE CHABRIAS MONUMENT IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA

(PLATES 11-12)

IN *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 314-320, Eugene Schweigert published some fragments of an inscribed statue base (Agora I 994 and related stones) with a reconstruction and a brief commentary. Since that time other fragments have been found, one of which makes the original restoration impossible, and in the course of a consequent reexamination of all the pieces some new relationships have been established which dictate a new form for the monument (Pl. 12).<sup>1</sup> Schweigert's publication included eleven fragments (A-K), to which can now be added the more recent discoveries as well as several fragments known earlier but not used in the original reconstruction. To avoid undue confusion the letters first used to designate fragments have been retained wherever possible, and the alphabetical series has been continued to include the additional pieces.<sup>2</sup>

Fragment A: three joining fragments preserving the inscribed face with three lines and part of a wreath and the original smooth-picked top; found April 21, 1936, in a modern wall over the southern part of the Late Roman Gymnasium complex (M 14). Height, 0.205 m.; width, 0.65 m.; thickness, 0.088 m.; height of letters, ca. 0.013 m. Inv. no. I 994 f.

Fragment B: four joining fragments preserving a part of two finished faces, all with bits of wreath, no letters; small fragment from forward face found May 19, 1953, in a Turkish well west of the East Stoa (O 14); central fragment from left face found August 1, 1959, in a marble pile south of the Odeion (M 14); finding places of other fragments not recorded. Height, 0.23 m.; width, 0.57 m.; thickness, 0.17 m. Inv. no. I 994 j.<sup>3</sup>

Fragment C: three joining fragments preserving the lower part of two wreaths and the smooth-picked bottom of the base; right-hand fragment found March 24, 1952, in a late wall north of the Church of the Holy Apostles (O-P 15), finding

<sup>1</sup> This study originated from an inquiry sent by A. G. Woodhead to the Agora, and owes much to his kindness and generosity. Thanks are also due to Eugene Vanderpool, B. D. Meritt, Evelyn Harrison, and to Alison Frantz for photographs. The physical and epigraphical description and commentary are principally the work of Colin Edmonson, while Anne Pippin Burnett is chiefly responsible for the historical section.

<sup>2</sup> For future reference, Agora inventory numbers are to be taken from the present publication. Note the error on Plates 11 and 12 where the 944 should in each instance be read as 994.

<sup>3</sup> The fragment which connects the corner piece with the central wreath of the left face was found too late to be included in our photograph, and appears only in the drawing (Fig. 1).

place of other fragments not recorded. Height, 0.18 m.; width, 0.50 m.; thickness, 0.095 m. Inv. no. I 994 i.

Fragment D: two joining fragments preserving three lines on inscribed face and original smooth-picked top; larger fragment found February 9, 1935, in modern house foundations west of the East Stoa (N 14), smaller fragment found March 3, 1937, in a late context northwest of the Odeion (K 8). Height, 0.185 m.; width, 0.127 m.; thickness, 0.177 m.; height of letters in line one, 0.016 m. Inv. no. I 944 d (smaller fragment also catalogued as I 4587 and I 994 g).

Fragment E: three joining fragments preserving two inscribed faces of three and one lines respectively; at the corner the top has been rough-picked for re-use, but very little surface has been lost; elsewhere smooth-picked top preserved; smallest fragment found June 16, 1933, in the fill of the Late Roman Fortification Wall (Q 13); corner fragment found March 5, 1936, in a modern wall over the west end of South Stoa II (L 15); largest fragment (Schweigert's fragment F) found December 31, 1934, in a modern house wall west of the East Stoa (N 14). Height, 0.17 m.; width, 0.48 m.; thickness, 0.14 m. Inv. no. I 994 a (plus I 3710 and I 994 b).

Fragment F: now joined to and treated as a part of E (I 994 b).

Fragment G: inscribed face (one line) and smooth-picked top preserved; found March 18, 1935, in modern foundations west of the East Stoa (O 15). Height, 0.147 m.; width, 0.28 m.; thickness, 0.09 m. Inv. no. I 994 e.

Fragment H: two joining fragments with traces of one inscribed line, a substantial part of a wreath, and original bottom and right edge, both smooth-picked; found January 3, 1935, in a modern house wall over the northern part of the East Stoa (O 13-14). Height, 0.385 m.; width, 0.20 m.; thickness, 0.095 m. Inv. no. I 994 c.

Fragment I: treated with fragment K below.

Fragment J: smooth-picked bottom and two finished surfaces preserved, one with the lower part of a wreath; found with fragment K. Height, 0.22 m.; width, 0.26 m.; thickness, 0.09 m. Inv. no. I 994 l.

Fragment K: four joining fragments preserving parts of two wreaths and original bottom surface, smooth-picked; fragments I, J and K were found early in 1935, in late contexts around the north and west sides of the East Stoa (N-O 13-14). Fragments I and K were both found to join another fragment (of unknown provenance), and a fourth small piece with plain original face and bottom surface joins fragment I; the four pieces as joined are here designated K. Height, 0.375 m.; width, 0.46 m.; thickness, 0.18 m. Inv. no. I 994 k.

Fragment L (Pl. 11, a): two joining fragments with original top and left edge, both smooth-picked, two inscribed lines and most of the top of a wreath; 0.024 m. from the left edge and 0.10 m. from the top is a shallow circular cutting as for a door pivot; smaller right-hand fragment found February 9, 1952, in a modern house



wall at the north edge of Holy Apostles' Street; larger corner fragment found May 22, 1952, in a Turkish pit over the west end of the East Stoa (O 14). Height, 0.22 m.; width, 0.365 m.; thickness, 0.11 m. Inv. no. I 994 h.

Fragment M: badly weathered fragment which preserves the lower part of a wreath, original bottom and left edge, both smooth-picked; found June 15, 1957, in a marble pile northeast of the Odeion. Height, 0.15 m.; width, 0.32 m.; thickness, 0.085 m. Inv. no. I 994 m.<sup>4</sup>

Schweigert restored a rectangular base with three wreaths on each of the three inscribed faces, placing fragment A at the left of the left face. This scheme is now rendered impossible by fragment L, which preserves at the left the uninscribed back of the monument and a part of the top surface, and so must be placed in the upper left corner of the left face. The other two fragments which show the uninscribed back surface can also be placed with certainty: M below L at the bottom left of the left face, and H in the lower right corner of the right face. With these pieces fixed, the structure of the marble itself reveals certain necessary relationships among the other fragments.<sup>5</sup> The foliation plane of the stone inclines down and to the right when viewed from the back of the monument, and consequently any fragment which can be held right side up with certainty can be assigned to its proper face. The foliation dip of D and E places them in the forward face; F goes in the right face and with it G, which belongs in an adjacent position as is shown by the character of the stone and the angle of its fractured surface, as well as the fact that its citation is inscribed at precisely the same distance from the top as the citation begun at the right of fragment F. Fragments A and C belong to the left face, B to the left and front, J to the front and right, and K to the right face.<sup>6</sup> This arrangement places three wreaths and three citations on each of the flanks, and one wreath and one citation, topped by the sculptor's signature, on the front. The base could be expanded

<sup>4</sup> The material is a medium-fine-grained Pentelic marble with a considerable accessory amount of greenish mica; many of the fragments have taken on a distinctive patina of yellowish brown on their finished surfaces. Eight other fragments, mostly from the core of the base, probably belong but cannot be placed.

<sup>5</sup> See N. Herz and W. K. Pritchett, *A.J.A.*, LVII, 1955, pp. 71 ff.

<sup>6</sup> When the fragments were so placed, five new joins were discovered.

At an early stage of this study—before the structure of the marble had been examined carefully and before the discovery of fragment M—it was believed that fragments L, A and B could not be fitted into the same face, and a different reconstruction, conveyed by the writers to Woodhead, is cited in his useful new book, *The Study of Greek Inscriptions*, Cambridge, 1959, p. 127, note 3, as an example of the need for studying the stones themselves before attempting to reconstruct a monument. The present writers are entirely responsible for Woodhead's citation of this erroneous reconstruction. It should be noted, however, that the error strengthens rather than weakens Woodhead's point (*op. cit.*, p. 69). That fragments L and A do belong in the same face is clear from the photograph of the backs of both stones, Plate 11, b.

indefinitely by the addition of imaginary lost wreaths and citations, but its most economical restoration is with three-wreath flanks and a one-wreath front.<sup>7</sup>

The left face (Fig. 1; Pl. 12, a) gives the best evidence for the length of the two flanks, for it preserves the bottoms of all three wreaths (C and M), the distance between two wreaths (B and C, which can be compared with K on the right face, Fig. 2; Pl. 12, c), and the distance of the wreaths from either edge (B and M). It also gives a minimum distance between wreath tops, since A and L do not actually

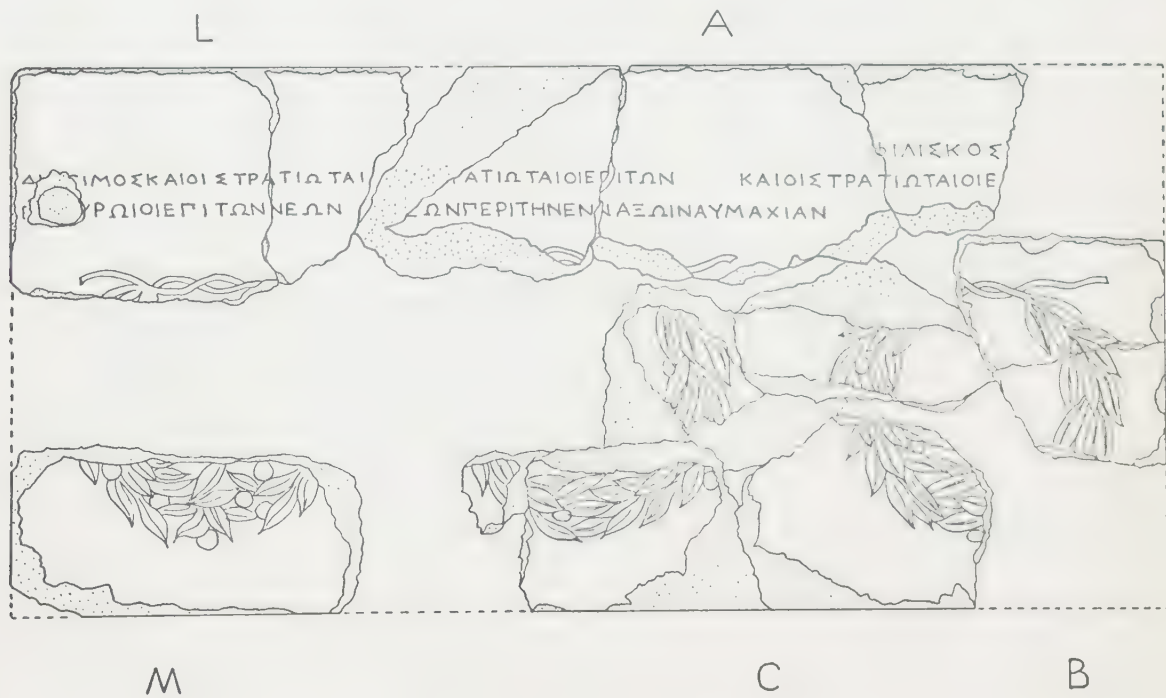


FIG. 1. I 994. Left Face.

join. The full diameter of a wreath cannot be measured exactly and no two are precisely the same size or shape, but if the flanking wreaths are placed equidistant from the center of the slightly higher middle wreath and in the positions indicated by the interwreath spacing shown on B and C, the over-all length of the base can be calculated at *ca.* 1.08 m. A comparison of the measurements of the wreaths and their positions as shown on A, C, B and H indicates that the height of the base was *ca.* 0.52 m., and the front face, restored with a single wreath equidistant from both

<sup>7</sup> The proportions of the resulting base are somewhat unconventional (Figs. 1-3; Plate 12), and it is possible that there was a second wreath on the forward face, which would make its width *ca.* 0.79 m. (see below, p. 90). The three-wreath flank is made quite certain by the fact that the central wreath on the left face is larger and 0.02 m. higher than the other two.

edges, is *ca.* 0.44 m. wide (Fig. 3; Pl. 12, b). If, as is suggested later, this face actually carried a second wreath to the left, its width would have been *ca.* 0.79 m.

The back and bottom surfaces of the block were carefully finished with a tooth chisel. The top is similarly treated but bears no trace of a setting line or of anathyrosis, nor is enough of the surface preserved to show cuttings for a plinth or statue. The fact that this was a statue base is proved by the appearance of a sculptor's signature on fragments D and E: [— — —]ης Σουν[ιεύς ἐ]ποίησε. G. Lippold has suggested that the name Oinades be restored here,<sup>8</sup> comparing an early 4th century

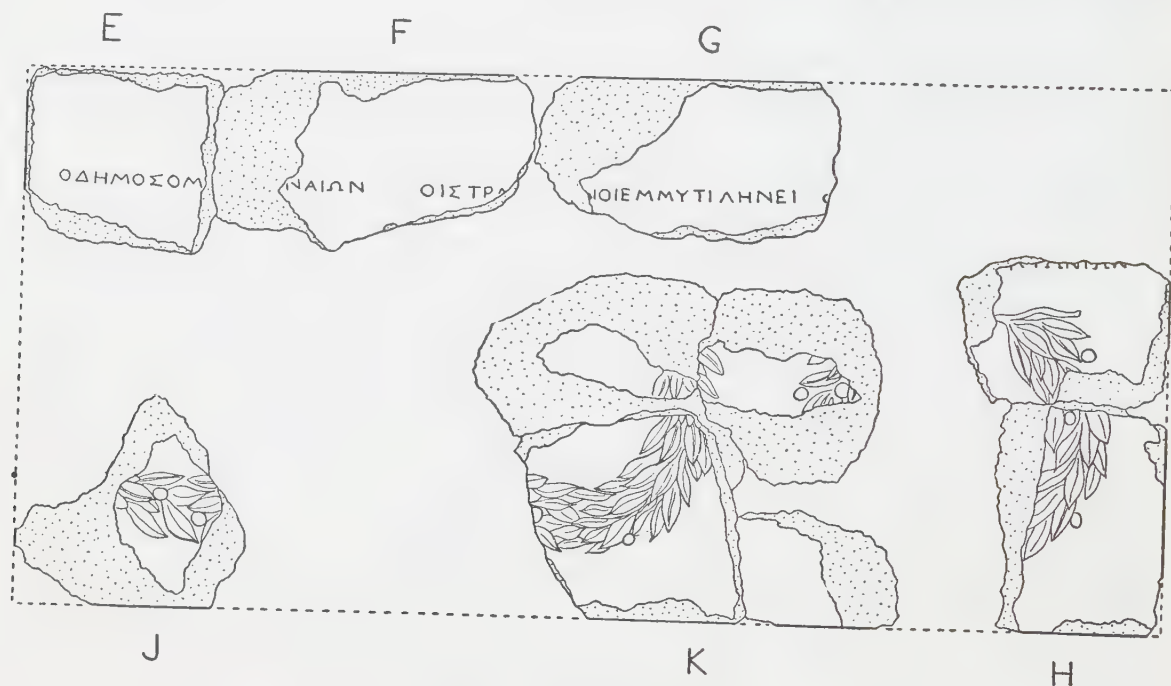


FIG. 2. I 994. Right Face.

statue base from the Acropolis signed, Οἰνάδης Σουνιεύς Ἐπιχάρης ἐποίησαν (*Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 343). But it is almost certain that Sounieus in the Acropolis signature is not a demotic but the name of a third sculptor, and Lippold's restoration must be rejected.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *Griechische Plastik* (Otto von Herbig, *Handbuch der Arch.*, III, 1), 1950, p. 244.

<sup>9</sup> The only known sculptor from Sounion is Hermippos, who worked in the early second century B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4282, 4283). The name Oinades is known only from the Acropolis signature and the "Sandwich Marble," *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1635, lines 23 and 133, where it is Tenian, and this, together with the fact that the name Souniades (though not Sounieus) is common on Tenos (Index to *I.G.*, XII, fasc. 5), suggests the possibility that the three Acropolis sculptors were from that island, perhaps brothers. If so, Meritt suggests that the Agora signature might be read [Οἰνάδ]ης (*vel* [Ἐπιχάρ]ης) Σουν[ιεύς ἐ]ποίησε. The second name might be either the patronymic or the demotic in any case.



The inscription itself offers almost no difficulties in reading. Schweigert's restorations in fragments E, F and G are wholly convincing, and the letters preserved on fragment H, which he read as [Σι]κυωνίων, do not seem to permit any other completion. A. Wilhelm has now pointed out that the citation on fragments D and E

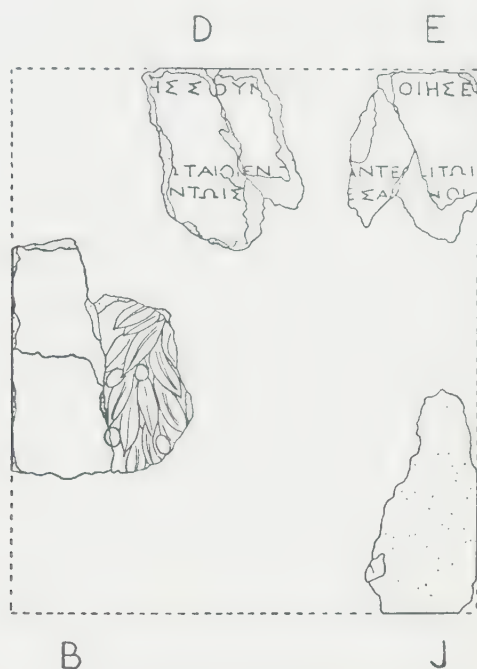


FIG. 3. I 994. Front Face.

can be read as a reference to that Aianteion which Strabo places near Rhoiteion, on the Hellespont.<sup>10</sup> The new fragment L lends itself to certain restoration, since, of place names in -υρος, only Syros will fit the space.<sup>11</sup> The restoration ἐ[ν Ἀβύδωι] on fragment A is discussed below.

#### LEFT FACE

(L)

Δι[ό]τιμος καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται [οἱ]  
ἐ[ν Σ]ύρωι οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν

CORONA

(A)

[οἱ στ]ρατιῶται οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν  
[ν]εῶν περὶ τὴν ἐν Νάξωι ναυμαχίαν

CORONA

Φιλίσκος

καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ ἐ[ν Ἀβύδωι]

CORONA

<sup>10</sup> *Anzeiger Öster. Akad.*, LXXXIV, 1947, pp. 190 ff. The spacing of the letters on fragment E makes the restoration [Αἰ]αντεῖον more likely than Wilhelm's [Αἰ]αντέων, which was based on the published text.

<sup>11</sup> Nisyros seems a possibility, but it would force the reading of [ἐν] at the end of the first line, which the close proximity of fragment A will not allow.

## FRONT FACE

(D)

(E)

[---]ης Σουν[ιενς ἐ]ποίησε

[οἱ στρατι]ῶται οἱ ἐν τ[ῶι Αἰ]αντε[ί]ωι τῶι

[ἐν Ἑλλησπό]ντι σ[υμμαχ]εσά[με]νοι

CORONA

## RIGHT FACE

(E)

(F)

(G)

(H)

ὁ δῆμος ὁ Μ[υτιλ]ηναίων

οἱ στρα[τιῶτ]αι οἱ ἐμ Μυτιλήνῃ

ο[ἱ στρατιῶται οἱ <sup>ca. 8</sup>]

CORONA

CORONA

[<sup>ca. 12</sup> Σι]κυωνίων

CORONA

The wreaths of the Agora base are the first example of a convention which was to become a commonplace by the end of the fourth century B.C. They represent actual honorary wreaths granted by the groups of men listed; they are used here, however, not merely as symbols but as a decorative motif of remarkable elegance. Unlike the wreaths of the later honorary stelai, at best incised and often mere scratches to indicate where leaves should be painted,<sup>12</sup> these are fully sculptured in relief. They are evidently of olive, like the crowns granted by the demos to the heroes of Phyle in 403 (Aeschines, III, 187). The monument is plainly honorary, but none of the preserved headings names the recipient of these honors.

The central heading of the left face holds the clue to the identification of the base, for here, in the position of donors, are listed the soldiers on the ships at the battle at Naxos. Chabrias was the victor of Naxos, and it is almost inconceivable that the full force of the men who fought there—a large number, and citizens, according to Xenophon (*Hellenica*, V, 4, 61)—would have united to honor anyone else. If the other citations can be shown to have a plausible connection with Naxos and with Chabrias, this can be taken as the base of a statue in his honor; if not, then this citation by the men of Naxos will become the chief problem of the base. Whatever the occasion, the base was inscribed sometime after September, 376.<sup>13</sup>

On fragment L, Diotimos and the men on the ships at Syros appear, honoring the recipient of the statue. Diotimos had served with Chabrias as captain of mercenaries at Corinth in 389/8 (schol. on Aristeides, *Panath.*, 172, 3-4; Dindorf, III, pp. 274-275), and in the following year, with Iphikrates, he had commanded the Athenian fleet then blockading the Spartans at Abydos (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, V, 1, 25). It was probably in the same period that he held command of a convoy for grain

<sup>12</sup> See S. Dow, *Prytaneis*, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, 1937, p. 20.

<sup>13</sup> Plutarch, *Phokion*, 6; *Camillus*, 19; *de glor. Ath.*, 349; see K. J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, III, 1, p. 152; III, 2, p. 234.

ships (Polyainos, V, 22, 1), and was falsely accused of withholding 40 talents, paid by the merchantmen for state protection (Lysias, XIX, 50). He seems to have served under Chabrias at Naxos, for one of the maneuvers of that battle, at first loosely attributed to Chabrias by Polyainos, is later cited as an example of the tactics of Diotimos (Polyainos, III, 11, 3; cf. V, 22, 2).

According to Demosthenes (XX, 77), Chabrias after the battle at Naxos brought most of the Cycladic islands into the Athenian sphere, making friends of those who had been enemies. He sent Phokion off to visit the islands that were already allies (Plutarch, *Phokion*, 6), and he himself apparently visited others on the voyage back to Athens. The advantage won by the battle would be only momentary unless the islands were tied into the system of Athenian alliances;<sup>14</sup> in fact, more than diplomacy was needed to keep the grain route open, since Aigina and Naxos still offered possible bases for Spartan operations.<sup>15</sup> The Agora base proves that a small Athenian force of men and ships was based on Syros soon after the battle at Naxos, and it is likely that Chabrias established Diotimos and a group of mercenaries there before himself leaving the Cyclades.<sup>16</sup> That these men should honor Chabrias is natural (he would have arranged for their pay), as the other examples of garrison honors to a commanding general show.<sup>17</sup>

The next four citations seem to belong to a Hellespontine and Lesbian expedition, and such a voyage is commonly attributed to Chabrias in the spring and summer of 375.<sup>18</sup> Diodoros reports that Chabrias was operating with a fleet off the Thracian

<sup>14</sup> G. Busolt, *Der zweite Athenische Seebund*, Leipzig, 1874, p. 757, supposes that Chabrias stopped at Oliaros, Seriphos, Syros and Kythnos. S. Accame, *La Lega Ateniese del secolo IV a.c.*, Rome, 1941, p. 78, follows a chronology of his own in which all the Cycladic members listed on face A of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 43 entered the League before the battle at Naxos.

<sup>15</sup> Busolt, *op. cit.*, p. 758, has shown that the one doubtful piece of evidence for the conquest of Naxos at this time, Ampelius, *Lib. mem.*, 15, cannot be accepted. The siege was evidently a difficult one and not likely to be taken up again by a crippled fleet (Diodoros, XV, 35, reports 18 triremes lost) laden with trophies and injured men. If Naxos had been taken it would have been a success almost as great as the defeat of the Lakedaimonian fleet, yet left unmentioned by both Xenophon and Diodoros. Naxos probably joined the League of its own accord, in the wake of the other Cycladic islands (F. H. Marshall, *The Second Athenian Confederacy*, Cambridge, 1905, p. 60). Beloch, however, believed that the island had been previously a member of the League and had revolted (II, 1, p. 242), and he is followed by Accame, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-82, 86, who offers as his only evidence the "bitterness" of Chabrias' siege and the fact that Naxos was shown as in arrears on the Marmor Sandwicense (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1635, line 119).

<sup>16</sup> The fact that the soldiers are identified by the name of their captain indicates that they were probably mercenaries; thus Nepos, *Iphicrates*, 2, 4, speaks of the *Iphicratenses*. This appears to have been the regular practice in Attic inscriptions at a later period: *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1299, line 42; see H. W. Parke, *Greek Mercenary Soldiers*, Oxford, 1933, pp. 21, 77 f.

<sup>17</sup> For example, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1281; 1286; 1310.

<sup>18</sup> Busolt, *op. cit.*, p. 761; Beloch, III, 1, p. 154; G. Glotz and R. Cohen, *Histoire grecque*, III, p. 134; H. Berve, *Griechische Geschichte*, II, p. 101.



coast at that time, and that he rescued the city of Abdera from threatening barbarian tribes (Diodoros, XV, 36).<sup>19</sup> And Abdera appears among the members of the Second Athenian League, just after Kerkyra, standing at the head of a group of Thracian cities (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 43, face B, line 3). If the Hellespontine and Lesbian members which follow later in the list were the fruits of the same expedition, then it will not be hard to interpret the wreaths of the men at the Aianteion, of the mercenary captain Philiskos and his soldiers, and of the garrison and demos of Mytilene, but the theory that Chabrias made such a voyage must be argued a little, for it is not universally accepted.

Those who hold that the Thracian, Hellespontine and Lesbian allies did not enter the League as a result of visits by Chabrias in 375, connect their adherence instead with the events of 373, when Timotheos was unsuccessfully trying to man and equip a fleet for the relief of Kerkyra (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, VI, 2, 11-14; Diodoros, XV, 47, 2-4).<sup>20</sup> By implication, then, they accuse the Athenians of two years of blind inactivity in the Aegean—the advantage of Naxos forgotten and the victorious general unoccupied. It is indeed possible that Timotheos went to Thrace in 373<sup>21</sup> (although it is improbable that he went further, since he returned to Athens at least by mid-summer), but a general pressed for time and in search of crews turns to cities and rulers already friendly before he sets out to make new alliances. Timotheos' expedition to the north, if he made it, suggests that Athens already had allies in this region, made at a time when she seemed powerful and victorious, and not in the desperate months when the Spartans were on Kerkyra, the Sicilian fleet had set sail, and the Athenians were still unable to move. A further reason to doubt the Timotheos hypothesis is that the peace of 374, so favorable to Athens that the Spartans jumped at a chance to break it,<sup>22</sup> is very hard to explain if the Thracian and Hellespontine allies had not already entered the Athenian League. And finally, the League charter

<sup>19</sup> Diodoros' account is interrupted by a false report of Chabrias' assassination (suspiciously like that of Thrasyboulos), but this is an isolated error in a narrative otherwise orderly and credible. Chabrias in fact lived on for 19 years, and Diodoros gives an accurate notice of his death at XVI, 7, 4.

<sup>20</sup> Schaefer, *Demosthenes*, I<sup>2</sup>, pp. 58-59; H. Pistorius, *Beiträge zur Geschichte von Lesbos in IV Jhdt. v. Chr.*, Bonn. 1913, p. 39; Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 69; Woodhead, *A.J.A.*, LXI, 1957, p. 370.

<sup>21</sup> Jason's vaunted penestae (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, VI, 1, 11) may have drawn him at least to Thessaly in search of rowers. Xenophon says that he went "to the islands," which usually means the Cyclades; Diodoros specifically says Thrace, but his entire treatment of the events of 373 is filled with falsehoods, and it is evident that he was following an apologetic life of Timotheos (perhaps the same source which influenced Plutarch, *de glor. Ath.*, 8, where Timotheos is falsely credited with the taking of Histiaia). Diodoros reports a triumphant return to Athens, followed by the reinstatement of Timotheos in his command and a grandiose setting forth for Kerkyra, but we know from Xenophon and from Demosthenes that Timotheos barely got off with his life and was deprived of his command and replaced by Iphikrates.

<sup>22</sup> R. E. Smith, *Historia*, II, 1954, pp. 274-288.

stone dictates a chronology in which all its listed members entered the League before the formal adherence of the Zakynthians.<sup>23</sup> This event cannot be exactly fixed in time, but it must have occurred after early summer, 374, when Timotheos returned to Athens, and before the end of summer, 373, when Iphikrates had restored Athenian domination (and the local democratic governments) at the western end of the Corinthian Gulf. The special designation, *Ζακυνθίων ὁ δῆμος ὁ ἐν τῷ Νήλλῳ*, shows that the men whom Timotheos had established on the coast of Zakynthos were still exiles and had not yet been able to return to their city when they entered the Athenian Confederacy (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 43, face B, line 131). The Athenians voted to send aid to these exiles sometime in the late winter or very early spring of 373, as soon as they heard of the success of Mnasiippos, which suggests that the democratic exiles of Zakynthos were already among their allies at that time. Even if the Zakynthians at Nellos entered the League at the latest date possible, the time schedule for the preceding members becomes extremely tight when the Aegean allies are attributed to Timotheos. One is forced to suppose that embassies from eighteen cities (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 43, lines 112-130; see Tod, *Gr. Hist. Inscr.*, II, p. 67) travelled to Athens, were received, and returned with League representatives to administer oaths, and then that those representatives travelled back to Athens to make official notification, and finally that the stonecutter did his work, all in a single summer. It is far more satisfactory to believe that the members listed on the lateral face of the charter stone were garnered by both Chabrias and Timotheos on their separate expeditions to west and east in 375, and that the Zakynthians were inscribed in consequence of the Spartan announcement that the attempted return of the exiles had broken the peace. The names of the new allies were cut in groups and only when the final ratification of League membership was completed; thus it is not surprising that neighboring cities, probably visited consecutively, do not always follow one another in the official list.

If this interpretation of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 43 is correct, Chabrias' voyage of 375 can be conjecturally plotted from one new League member to the next: from Abdera to Thasos, Samothrace, and Elaious, down to Lesbos, and then back through the Cyclades to Athens.<sup>24</sup> Thus the Hellespontine citations on the Agora base should properly be

<sup>23</sup> Woodhead, *op. cit.*, p. 371, note 15, proposed the idea that the Zakynthians might have been inscribed first, and not last, of all the names on the lateral face of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 43. In order to accept this idea one must assume that at the time of cutting the Zakynthian entry the stonecutter was not thinking in terms of a column of any length—in other words, that no other new members were immediately in view. But in fact, since the action at Zakynthos was an episode of Timotheos' return voyage, and an embassy from the exiles could hardly have reached Athens before he himself did, the stone could not possibly have been inscribed before Athens had learned of the adhesion of Kerkyra, Akarnania, Kephallenia, Pronnos, and of Alketas and Neoptolemos.

<sup>24</sup> Busolt, *op. cit.*, p. 766, includes Samos on the basis of a passage in Frontinus (I, 4, 14) which mentions that in an unspecified year the Samians closed their harbor to Chabrias and he got in by a stratagem.

considered first. The adherence of Elaious (on the tip of the Thracian Chersonese) to the League still left the Hellespont only half sure,<sup>25</sup> and the general who had accompanied Thrasyboulos on his Hellespontine expedition in 390<sup>26</sup> was not likely to underestimate the importance of the opposite shore. Wilhelm has shown, on the basis of Strabo, XIII, 1, 30, and Pliny, *H.N.*, V, 33, 125, that there was a heroön of Ajax on that shore near Cape Rhoiteion, and that the citation on the forward face of the Agora base should be read: the soldiers who fought as allies at the Aianteion on the Hellespont.<sup>27</sup> These men were not a garrison; the aorist participle *συμμαχεσάμενοι* refers to one specific time when they fought together. This action took place in the region dominated by Abydos, a city vitally important to the food supply of Athens, as the whole population had learned during the years when the city was in Spartan hands (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, IV, 8, 3-6). It had come under the control of Ariobarzanes soon after he took over the satrapy of Daskyleion in 387 (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, V, 1, 26-28; Beloch, III, 1, p. 94), and he, as he grew more estranged from the King, was showing increasing friendship to Athens.<sup>28</sup> Even before the battle at Naxos the Athenian grain ships met trouble only when they reached the southern tip of Euboea, where the raids of the Peloponnesian fleet began. The continued tolerance of Ariobarzanes was essential to Athens' survival, and it is in the light of this fact that the Aianteion and Philiskos citations on the Agora base can be understood.

Ariobarzanes' most trusted lieutenant was one Philiskos of Abydos, who, incidentally, is the only known Philiskos of this period (*P.A.*, 14430). He was the emissary whom Ariobarzanes sent to Greece to try to negotiate an end to the war against Thebes in 369/8, and to hire mercenary soldiers (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, VII, 1, 27); he was important enough to receive the same honor as the satrap himself when both were granted Athenian citizenship at the request of Timotheos in 367 (Demosthenes, XXIII, 141). In the years that followed this grant, Philiskos was in command of mercenaries at Perinthos, and for a brief moment he controlled the

<sup>25</sup> Elaious was at this time a separate community unconnected with the other cities of the Thracian Chersonese, so that even the Chersonese side of the Hellespont was far from secure at this moment; see Kahrstedt, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Thrakischen Chersones*, Mainz, 1954, p. 26.

<sup>26</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 21; see Kirchner, *R.E.*, s.v. "Chabrias." The expedition of Thrasyboulos (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, IV, 8, 26-30) was almost exactly repeated by Chabrias, except for Byzantium.

<sup>27</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 190 ff.

<sup>28</sup> Five citizens of Abydos received the grant of Athenian proxeny early in the fourth century (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 49). This decree, dated only by its style, could belong to 387 when a pro-Athenian party might have existed in Abydos, but if so the five were honored for an unsuccessful action, for Iphikrates was forced at that time to give up the blockade of Abydos. It is more probable that the decree comes from the early '70's when Ariobarzanes, involved in destroying the remnants of Spartan control in his satrapy (Anaxibios had held most of the Aeolian cities, Xenophon, *Hellenica*, IV, 8, 31), began to pursue an independent foreign policy more favorable to the Athenians. On this proxeny decree, see *Anz. Öster. Akad.*, XIV, 1911, p. 8.



Hellespont, until his outrages and cruelties caused his assassination (Demosthenes, XXIII, 141-142).<sup>29</sup>

At the time of Chabrias' voyage in 375, Ariobarzanes had been called to the south by the border raids which were troubling his territories (Nepos, *Datames*, 14, 4),<sup>30</sup> and Philiskos was the natural second in command to stay at Abydos and watch the coast. He and his mercenaries appear on the Agora base to honor an Athenian in thanks for some service done them; a group of soldiers who were led in a successful skirmish in support of a friendly power on the shore just south of Abydos appear on the same stone to honor the same man. It is reasonable to conclude that the operation at the Aianteion was the service which caused the gratitude of Philiskos, and to restore ἐ[ν Ἀβύδῳ] in the second citation on fragment A. Athens' real aim was to get a foothold in the Hellespont, as she did when a similar benefaction on a much larger scale won Sestos and Krithote as the grateful gift of Ariobarzanes in 366. Chabrias did not have, in 375, so rich an opportunity as Timotheos found in the following decade, but he could ensure the friendship of the satrap and his lieutenant by sending a part of his force to support Philiskos in an engagement against some restive coastal faction, thus putting him in Athens' debt.

Two neighboring citations on the right face of the base list the demos of the Mytileneans and the soldiers based on Mytilene. The formal alliance made in 378/7 between Athens and Mytilene (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 40) had been followed by the entrance of Mytilene into the Second Confederacy as one of its first members (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 43, line 80; Diodoros, XV, 28, 3), and the Athenian fleet probably used the city in the years after Naxos as a repair and supply station.<sup>31</sup> The Mytileneans fought actively beside the Athenians in the war with the Peloponnesian League, and were afterwards honored by the Athenian people for their loyalty (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 107). The appearance of Antissa and Eresos among the new members of the Athenian League listed on the flank of the charter stone (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 43, face B, lines 116-117) indicates that Chabrias visited Lesbos in 375, after leaving the Hellespontine area. While there, he seems to have sailed around to Mytilene, either to establish a garrison or to visit one already organized. The evidence which the Agora base provides for a garrison at Mytilene indicates that the phrase in the Confederacy charter, μήτε [φρορ]ὰν εἰσδεχομένῳ (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 43, line 22), did not mean that there were to be no Athenian garrisons, but that no garrison was to be forced on a city unwilling to receive it.<sup>32</sup> Evidently the garrison at Mytilene was popular enough, as the neighboring citation from the

<sup>29</sup> A Philiskos of Sestos was honored at Athens in 355/4 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 133).

<sup>30</sup> Justin von Prasek, *Geschichte der Meder und Perser bis zur Makedonischen Eroberung*, II, Gotha, 1910, pp. 210 ff.

<sup>31</sup> [Demosthenes], L, 53; see Pistorius, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

<sup>32</sup> Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 17. Diodoros, XV, 38, reports that one of the terms of the peace of 374 was the (surely mutual) agreement to withdraw garrisons.

demos shows, and it seems to have been maintained even in the years that followed the Theban war.<sup>33</sup> The honors of the garrison and demos may have been granted Chabrias in gratitude for a strengthening of the city's defenses (cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1299, etc.).

Only one citation on the base remains to be accounted for: that of fragment H, but it presents great difficulties in interpretation. The opening of the first line can be restored tentatively on the analogy of the other citations as ο[ἰ στρατιῶται οἱ --],<sup>34</sup> and the last word of the second line must be read Σ[τ]κυωνίων. This leaves about eight letter spaces at the end of the first line (there is no example on this monument of a word broken at the end of a line), and about twelve at the opening of the second.

Sikyon had been a member of the Spartan Confederacy for a long time; after that league was reorganized in 377, Sikyon, with Phlius, contributed one division to the allied forces (Diodoros, XV, 31, 2). At the end of the 390's Iphikrates was raiding Sikyon from Corinth (Polyainos, III, 9, 24; Diodoros, XIV, 91, 3), and in 388 Diotimos won a victory against the Sikyonians (*supra*, p. 10), but there are no recorded actions against the city—or indeed anywhere beyond the isthmus—in the decade of Naxos. Wilhelm has suggested<sup>35</sup> that perhaps Athens intervened in the Sikyonian party strife which broke out, according to Diodoros (XV, 40, 4), after the peace of 374. In this passage Diodoros has collected instances when oligarchs, exiled by the increasingly democratic governments of some of the members of the Peloponnesian League, made unsuccessful attempts to reenter their cities. Athens might have aided the government at Sikyon, hoping to draw the city away from Sparta; a commercial treaty with Troizen from the years just following the battle of Naxos is evidence that Athens was using diplomacy to attack the unity of the Peloponnese (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 46).<sup>36</sup> And yet there is not a word of real evidence for Athenian intervention at Sikyon. The strife seems to have been short-lived and insignificant, and Diodoros disposes of the entire affair in a sentence.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Astyphilos died while at Mytilene with Athenian forces some time after 371; he must have been on garrison duty, for there is no question of an expedition against Mytilene in the '60's, and Isaios (IX, 14) remarks that this expedition was, of all his military services, the one from which he had the least to fear.

<sup>34</sup> ο[δῆμος ὁ --] is epigraphically possible, but considerations of space as well as the apparent mention of Sikyon make it extremely unlikely.

<sup>35</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 192.

<sup>36</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 46; see now Woodhead, *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 227 and note 9. There was a second agreement recorded on this stone, made with a city which survives only as [--]N, and Woodhead mentions Sikyon as a possible candidate for restoration.

<sup>37</sup> Beloch, III, 1, p. 174, notes 2 and 4, argues that the strife at Sikyon came only after Leuktra and should be identified with Euphron's brief tyranny. But Euphron's was in name at least a democratic uprising against the oligarchs; certainly Diodoros did not think that the revolution at Sikyon was the same as the Euphronian *coup*, for he describes the latter event with some care in its proper place (XV, 70, 3). It is true, however, that the Sikyonian strife cannot be securely dated in 374, for Diodoros has collected a number of roughly similar episodes from various times and places and treated them as though they all had happened at once.

The explanation of the entry on the Agora base probably lies instead in the fact that Sikyonian ships were in operation against Athens at this time. Sikyon had been an important contributor to the Peloponnesian naval forces raised in the early '70's,<sup>38</sup> and in 371 Sikyon supplied triremes to carry the Spartan army against Thebes (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, VI, 4, 19), but in 374 she was unaccountably missing from the list of cities providing ships for the expedition against Zakynthos (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, VI, 2, 3). It looks as though the fleet of the Sikyonians had been crippled in the preceding seasons, and this is not surprising when we remember that, in addition to the 51 Peloponnesian ships taken at Naxos (the *τριήρεις αἰχμάλωτοι τῶν μετὰ Χαβρίου* of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1606 and 1607), Chabrias took in all 22 more at other times (Demosthenes, XX, 77). The men listed on fragment H may have taken a Sikyonian ship (or ships) while serving under Chabrias.<sup>39</sup> In this case, the citation would be something like ο[ἱ στρατιῶται οἱ ἐλόντες | τὴν τριήρη τὴν τῶν Σι]κωνίων.

Since each honor recorded on the Agora base can be connected with the activities of Chabrias and since the listing of the men who were on the ships at Naxos seems almost to leave no alternative, we may conclude that this was a monument erected to honor that general. It seems at first sight to have been set up by at least seven groups of individuals acting in common, some Athenian and some non-Athenian, some military and some civil. There are such dedications among the garrison decrees of the third century, when citizen and mercenary forces joined with the demos where they were stationed to honor a general with a crown and a statue (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1299, 1304), but in such cases the donors are all in the same locality, where they have enjoyed a common benefaction from the man so honored. Sometimes the joint committee in charge of collecting contributions and ordering the statue is listed with the decree, so that the whole process of cooperative action can easily be followed. In the case of the Agora base, however, it is almost impossible to imagine how groups of men so distant and so dissociated as those listed as donors could even have conceived the idea of raising a common monument, much less how they could have collected funds for it.

A way out of this difficulty is suggested by another of the garrison inscriptions, in which the garrisons of Panakton, Phyle and Eleusis honor Demetrios of Phaleron with a statue (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2971, *ca.* 315/4). The base of the statue has survived, and it too is decorated with wreaths and citations; the first three crowns hold the names of the three donating garrisons, but the others commemorate Demetrios' past honors received from various hands at various times.<sup>40</sup> If the wreaths on the Agora base

<sup>38</sup> C. H. Skalet, *Ancient Sikyon*, *Johns Hopkins Studies in Archaeology*, 1928, p. 34.

<sup>39</sup> Compare a Samian inscription of the late second century in which the men of a single ship honor the commander of their expedition: Stamatiades, *Σαμιακά*, I, 1881, p. 275; see L. Robert, *Rev. Et. Gr.*, XLVI, 1933, p. 442, note 1.

<sup>40</sup> The idea of summarizing honors developed in the fourth century and became a regular practice



likewise represent a summary of recent crowns independently won by the man who now receives or raises the statue, the monument becomes comprehensible. The men on the ships at Naxos, for instance (some six to eight hundred citizens),<sup>41</sup> did not contribute to a cooperative statue after they had returned and scattered throughout Attica; instead, they voted to crown their general immediately after the battle, and that honor was later commemorated on the base of his Agora statue.<sup>42</sup>

This solution seems to create a greater problem, however, for if it is correct we are left without the name of the donor or donors of this base and statue. Fortunately, there are only two strong possibilities: either the statue was set up by the Athenian demos or it was set up by Chabrias himself, that privilege having been granted him by the demos. Chabrias was rich and proud (Hyperides, fr. 137; Plutarch, *Phokion*, 5), and there are a number of very similar monuments of the third and second centuries raised by individuals in celebration of their own honors (*supra*, note 40), but these very parallels demonstrate a significant characteristic which does not belong to the Chabrias monument, for they were all set up in sacred areas. If Chabrias had raised his own statue, he should not have put it in the Agora, but should, like his colleagues, have made it a gift to Athena. The trierarch Hippiskos set up a statue of himself on a base which listed, in a wreath, honors given him by the demos, but he

in the centuries that followed, as the granting of public and private crowns became a habit. Closest in time to Chabrias is an Attic base of about 346 which lists in crowns honors won from the demos by an unknown man when he was taxiarch, from the phyletai when he was gymnasiarch, and from the boule (*I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3201). Five marble thrones in the theater at Rhamnous were inscribed across their backs by a priest of Dionysos who had been crowned by the boule, by his demesmen, by the garrison, and perhaps by a last illegible group; these inscriptions probably belong to the late fourth century (J. Pouilloux, *La Forteresse de Rhamnonte*, Paris, 1954, p. 141, no. 25). Also at Rhamnous the strategos Kallisthenes set up a statue dedicated to Dionysos, on the base of which he listed each separate honor he had won from the boule and demos (*ibid.*, p. 121, no. 9; mid third century). The choregic monument of Glaukon had the flanks of its base decorated with eight wreaths, representing victories at the games and military honors won from the demos (*I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3079, ca. 280/79). A marble plaque with wreaths from the Amphiareion at Oropos commemorates the four different times that the strategos Thoukritos (ca. 270) was honored by boule and demos (*ibid.*, p. 126, no. 12; cf. p. 112, no. 3). A base set up at Delphi by an Athenian strategos ca. 151 carries 25 crowns with headings listed honors from various cities, from garrisons, from men on ships, from the Athenian hippeis, etc. (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 654 A; cf. the stelai of Cassander, L. Robert, *Collection Froehner*, I, 29; *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 653 A and B). Other monuments quote from several honorary decrees: Eudemos of Seleucia, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 644-5 (see Keil and Wilhelm, *Jahresh.* XVIII, 1915, pp. 17 ff.); Nikomedes at Kos, Paton-Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos*, nos. 17-19 (see R. Herzog, *Riv. Fil.*, LXX, 1942, pp. 12 ff.); Asklepiades of Pergamon, *Mon. Ant.*, I, 23 (see Wilhelm, *Sitz. Akad. Wien*, phil.-hist. kl., 179 Bd., 6 Abh., pp. 59 ff.).

<sup>41</sup> Chabrias had 83 ships at Naxos according to Diodoros (XV, 34, 4), about 65 according to Aeschines (III, 222). Each ship was ordinarily manned by 10 epibatai (see *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1951, from ca. 406/5).

<sup>42</sup> For a discussion of honors and dedications made by groups of soldiers in the Hellenistic world, see M. Launey, *Recherches sur les Armées Hellenistiques*, II, Paris, 1950, pp. 1005-1012.

dedicated his monument to the goddess (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4330, a base of the mid 4th century). Images of Timotheos and Konon, set up by themselves, stood on the Acropolis (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3774), and Pausanias saw a statue of Iphikrates just outside the adyton of the Parthenon (I, 24, 7).

On his return from the victory at Naxos, Chabrias was received with great enthusiasm (Diodoros, XV, 35, 2) and was honored by the demos with a statue in the Agora (Aeschines, III, 243) and with a golden crown, which he later dedicated on the Acropolis with the inscription *Χαβρίας ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Νάξῳ ναυμαχίας* (Demosthenes, XXIV, 180).<sup>43</sup> The psephisma granting these honors was kept in the archives, and Demosthenes had it read out in the course of his speech against Leptines (XX, 84), after he had described Chabrias' many services to the state. The idea of setting up an honorary statue as a public reward to a great general was new in the fourth century. The heroes of Strymon had been granted the privilege of dedicating anonymous herms, and Miltiades, when he asked to have his name under his portrait in the Stoa Poikile, was refused (Aeschines, III, 183 ff.). Thrasyboulos had only been given a crown and a stele (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 108). The first man since the tyrannicides to have his statue publicly raised in the market place was Konon, only fifteen years before the honors to Chabrias (Demosthenes, XX, 70). An image of Timotheos was placed beside that of his father, but only after he had returned from Kerkyra (Aeschines, III, 243). Thus the granting of an honorary statue to Chabrias is the second known example of that practice which soon filled the Greek cities with likenesses of generals, benefactors, and conquerors.

The Agora statue of Chabrias was well known because it was an extraordinary piece of sculpture. Lykoleon (*apud* Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 1411b), speaking on behalf of Chabrias, reproached the Athenians for "not even reverencing the suppliant attitude of his bronze image," and an explanation of this phrase is found in both Diodoros and Nepos. In 378/7 Chabrias had turned Agesilaos back from Thebes by ordering his men—mercenaries he himself had trained (Diodoros, XV, 32, 5)<sup>44</sup>—to wait for the enemy each on one knee with his shield resting against the other knee and his spear held in readiness. Despite the fame of Naxos, Chabrias himself was prouder of this victory, and he demanded that the statue which the Athenians raised to him in the Agora should be made to represent him in the posture of a kneeling hoplite (Diodoros, XV, 33, 4; Nepos, *Chabrias*, 1, 3).<sup>45</sup>

<sup>43</sup> D. M. Lewis, *B.S.A.*, XLIX, 1954, p. 45, supposes that this is an invented illustration or an interpolation, but there is no reason to doubt it. We know that Chabrias was awarded a gold crown and that crowns were dedicated to the goddess, but we do not know when such a dedication would be made and therefore cannot insist that Chabrias' crown must appear at a given point in the records of the temple treasury.

<sup>44</sup> Parke, *op. cit.*, pp. 77, 81.

<sup>45</sup> The pose will have been similar to the figure which Furtwängler (*Aigina*, I, München,







cornice, on a foundation step, or on the base itself. The existence of a crowning member is made extremely doubtful (though not impossible) by the finish of the top surface of the base; a step beneath would offer only a very unlikely position for the dedication; thus the base proper provides the most suitable surface for the citation by the Athenian demos, in the place of honor, over a missing left-hand wreath on the forward face. Inscribed in the common fashion, with the first lines high on the stone and in slightly larger letters than those following, it would explain the otherwise somewhat presumptuous size of the sculptor's signature beside it. Large letters reading  $\delta\ \delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \delta\ \text{Ἀθηναίων} \mid \tau\omicron\nu\ \sigma\tau\tau\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\omicron\nu\ \chi\alpha\beta\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$  and  $\sigma\tau\epsilon\phi\alpha\nu\acute{\omega}\sigma\alpha\varsigma\ \delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\eta\nu\ \pi\epsilon\rho\iota\ \text{Νάξου} \mid \nu\alpha\nu\mu\alpha\chi\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$  in letters of the ordinary size would fit a space equal to that occupied by the artist's signature and the Aianteion citation.

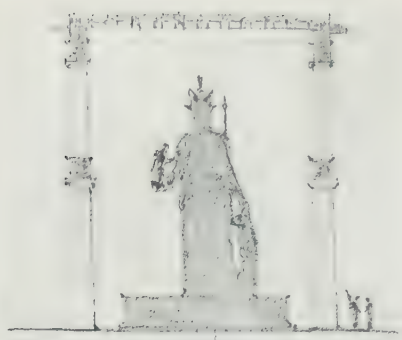
The vote of public recognition for the victory at Naxos, granting Chabrias a crown and a statue, was most likely passed in the fall or winter of 376/5, soon after the return of the fleet. In the following spring Chabrias was sent to gather the fruits of that victory, and by the time he returned at the end of the summer the statue would have been finished or very nearly so, and the base could be cut. At this moment Chabrias seemed to have outdone even the glory of Naxos, and to have restored to Athens the power and preeminence she had known in the time of Perikles. He would have brought back with him envoys from the recovered allies and news of his own fresh crowns. These new achievements were fittingly recognized by covering the Agora base with a wreathed record of his honors, a list that symbolized the strength and popularity of the new Athenian League. It is quite likely that the statue was placed near the charter stone of the Second Athenian Confederacy, which Chabrias had now made worthy of its name.<sup>51</sup>

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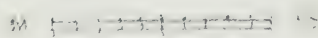
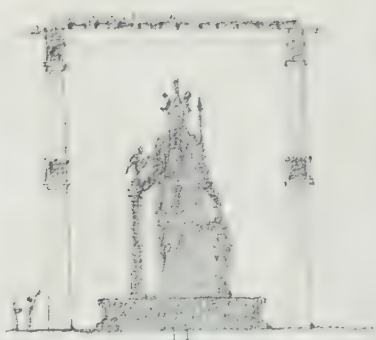
AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

<sup>51</sup> In addition to the inherent probability, E. Vanderpool points out that *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 43, which stood near Zeus Eleutherios, was found in the Late Roman Fortification Wall a little below the Eleusinion; the fragments of I 994, though re-used, were found in the southeast quarter of the Agora, and one from the fill of the Late Roman Wall.

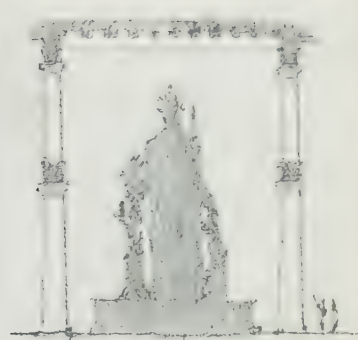




a. No Support under Right Hand.



b. A Column supporting Right Hand, as in Varvakeion statuette.



c. An Olive Tree with Owl in Branches supporting Right Hand.

a, b, & c: Restorations of the Parthenos in the Cella of the Parthenon.



d. Varvakeion Statuette.



e. Lead Tessera (Plaster Cast).



f. Coin of Priene with Copy of Parthenos made for Temple of Athena at Priene.

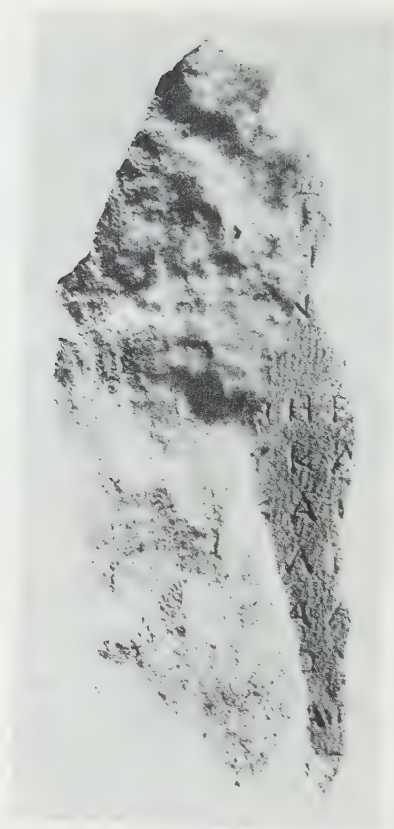


g. Attic Relief.

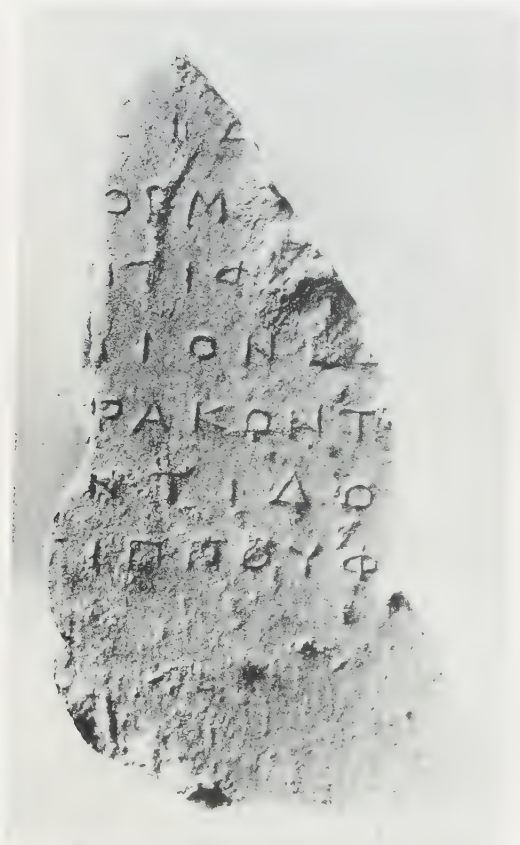




No. 1



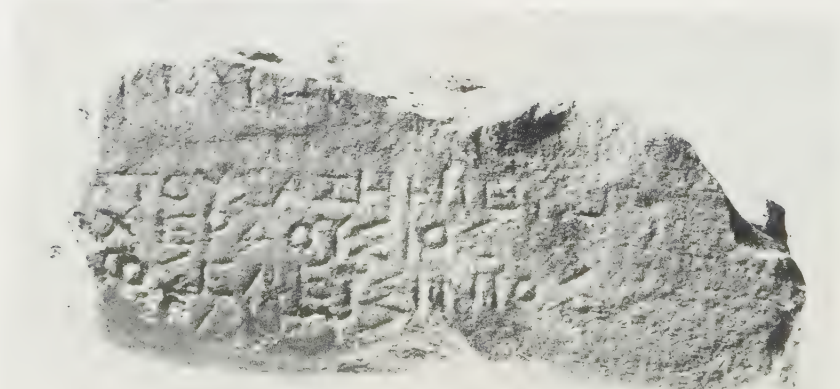
No. 3



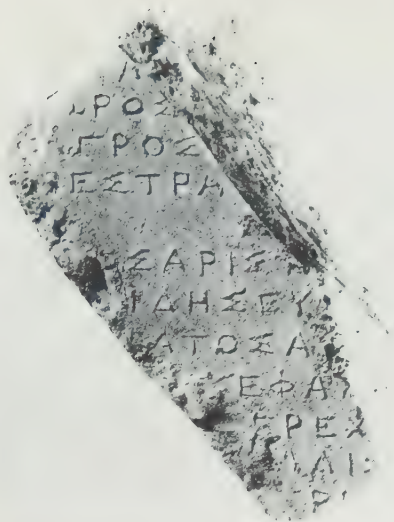
No. 4



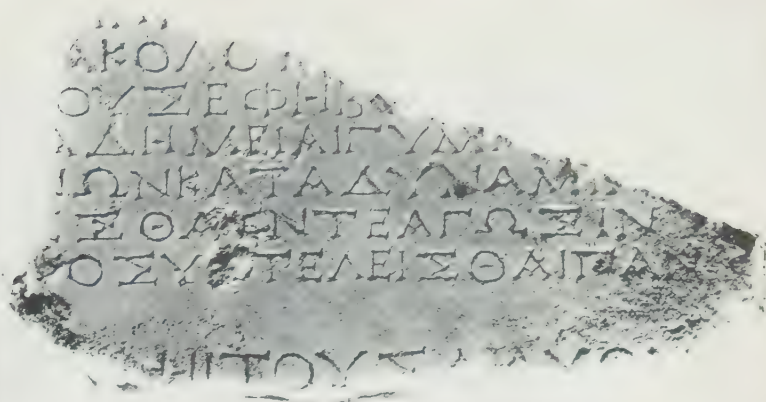
No. 2



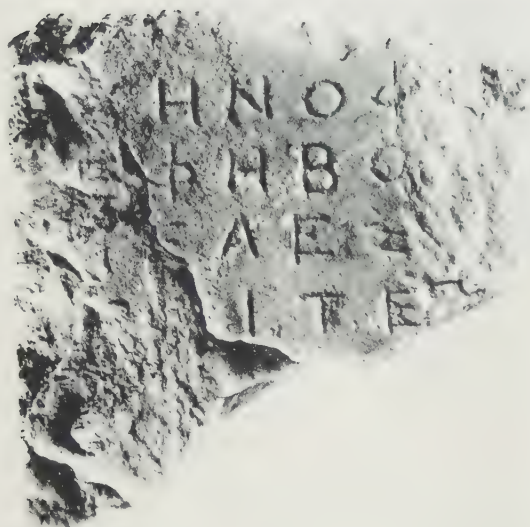
No. 5



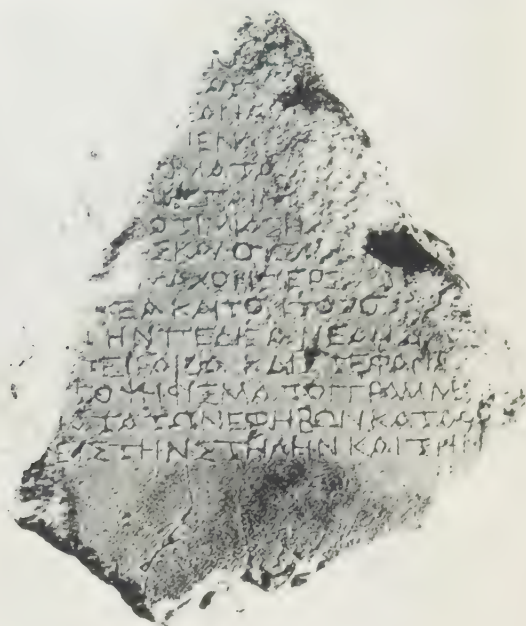
No. 7



No. 9



No. 6



No. 8



No. 11a



No. 11b

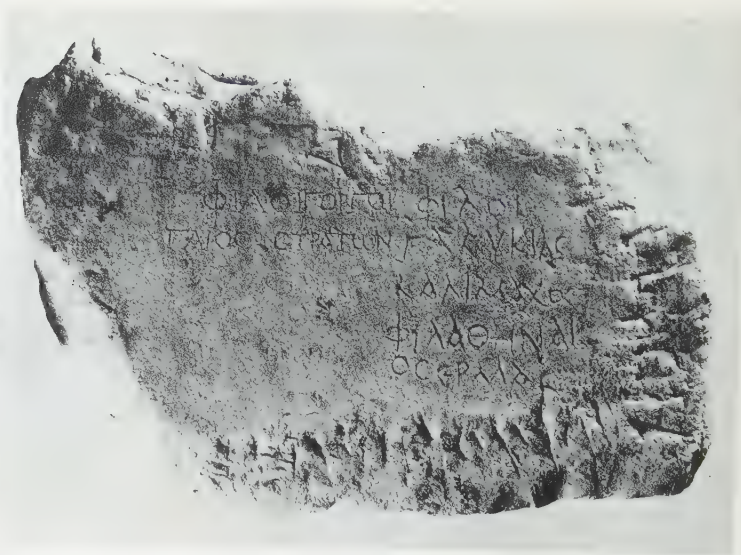
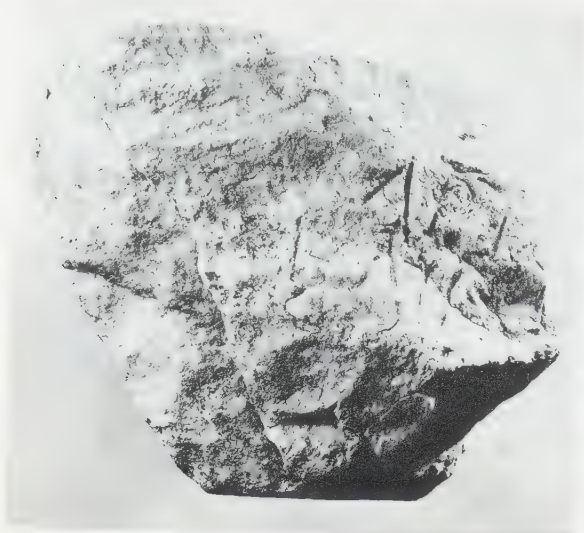


No. 11c



No. 11d

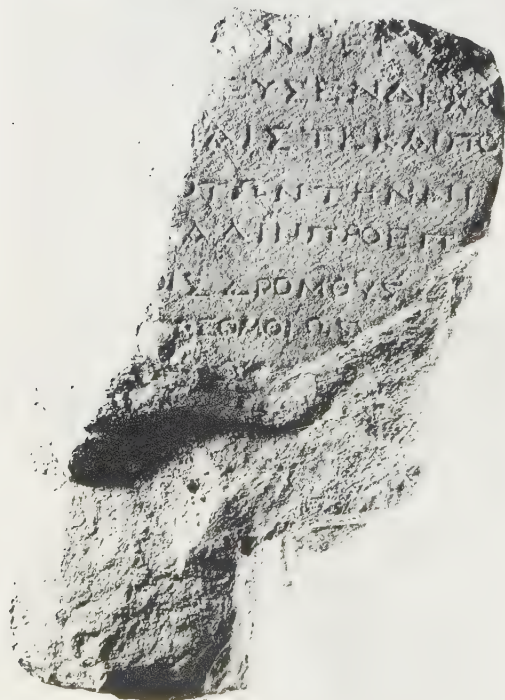




No. 12



No. 13



No. 10



No. 14





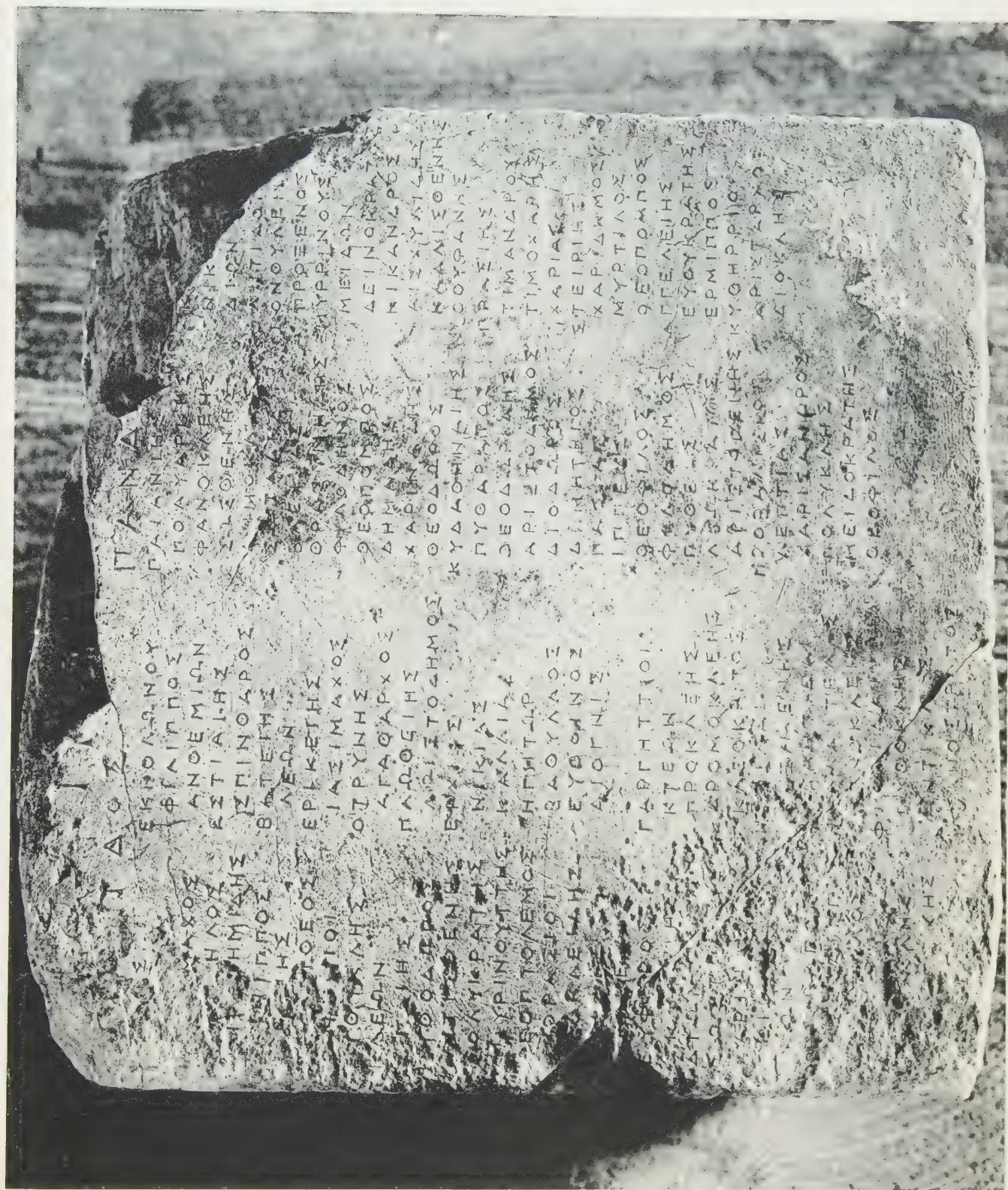


Stele II, fragments *b*, *j* and *f*  
(Photograph courtesy of Dr. George C. Miles)



Stele II, fragment *j*

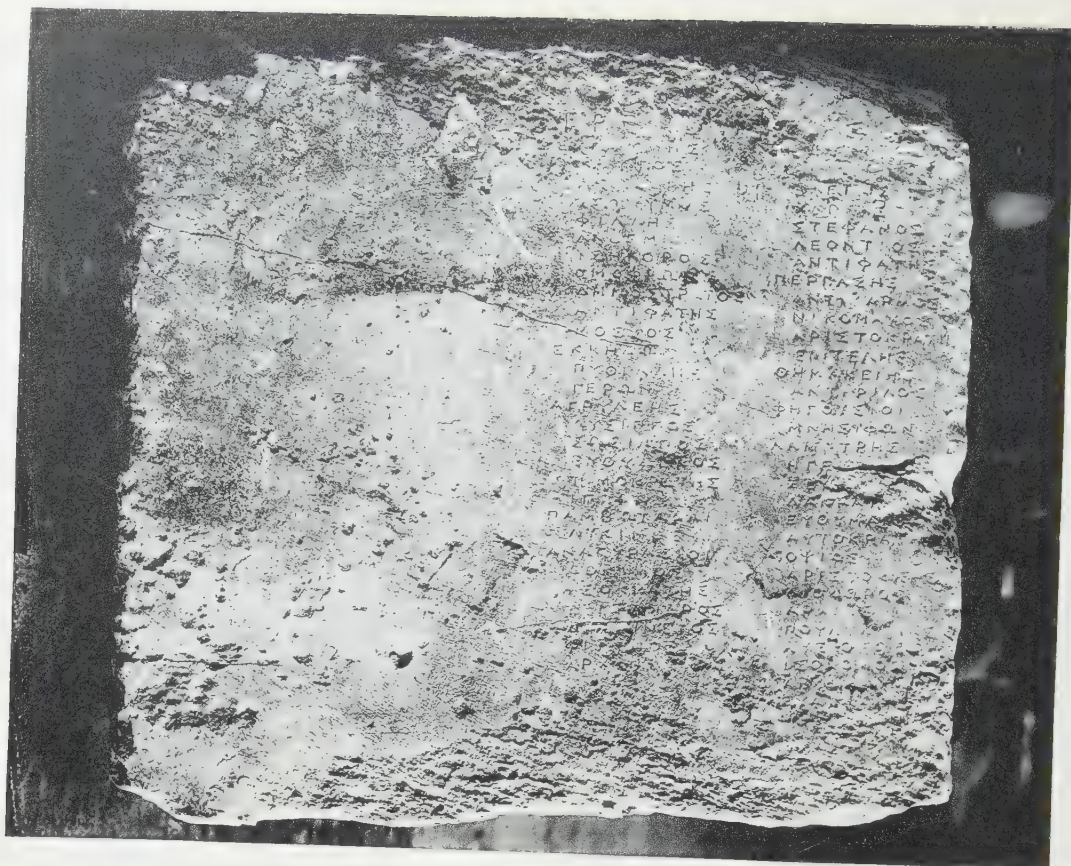




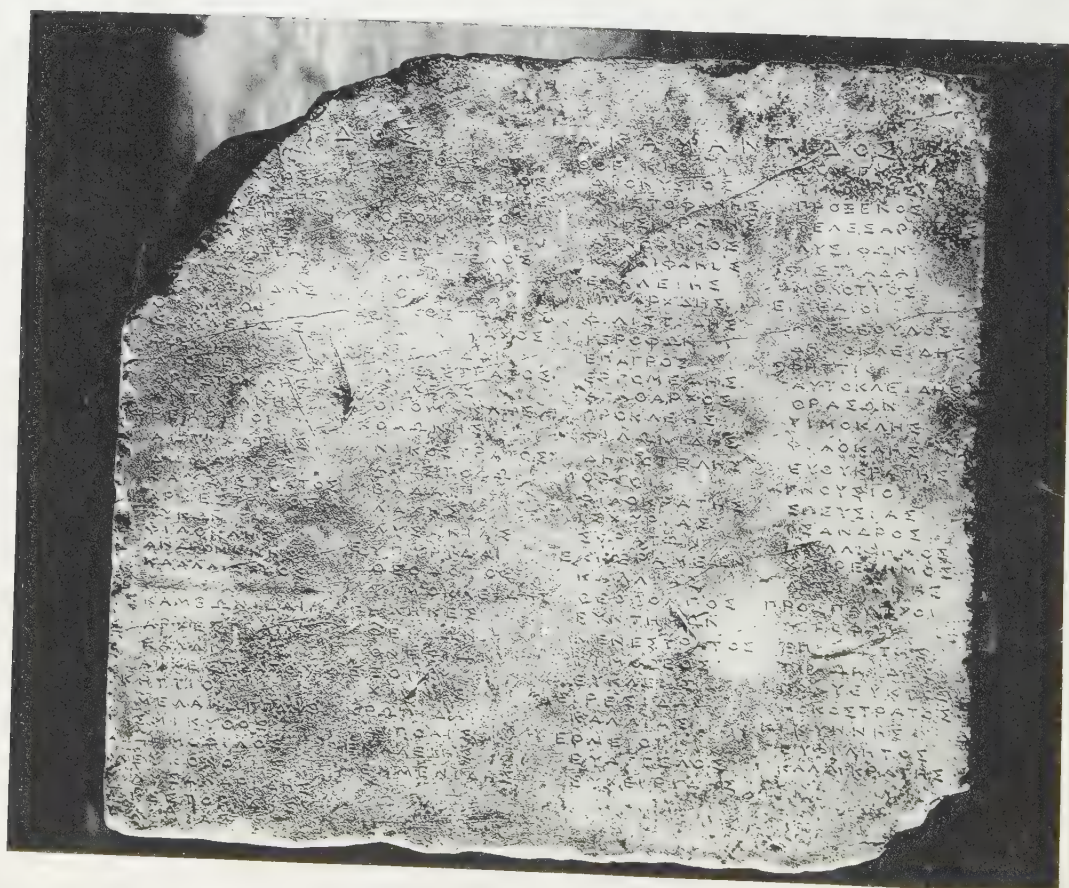
Side B, Front

S. CHARITONIDES: THE FIRST HALF OF A BOULEUTAI LIST OF THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.





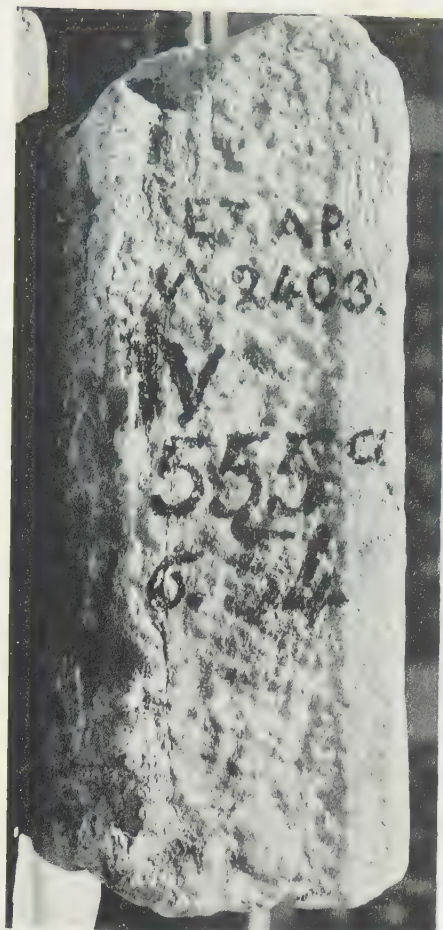
Side A, Left Side



Side C, Right Side

S. CHARITONIDES: THE FIRST HALF OF A BOULEUTAI LIST OF THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.





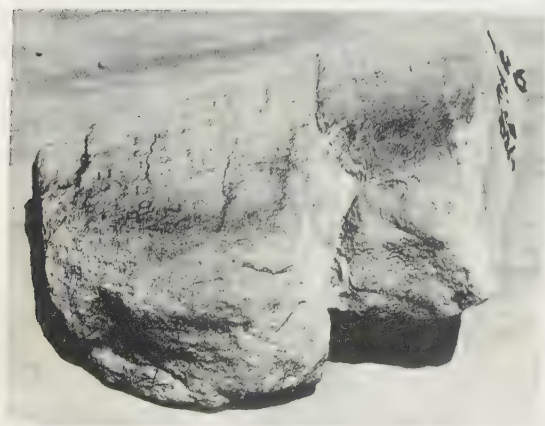
a. Fragment A. Anathyrosis



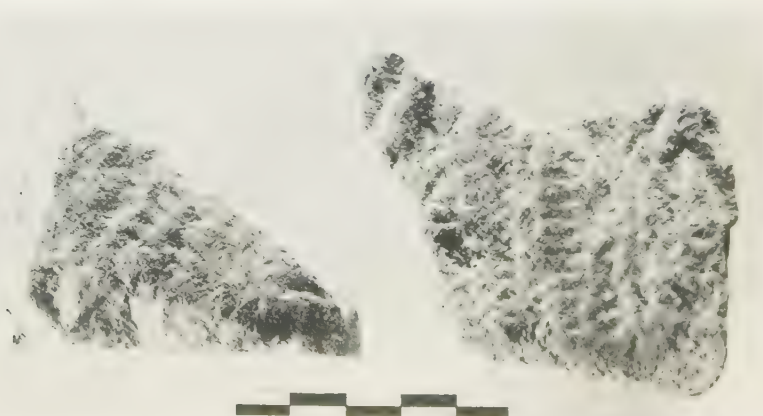
c. Fragment E. Right (anathyrosis) End



d. Fragment E. Back

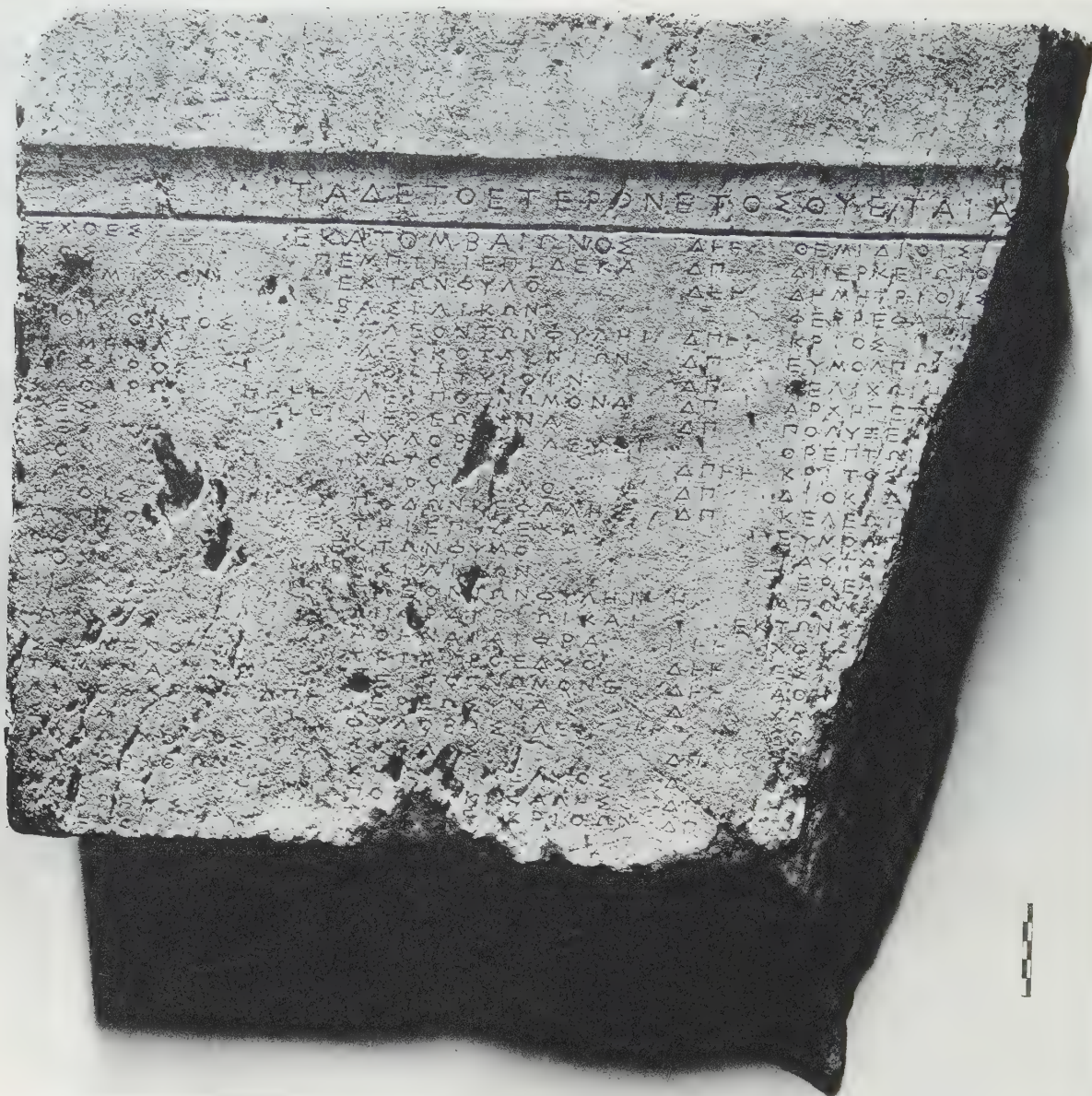


b. Fragment B. Bottom, etc.



e. Fragments H and K. Bottoms





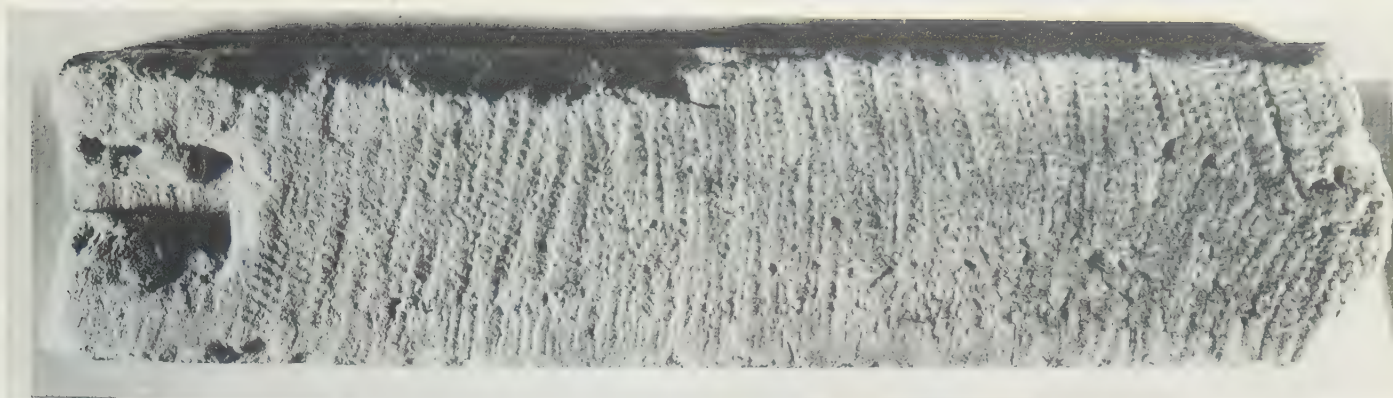
a. Fragment C. Later Side



b. Fragment C. Top, End, etc.

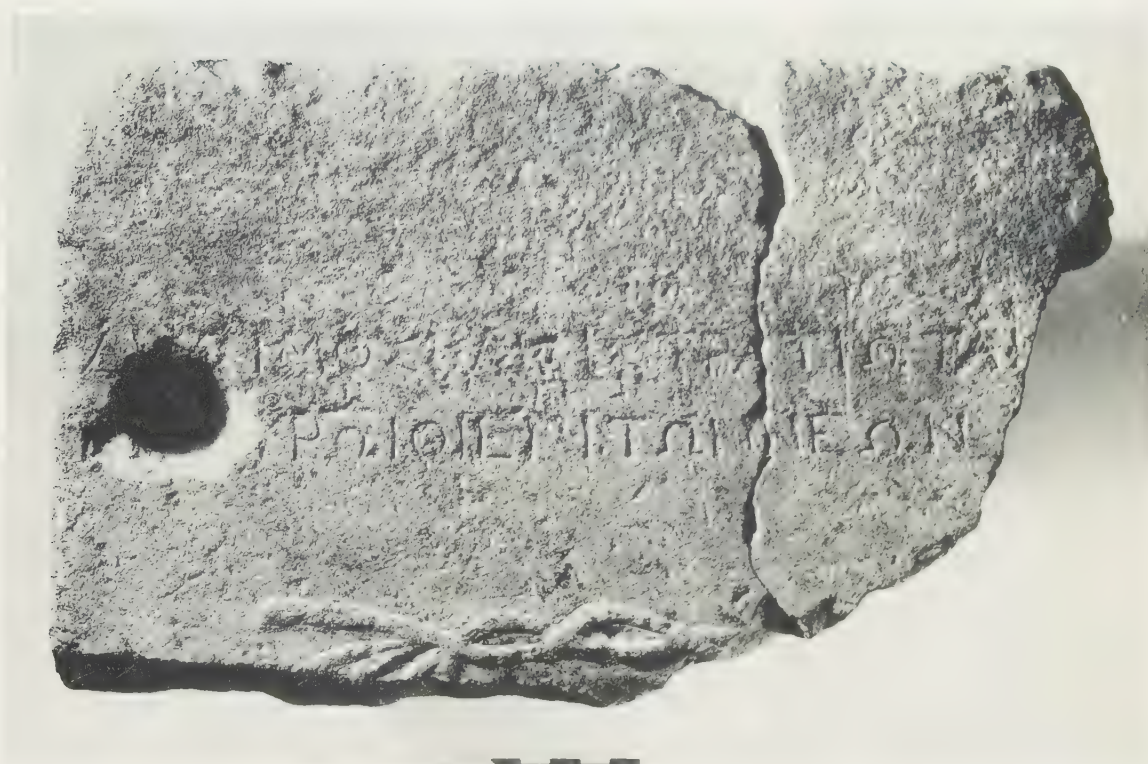
STERLING DOW: THE WALLS INSCRIBED WITH NIKOMAKHOS' LAW CODE





Fragment C. Top

STERLING DOW: THE WALLS INSCRIBED WITH NIKOMAKHOS' LAW CODE



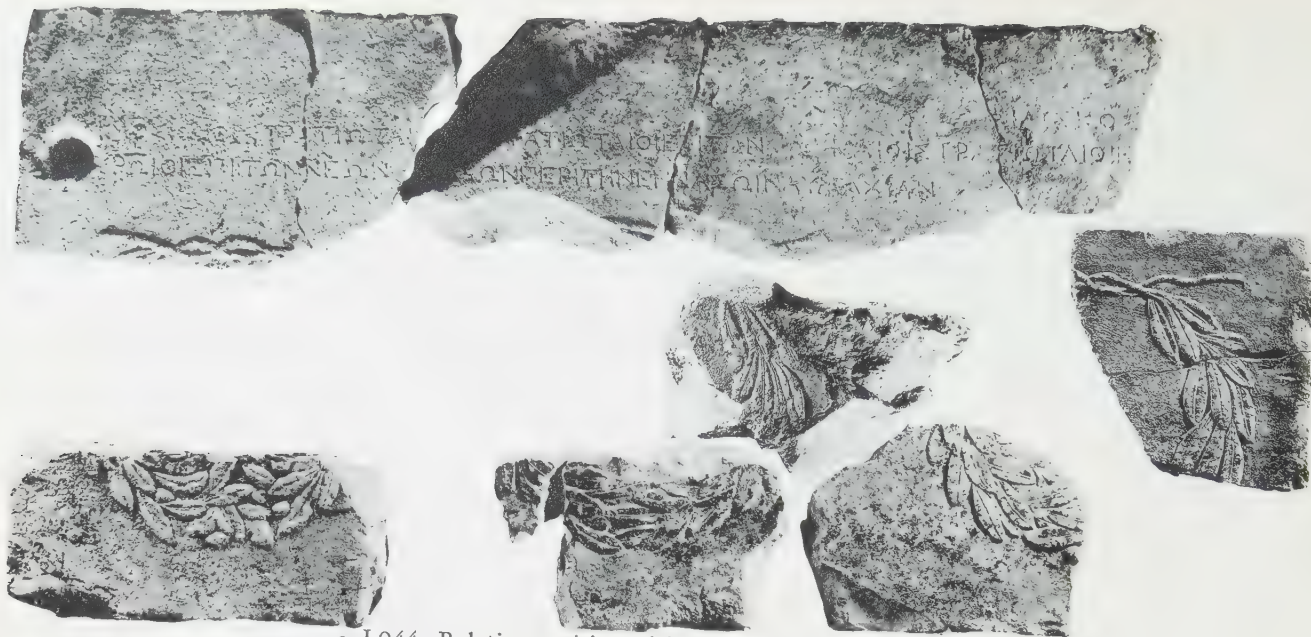
a. I 944 h. Fragment L.



b. I 944 f and h. Backs of Fragments A and L.

ANNE PIPPIN BURNETT AND COLIN EDMONSON: THE CHABRIAS MONUMENT IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA

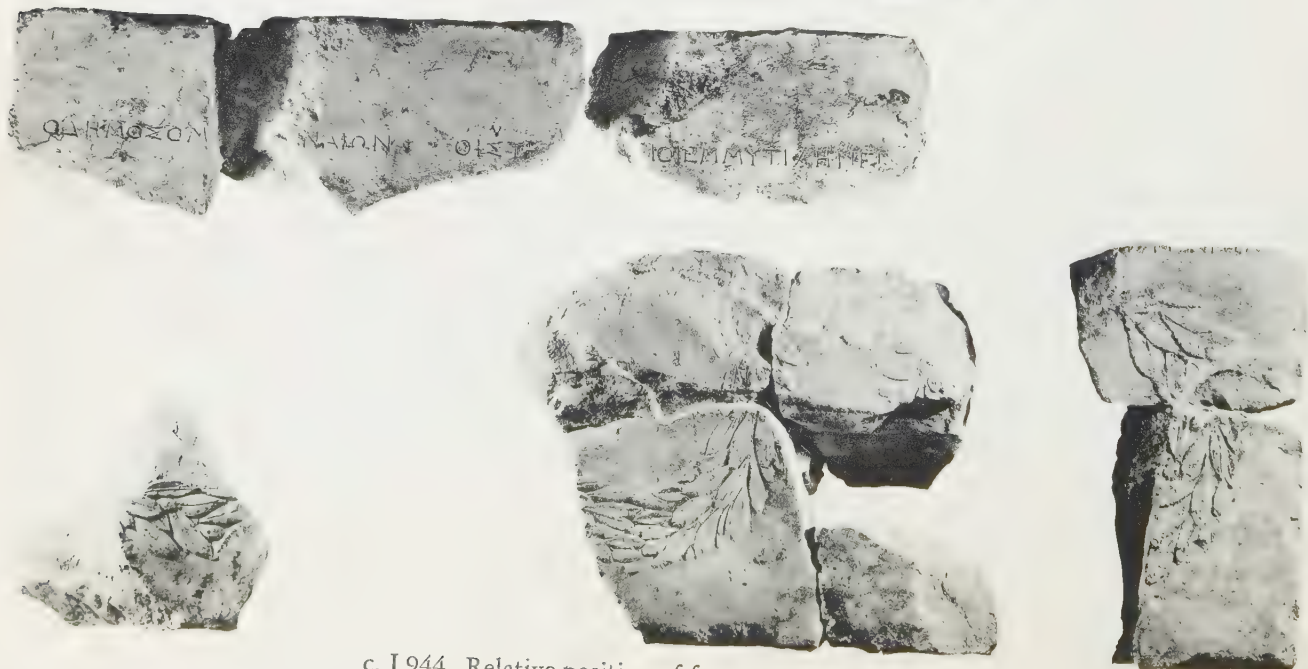




a. I 944. Relative position of fragments in left face.



b. I 944. Relative position of fragments in front face.



c. I 944. Relative position of fragments in right face.

# LATE GEOMETRIC WELL GROUPS FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA

(PLATES 13-23)

HERE are presented the catalogued contents of ten wells of the Late Geometric period found in the Athenian Agora.<sup>1</sup> These wells are here designated I through R and are arranged roughly in chronological order.<sup>2</sup>

## THE LOCATION OF THE WELLS

The wells were scattered widely over the Agora area:<sup>3</sup> along the lower slopes of the Areopagus (B 18:6, L 18:2, Well L), on the Kolonos Agoraios (Well I), and

<sup>1</sup> The work on this material was carried out while I was a member of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton in 1958-1959. The photography was done by M. Alison Frantz.

<sup>2</sup> These letters continue an alphabetical (not a chronological) series, designating 7th century wells, which runs up through H; see E. Brann, "Protoattic Well Groups from the Athenian Agora," to be published in *Hesperia*, XXX, 4, 1961. At the time of writing six other Late Geometric groups, similar in context to those here published, but containing little of additional interest, remain unpublished: Deposits B 18:6, F 15:4, L 18:2, P 14:2, R 10:5, R 12:2.

These short titles are used:

*Agora*, VIII: E. Brann, *The Athenian Agora*, VIII, *Late Geometric and Protoattic Pottery*, Princeton, 1962.

*Corinth*, VII, i: S. Weinberg, *Corinth*, Vol. VII, Part i, *The Geometric and Orientalizing Pottery*, Cambridge, Mass., 1943.

Davison, "Geometric Workshops": J. M. Davison, "Attic Geometric Workshops," *Yale Classical Studies*, XVI, 1961.

Desborough: V. Desborough, *Protogeometric Pottery*, Oxford, 1952.

Hampe, *Sagenbilder*: R. Hampe, *Frühe griechische Sagenbilder in Böotien*, Athens, 1936.

*Hesperia*, Suppl. II: R. S. Young, *Late Geometric Graves and a Seventh Century Well in the Agora*, *Hesperia*, Supplement II, Athens, 1939. (Roman numerals following this reference give the publication numbers of the graves).

Johansen, *V. S.*: K. Friis Johansen, *Les Vases Sicyoniens*, Paris and Copenhagen, 1923.

*Kerameikos*, V, 1: K. Kübler, *Kerameikos, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen*, Vol. V, Part 1, *Die Nekropole des 10. bis 8. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1954, plates and text; (also occasionally, Vols. I and IV of the same series).

"L. G. Grave Groups": E. Brann, "Late Geometric Grave Groups from the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, pp. 402-416.

Matz: F. Matz, *Geschichte der griechischen Kunst*, Vol. I, *Die geometrische und früharchaische Form*, Frankfurt a. M., 1950, plates and text.

"P. A. Well Groups": E. Brann, "Protoattic Well Groups from the Athenian Agora," to be published in *Hesperia*, XXX, 4, 1961.

<sup>3</sup> They may be located on the map in *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pl. 12. The same map appears in the published volumes of *The Athenian Agora* series except Vol. II. The figures before the colon of the grid and group number which is given at the head of each well in the catalogue refer to the grid on these maps.



in the northeast area under the Square Peristyle which underlay the Stoa of Attalos (P 14:1, Wells K, N, P). There was, however, a striking concentration in the center of the later Agora, just to the east and under the Odeion of Agrippa (Wells J, M, Q, R, Pit O). Perhaps the water table was closer to the surface here; the average depth of these last well shafts is certainly less than that of those sunk into the neighboring hills. At any rate, this concentration of shafts is evidence that the population was rather thick in the center of the later Agora area in the latter half of the 8th century B.C.

## CHRONOLOGY

### DATING OF LATE GEOMETRIC: GENERAL

Whereas in the Protoattic period datings within a decade are, if not certain, at least truly indicative of stylistic advances which can be clearly described, for the Geometric period ten-year datings for single objects are far too fine. Dunbabin has shown why the external evidence will bear no closer interpretation than by quarter centuries;<sup>4</sup> this seems to me to hold also for internal, i.e., stylistic evidence, at least as far as any single pot is concerned. In a series, any pot may appear to be much more closely datable. For instance, if there is a series of three pots which appears to belong in the third quarter of the 8th century, the middle one may appear to be dated to June, 737 B.C. Such dates correspond to those achieved by the complicated arithmetic speculations of chronographers; they may be correct, but they are not proved.<sup>5</sup>

Nevertheless, the most hopeful enterprise is to put the pottery into a reasonable order by type and series. For the type-order there is the usual convention of beginning with closed shapes and going on to open ones (both of these separately arranged in the order of their natural dignity, i.e., from essentially large to usually small, from

<sup>4</sup> T. J. Dunbabin, "The Chronology of Protocorinthian Vases," *Αρχ. Έφ.*, 1953-1954 (In Memory of G. P. Oikonomos, Part 2, Athens, 1958), pp. 247-262. New publications of contexts containing Protocorinthian relevant to further study: H. Hencken, "Syracuse, Etruria and the North: Some Comparisons," *A.J.A.*, LXII, 1958, pp. 259-272, pls. 56-71 (republished tomb groups, mostly Syracusan); G. Vallet and F. Villard, "La date de fondation de Sélinonte," *B.C.H.*, LXXXII, 1958, pp. 16 ff. (accepts Payne's dating for Protocorinthian though changing from the Thucydidean date to 650 B.C.); *J.H.S.*, LXXV, 1955, "Archaeology in Greece," p. 20, fig. 17 (sherds from earliest Corcyra); L. Bernabo Brea and M. Cavalier, *Il Castello di Lipari*, Palermo, pp. 71-72, pl. XXI (early tombs from Milazzo). I owe most of these references to Professor T. B. L. Webster.

<sup>5</sup> A revealing result of such precision is indicated by the curiously divergent dates (sometimes over a quarter of a century) for pots from the same grave in *Kerameikos*, V, 1 (e.g. 9th century: graves 2, 3, 74; first half of 8th century: 11, 12, 22, 25, 28, 30, 50, 69, 89), whereas in the second half of the 8th century there is seldom more than ten years' difference within one grave. This contrast has arisen probably because Late Geometric is made very short by moving the beginning of Protoattic back to before 720 B.C., so that there is little elbow room. Clearly the independently established closely dated series for different shapes are not quite correlated.

two-handled to one-handled, from common to rare) and ending with "small finds" and imported pottery. The series-order is established, as usual, by applying certain principles of development to a given pot shape, e.g. skyphoi, such as "becoming lower and broader," or "freer and more careless work," or "introducing a larger proportion of new motifs," etc. These criteria are derived originally: 1) from comparison of groups of finds which have overlapping contents, and of which one is by external evidence known to be earlier, so that the earlier pieces in one can be linked in a sequence to the later pieces of the later group by a middle group of those parallel pieces found in both groups; 2) by analogy from one series, already established, to another; 3) by a general feeling that certain forms and ornaments are further along than others. By now enough of this work of establishing principles of development has been done to make a simple reference to a published parallel a sufficient explanation for placing a pot early or late in a series. But this place is always merely morphological, not chronological, though on a large scale, unless something is very wrong, there will be a good correspondence with the general chronology established from external evidence.

In view of all these factors, the following table of dates seems most likely:

Early Geometric: to 800 B.C.

Middle Geometric: *ca.* 800 to 750 B.C.

Late Geometric: *ca.* 750 to 710 B.C.<sup>6</sup>

(The acme of the Geometric style, i.e. "Ripe Geometric," runs well down into the Late Geometric period).

Early Protoattic: *ca.* 710 to 680 B.C.

(Subgeometric and Phaleron ware begin late in Late Geometric and run through Protoattic).

This table diverges from Kahane's, which however is still fundamental,<sup>7</sup> in two connected items: 1) Kahane's "Ripe Geometric" is left out as a stylistic phase, or rather included as the earlier part of Late Geometric; 2) Middle Geometric, which corresponds to Kahane's Severe Geometric, is taken to fall largely within (rather than before) the 8th century.

These divergences from Kahane's scheme are based on conclusions drawn from new studies in Geometric painter-hands, particularly that by J. M. Davison,<sup>8</sup> and from

<sup>6</sup> After Cook, *B.S.A.*, XXXV, 1934-1935, p. 212.

<sup>7</sup> P. Kahane, "Die Entwicklungsphasen der attisch-geometrischen Keramik," *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pp. 482-483.

<sup>8</sup> Davison, "Geometric Workshops." I have used this article in manuscript throughout. Davison utilizes the attributions of Kahane, Nottbohm, J. M. Cook, Kunze and Villard. Others, like Hahland in *Corolla Ludwig Curtius*, Stuttgart, 1937, pp. 121 ff., pls. 40-43, and Willemssen in *Ath. Mitt.*, LXX, 1955, pp. 21 ff., Beil. 1-8, deal with the figure style as expressions of a spirit rather than as products of a craftsman.

Agora groups.<sup>9</sup> The study of Geometric style as a product of painters and workshops rather than as an anonymous phase has made it clear that the developed Geometric works are distinct in manner rather than in time, particularly that the Dipylon style, which is definitive for the "Ripe Geometric," is an *oeuvre* rather than a phase, though probably earlier or just at the head of the bulk of Late Geometric work.<sup>10</sup>

This whole thesis was, of course, first set out, though somewhat too drastically, by R. S. Young in *Hesperia*, Supplement II.

Late Geometric is here intended to designate mostly small works which have sloughed off the excruciatingly careful craftsmanship seen in the measured zigzags and evenly hatched maeanders of the Middle Geometric period. These Late Geometric pots are made without much application, one feels, and with a flick of the well-practiced wrist, by potters who had many orders to fill. The Geometric routine is perfectly familiar to these people; they know exactly what schemes go with each shape, and they have a ready repertoire of minor variations. Apparently in the earliest decade of the period rich and careful work such as is in evidence in the great Agora grave groups (*Hesperia*, Suppl. II, XVII, XVIII), but absent from the present well groups, leads off and introduces the decorative characteristics of Late Geometric: panels, unit rather than frieze ornament, frequent use of birds and other animals, improvisations on older motifs. The Dipylon master<sup>11</sup> may have produced at this time, though one can imagine him as an apprentice, learning to draw neatly, in a Middle Geometric workshop. The lesser works, such as are found in the present wells, differ from these, which are on Kahane's "Ripe Geometric" level, mostly in quality; they may, indeed, have been made later, or they may be contemporary, but intended rather for a mundane use.

Kahane's true latest Geometric, a "close style," is, even more than in the preceding phase, a matter of distinguishable workshops and hands<sup>12</sup> and perfectly ordinary routine Late Geometric must have been made at the same time; the proof is that in the Agora well groups, though they go down to the Protoattic period, no "close style" Geometric occurs.

In short, one has the impression that the fine figured pots were painted against a Late Geometric background, "Late" Geometric here taken as enlivened and progressive, and since "lively" and "geometric" are contradictory terms, this style may be expected to dissolve quickly once it loosens up.

The present Agora groups indicate further that Middle Geometric pottery was

<sup>9</sup> E.g. Middle Geometric wells L 6:2, H 15:1 (to be published shortly); grave I 18:1 (*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. XLI, 1).

<sup>10</sup> See also "L. G. Grave Groups," pp. 403, 413-414 where this contemporaneity is pointed out.

<sup>11</sup> *Jahrb.*, LVIII, 1943, pp. 1 ff.; Davison, "Geometric Workshops."

<sup>12</sup> J. M. Cook, "Athenian Workshops around 700," *B.S.A.*, XLII, 1947, pp. 139 ff.; Davison, "Geometric Workshops."



not produced in quantity and that it did not differ greatly from Late Geometric in appearance; they even suggest that this "severely" decorated pottery is merely one workshop's product intended to meet the demand for a ceremonial ware.<sup>13</sup>

In other words, it appears that Geometric works are too closely interconnected to allow a very highly differentiated table of phase sequences; by the same token it seems unlikely that the sub-phases can be reckoned in generations. The lower dates suggested by these considerations are supported by Desborough's findings in his study of Protogeometric and Early Geometric pottery; it is possible that Protogeometric continues into the 9th century.<sup>14</sup> This creates the problem of a vacuum in the 10th century; the Submycenaean dates may have to be brought down to meet it. I would like, however, to suggest that the establishment of this or that absolute chronology is by no means to be insisted upon, especially since aid in the solution of these problems may be expected soon from modern science. The archaeologist's task will continue to be the provision of a cogent stylistic picture, and this is our primary aim in the interpretation of the Agora material.

#### THE DATES OF THE WELL GROUPS

The bulk of the pottery from the wells is Late Geometric but not of the very earliest and dates from *ca.* 740 to *ca.* 710 B.C. The wells L, M, N are almost entirely composed of material of this period. These are therefore lettered to come in the middle of the sequence.

The very beginning of Late Geometric, which according to the last section includes the acme of the Geometric style, is not present in great quantity: **J 2, K 4, I 16, I 19, I 22, I 62, I 64, L 21, O 16.** There are a number of Middle Geometric pots, most of them found in Well I and one in Well J, which are therefore listed first: **I 1, I 7, I 17, I 18, I 26, I 29, J 4.**

<sup>13</sup> That "Severe" or Middle Geometric was decorated by only a few painters, perhaps even by a single artisan, seems to me to be indicated by the fact that the three clearly Middle Geometric figure scenes known to me could very easily be by the same hand (Eleusis skyphos, *Festschrift Bernhard Schweitzer*, Stuttgart and Cologne, 1954, pl. 2, 1 and 2, also Matz, pl. 7; New York krater, *Bul. Metr. Mus. Art*, XXIX, 1934, pp. 169 ff.; Athens stand, *C.V.A.*, Athens 2, pl. 14, 2). These figures show the same settings and make-up as those on undoubtedly late pots; cf. the ship on the Eleusis skyphos with that on the Copenhagen oinochoe (*C.V.A.*, Copenhagen, III H, pl. 73, 4), the hose-like arms of some of the figures on the New York krater with the Athens oinochoe (*A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pl. XXIII, 2).

An unbiased look at the Middle Geometric figures shows that they have all the burly muscularity and mobility of Late Geometric works such as the kantharos, *C.V.A.*, Copenhagen, III H, pl. 73, 5 (subgeometric, *pace* 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1953-1954, Part 1, Athens, 1955, p. 171, n. 1); the Tübingen oinochoe, Matz, pl. 12; and, very late, the Athens jug, *C.V.A.*, Athens 2, pl. 12. See also F. Willemsen, *Dreifusskessel von Olympia*, *Olympische Forschungen*, III, Berlin, 1957, pl. 95 left. One might say that a single anatomical school of thought was responsible for all of these pieces.

<sup>14</sup> Desborough, p. 294; *J.H.S.*, LXXVII, 1957, pp. 216-218.

There are earlier stray pieces of Early Geometric, of Protogeometric (**I 5, I 24, P 26, R 19**), and even of Mycenaean (**K 9, I 75**).

The latest objects, coming from Wells O, P, Q, R, which are accordingly lettered last, are Early Protoattic (**Q 7, O 1, O 2, P 22, R 13, R 22**) and Protocorinthian (**P 35, P 36, R 26**). There are also some subgeometric and Phaleron cups (skyphoi **L 28, L 29, M 8**; cups **M 11, O 29, N 16, O 30, O 32**; Phaleron cups **R 14, R 15**).<sup>15</sup>

About thirty years is the normal span for early well fills. The large proportion of earlier material in Well I may mean that the well was closed somewhat earlier than the others, i.e., within Late Geometric times; or it may be that there was an early grave plot where the well was situated on the Kolonos Agoraios (though later levelling has removed all but scattered graves) and that when dwellings superseded burials, some of the grave refuse found its way into the well. Indeed, both the amphora **I 1** and the oinochoe **I 7** look like grave ware; similar intrusions of early grave offerings occur in other wells.<sup>16</sup>

The other wells must all have been filled in at about the same time; J through N perhaps a little before, O through R perhaps somewhat after 700 B.C. Middle Geometric Well L 6:2 is the immediate predecessor in time of this whole series.

## THE POTTERY

Looked at as a whole, this material suggests several interesting observations. There is, especially about the skyphoi, a noticeably summary look, as if they had been mass produced. Add to this the fact that Late Geometric pottery exceeds in bulk that of any other phase from the 11th through the 7th century,<sup>17</sup> and there arises the impression that the Attic potteries of the late 8th century were producing at maximum capacity—remarkable in view of the fact that Attic influence and export in the 7th century are almost nil. This brings to mind a parallel situation in the early 6th century at Corinth when mass production of the much-desired Corinthian ware led to a conspicuous decline in the quality of the pottery, a factor that must have contributed to Corinth's loss of the Mediterranean pottery markets to Athens.<sup>18</sup> Perhaps a similar

<sup>15</sup> These objects may be dated according to the table in the preceding sections. I have not given individual dates for all the Late Geometric pottery, but its arrangement on the plates is intended to convey a rough sequence within the thirty years assigned to the period.

<sup>16</sup> E.g. Middle Geometric Well, L 6:2.

<sup>17</sup> There are, to be sure, more wells of this period than of the others, but whether this is because a drought forced the abandonment and subsequent filling of many wells or because of a genuine rise in the number of wells dug, indicating a rise in the population, is not clear. There remains the fact that there was a great deal of Late Geometric rubbish handy to use as fill.

<sup>18</sup> See *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, p. 353.

lack of care in late 8th century Athens contributed to her decline after a two-hundred year domination of the pottery field.<sup>19</sup>

Another noteworthy feature of the pottery as a whole is the striking difference in composition between these well groups and the grave groups both from the Kerameikos and from the Agora.<sup>20</sup> Most noticeable is the almost total absence in the well groups of flat pyxides (only fragment **O 16** and some lids) which are ubiquitous in graves and which were clearly made for that specific use. Banded ware and cups of all kinds and qualities, on the other hand, are as numerous in the wells as one would expect them to be in a household. These well groups therefore give an excellent view of ordinary taste in household furnishing of their time.

#### BANDED AMPHORAE (Pl. 13).

Banded utility amphorae are one of the chief constituents of early well fills. They were clearly the cheap household pots used to haul and carry water, and if a rope broke while the pot was being let down into the shaft or careless hauling shattered the vessel against the side of the well, the loss could be borne. Real neck amphorae like **K 2** were too vulnerable (in the Protogeometric period they actually had the standing of ceremonial ware); so a neckless, streamlined form (**L 6**, etc.) was invented before the mid-8th century to serve at the well. This was succeeded in the 7th century by a still more compact, one-handled jug, also banded.<sup>21</sup>

#### FINE AMPHORAE (Pls. 13, 14).

Most of these must have reached the wells via the rubbish heap. The great Dipylon neck (**M 1**) may have been used as a shaft lining after having stood over a grave.

<sup>19</sup> For a list of Attic pottery exports to the Near East see C. Clairmont, "Greek Pottery from the Near East," *Berytus*, XI, 1955, pp. 98-100; T. J. Dunbabin, *The Greeks and their Eastern Neighbours*, London, 1957, pp. 72-73. Add K. Friis Johansen, "Exochi, ein frührhodisches Gräberfeld," *Acta Archaeologica*, XXVIII, 1957, pp. 106-109, fig. 207 (from Hama); p. 114 (where Johansen suggests a later dating for some Attic Middle Geometric consonant with the suggestions made above). I owe this reference to Professor T. B. L. Webster. Only a minimal amount of Attic Geometric has been found in the West; see A. Åkerström, *Der geometrische Stil in Italien*, Uppsala, 1943, p. 138, and the reviews by R. M. Cook (*J.H.S.*, LXV, 1945, pp. 119-120) and G. Hanfmann (*A.J.A.*, LIII, 1949, pp. 222 ff.). It is now possible to be a little more precise about the Attic Late Geometric pottery cited by Åkerström: p. 41, fig. 12, 2, a jug from Canale—so much like our **N 12 et al.**, as to be almost certainly Attic; p. 35, fig. 8, from Syracuse—close to the Workshop of Athens 894, see *B.S.A.*, XLII, 1947, pp. 146 ff.; p. 35, fig. 9, also from Syracuse—cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, B 21 and P 4924. All are of the last quarter of the 8th century B.C.

<sup>20</sup> *Kerameikos*, V, 1; *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, I-XXV; "L. G. Grave Groups."

<sup>21</sup> See "P. A. Well Groups," F 43.



## ΣΟΣ AMPHORAE (Pl. 13).

**R 3** must be among the earliest of this interesting series of export and storage jars.<sup>22</sup> Characteristic of earliness is a long oval body with narrow steep-sided foot and a cylindrical neck with straight rim.

## HYDRIAI AND OTHER OLD-FASHIONED POTS, LIGHT-GROUND WARE (Pls. 14, 16).

There are several hydriai (**N 6**, **L 8**, **L 9**; Pl. 14) with wavy bands, a Mycenaean type revived in the 8th century and found on many Greek sites, especially eastern ones. Though the hydria was a water pot proper, it seems to have been used comparatively little at the well before the specialization in pot functions which began with Black Glaze.

Deliberate archaism, rather than a survival on a large scale, seems to have inspired a quatrefoil amphoriskos (**L 7**; Pl. 14) with a Middle Helladic shape and Protogeometricising decoration. A light, slightly burnished kantharos (**I 49**; Pl. 20) also recalls, both in shape and still more in fabric, Middle Helladic Yellow Minyan Ware. It is clear that grave and well diggers sometimes came on earlier deposits; old pots found in this way and shown round as curiosities may have given the receptive Late Geometric potters new ideas. As for Protogeometric models, it is most likely that pots of that period were still to be found as heirlooms. At any rate, there is a whole group of Late Geometric pots done in a style which seems like a return to Protogeometric clay-ground technique (**L 13**, **L 15**, Pl. 16; **I 49**).<sup>23</sup>

## OINOCHOAI AND JUGS (Pls. 14-16).

The slender-necked fine-ware oinochoe (e.g. **O 7**, Pl. 15) is not much in evidence in our well groups; evidently it was used for wine serving and not for water drawing. Among a variety of jugs two common kinds, made in large lots by not more than three shops, stand out; banded neck oinochoai and banded neckless jugs. The oinochoai have neck panels, usually with a grazing horse (**P 6**, **P 7**, **N 7**, Pl. 15; **Q 4**, Pl. 14); the jugs have a high shoulder panel with grazing deer (**N 11**, Pl. 16), horses (**R 5**, Pl. 15), hounds (**M 4**, Pl. 15), hounds and hare (**N 12**, Pl. 15). Almost all these animals can be attributed to workshops or hands which are known from larger Late Geometric pieces: the Stathatos group,<sup>24</sup> shop of Athens 897, and the Benaki painter.<sup>25</sup> This indicates that, although few concerns were at work, these few were copious producers and that the Protoattic painters inherited a tradition of easy and standardized motif-drawing.

<sup>22</sup> See "P. A. Well Groups" under F 40.

<sup>23</sup> An analogous "white style" is to be found in Late Corinthian, H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, Oxford, 1931, catalogue, pp. 322 ff.

<sup>24</sup> See Davison, "Geometric Workshops" where most of the jugs are attributed.

<sup>25</sup> *B.S.A.*, XLII, 1947, pp. 144, 150, pls. 19, 20, b.

## KRATERS AND BOWLS (Pls. 17, 18).

Most of the krater scraps must be from rubbish heaps or disturbed graves.

The earliest are a pair of deep Middle Geometric pyxis bowls (**I 17**, **I 18**, Pl. 17). This occurrence of pairs, e.g. the bowls **O 12** (Pl. 18) and **O 13** etc., may be accidental in the wells.<sup>26</sup>

Early among the Late Geometric is **I 22** (Pl. 18, strikingly similar in workmanship to the lid **I 62**, Pl. 21) and the first of three high-rimmed kraters with double handles (**I 19**, **I 20**, **K 5**, Pl. 17), a series which, on the whole, precedes the spouted bowls of very Late Geometric (**M 7**, **P 12**, Pl. 17).

## SKYPHOI (Pls. 19, 20).

The two-handled drinking cups, used probably for almost any liquid food, are amply represented. They may be said to set the Late Geometric tone; they are summary but not monotonous. The earliest ones (**I 26**, **I 29**, **I 35**, Pl. 19) have ring feet, well-rounded shoulders, and clearly articulated rims; the later ones have merely flat bases and lax shapes. The earlier decoration when elaborate is neat, and when plain is technically good. Later on, a mere schematic indication of the proper areas serves, but some little feature is always varied: tongues are exchanged for maeanders, chevrons for zigzags, etc. On the later examples, the mandatory solid paint on the lower body generally reaches further up, so that the handle zone, i.e., the shoulder of the pot, becomes the reserved and decorated zone. With this scheme there go two kinds of rim, a banded or a solid (e.g. **I 35** and **I 36**); both have a scheme of decoration not far removed from that of the Ionian cup.<sup>27</sup>

The ordinary Late Geometric skyphos splits into two types at the very end: the flat, metallic-looking cup (**L 28**, Pl. 20) and the deep but meager-looking subgeometric skyphos (**M 8**, Pl. 20); both last through the 7th century.<sup>28</sup>

## ONE-HANDLED CUPS (Pl. 20).

The shape development is analogous to that of the skyphos. The well-articulated Geometric cup also assumes two forms late in the period: the Phaleron cup, distinctly a metal type (**R 15**),<sup>29</sup> and the deep subgeometric (**N 16**).

## PLATES, LIDS, DISKS (Pls. 21-23).

The most striking feature of the plates is the loss in crispness of shape. **I 55**

<sup>26</sup> See also "P. A. Well Groups."

<sup>27</sup> See George Hanfmann, "Eastern Greek Wares at Tarsus," *The Aegean and the Near East, Studies Presented to Hetty Goldman*, Locust Valley, N. Y., 1956, p. 177, figs. 6-8.

<sup>28</sup> See "P. A. Well Groups," under H 25, F 33.

<sup>29</sup> See F. H. Stubbings, "The Mycenaean Pottery of Attica," *B.S.A.*, XLII, 1947, p. 63, fig. 14, A; a discussion of metal prototypes for the Mycenaean counterpart of this shape.

(Pl. 23) is the finest example of craftsmanship in these groups, with especially fine brown glaze. The latest (**O 34**, Pl. 21) is weak in profile and deep; the Protoattic rim-handled bowl seems to have been derived from such plates.

There is a variety of lids; the flat ones belonged to pyxides, the large domed example (**I 65**, Pl. 21) is a precursor of Protoattic domed lids.

The purpose of the disks (Pl. 22) is still not quite established.<sup>30</sup>

#### COOKING WARE, SMALL FINDS (Pls. 22, 23).

While the banded ware declined in the 8th century through the substitution of smaller, less articulated shapes and through the neglect of the amphora in favor of the jug, the micaceous coarse ware, the kitchen ware *par excellence*, acquired new and larger shapes and improved technically. Protogeometric and Early Geometric cooking jugs are coarse and heavy; in the 8th century a change in technique, as yet not understood,<sup>31</sup> made them light walled and shapely. A very deep, large jug with nipple knobs and incised decoration (e.g. **L 47**, Pl. 22) was added to the inventory. A fine-walled, deep amphora with rolled handles and a streamlined transition from shoulder to neck was invented (**N 17**, **P 25**, Pl. 22); we can watch the process of invention in **J 5** (Pl. 22) which is simply the usual band-handled cooking jug with an added handle. Hydriai, counterparts to the amphorae, came in at the same time<sup>32</sup> though none are found in the wells. This ware which acquired more careful mouldings and stronger shapes in the course of the 7th century was to become one of the happiest lines of Attic utility pottery.

Among the usual run of loomweights, spindle whorls and grinders only the inscribed **R 22** (Pl. 23) is remarkable. The abecedarium must be among the earliest, perhaps *the* earliest known from Attica.

#### COPIES AND IMPORTS

The Corinthian influence, which was to become dominant in the 7th century<sup>33</sup> is still scattered and weak in Attic Late Geometric. Though Protocorinthian shapes, systems of decoration and techniques are taken up by the Attic potter (e.g. **P 16**, Pl. 17; **R 12**, Pl. 19; **N 8**, **N 9**, Pl. 15), the copying is nowhere as eagerly precise as it becomes in Protoattic. Only the most characterless, though technically happy, Protocorinthian design, the banding on the body, becomes ubiquitous.

Actual Protocorinthian imports amount to only three pieces (**P 35**, **P 36**, **R 26**,

<sup>30</sup> See "P. A. Well Groups" under F 62.

<sup>31</sup> See "P. A. Well Groups."

<sup>32</sup> *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 155, Inv. 5498. These are re-inventions; the shape exists in Proto-geometric.

<sup>33</sup> See "P. A. Well Groups."



Pl. 23), a far lower proportion than the ten per cent usually found in Protoattic deposits. There are no other imports at all.

## WELL I

D 12:3 Well at edge of east slope of Kolonos Agoraios.

Depth 21.15 m.; diam. 1.05 m. Plentiful water at 13 m.

Uniform fill, no period of use distinguishable.

**I 1** Neck amphora, Middle Geometric. Pl. 13.

P 7141. H. 0.57 m.; diam. 0.32 m.

Egg-shaped body, rolled rim, band handles, ring foot. Vertical lines on rim, horizontal lines on handle. Neck panel has zigzags, meander, triangles. Back panel, largely missing, seems to have been the same. On body, group of three reserved lines widely spaced. On lower shoulder, reserved zone with vertical lines and hour-glass patterns.

Black glaze.

Cf. the amphorae *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 31, "first quarter of the 8th century," and the slightly earlier amphorae from Eleusis graves, *Πρακτικά*, 1957, pl. 22, 1; 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1898, pl. 3, 5. The earlier amphorae have a more flaring foot, a tendency toward dumpiness, and fewer bands.

Other contemporary amphorae: *Jahrb.*, XIV, 1899, fig. 60; *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, p. 471, pl. XX, 1, 2, "Severe Geometric."

The amphora is Middle Geometric and thus earlier than the bulk of the well-filling. It probably comes from an earlier disturbed grave in the vicinity.

**I 2** Neck amphora. Pl. 13.

P 8248. Rest. H. 0.72 m.; diam. 0.44 m.

Rim restored. Band handles, nearly vertical ring foot. On each side of neck, reserved circle, quadrisected; dot rosette in each quarter. Glazed all over.

Very worn black to red glaze.

Cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, C 136, for the shape and also a reserved circle (there on shoulder

instead of neck). For the meaning of four-spoked wheel see G. W. Nilson, "A Greek Votive Lynx Wheel in Boston," *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pp. 443 ff.; A. Roes, *Greek Geometric Art*, London, 1933, p. 11, fig. 2 and p. 43, fig. 36, has a collection of types. Bottoms of plates are often decorated with such wheels and an ornament in each quarter, e.g. **I 55** (Pl. 23); *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 102, Inv. 878.

Under **I 2** Neck fragment of amphora. Pl. 13.

P 21800. Well, P 14:2, Late Geometric. Inserted here to complete series. P. H. 0.23 m.; diam. at rim 0.225 m.

Band handles missing. Thickened rounded rim, glazed part way down neck. On both sides, a four-spoked wheel; line; solid glaze below and on to shoulder.

Reddish glaze.

Cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, VIII, 1; C 130-131, C 137; *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 38, Inv. 59; *Jahrb.*, XIV, 1899, p. 191, figs. 50-51. A similar amphora from Thera: H. Dragendorff, *Theraeische Graeber*, Thera, Vol. 2, Berlin, 1903, p. 188, fig. 380.

There appear to be three different contemporaneous kinds of rim among the Late Geometric amphorae which correspond roughly to three different types of decoration, though often shape and decoration are interchanged (as on this amphora): 1) Flaring rim with little moulding like P 21800, **L 2**, **L 3**, **K 1**, etc.; neck reserved with sparse conventional decoration; 2) Rounded rim like **M 1**, Geometric ornaments or figures; 3) Cylindrical neck with torus moulding at rim like **P 3**, **ΣΟΣ** amphorae.

**I 3** Rim fragment of amphora. Not illustrated.

P 8216. *Agora*, VIII, 4. P. H. 0.10 m.; diam. of lip 0.23 m.

Rolled rim, sloping on top; glazed down on

to neck. In front, top end of vertical line with two little branches on top. Through rim, small holes *ca.* 4 cm. apart, cut after firing.

Cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, VIII, 1, almost exactly the same. The holes may be for lacing on a cloth cover. Greeks cover their produce baskets in this way today.

**I 4** Fragment of hydria. Pl. 14.

P 8215. P. H. 0.265 m.; diam. at bottom of fragment 0.36 m.

Much of body restored; evened off at bottom. Rim, all of lower part missing. Nothing of horizontal handles; vertical handle partly gone. Neck glazed; two lines at its bottom. Handle, set high upon shoulder with glazed ring around its base, seems to have been decorated with interlacing wavy lines. Broad banding on body. At bottom of fragment, remains of some decoration about handle.

Lustrous brown glaze.

Cf. *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 50, Inv. 783. The banding on our example is coarser (cf. **J 3**) and the shape dumpier, hence probably later.

**I 5** Oinochoe, Protogeometric. Not illustrated.

P 8214. P. H. 0.133 m.; diam. of foot 0.055 m.

Complete profile to shoulder. At shoulder, two lines, glaze below; half way down, reserved band with two lines. On shoulder, two double-outlined hatched triangles preserved.

Black glaze, worn.

From a Protogeometric oinochoe or lekythos such as are found in Late Protogeometric contexts.

**I 6** Fragmentary oinochoe, Early Geometric. Pl. 14.

P 7314. P. H. 0.125 m.

Nothing of rim or handles. Neck fragment does not join. On neck, battlement maeander. Body glazed, with reserved bands with two lines. Ring foot, higher inside than outside.

Lustrous brown glaze.

Cf. *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 557, fig. 14, no. 21, from the floor of the Geometric house. Probably a little earlier than **I 7**. For the maeander, an early type, see *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pls. 42, 46.

**I 7** Trefoil oinochoe, Middle Geometric. Pl. 14.

P 8213. Rest. H. 0.30 m.; diam. 0.187 m.

Much of rim and band handle restored. Low ring foot. Glazed all over. Panel on neck in front, top down; three bands, zigzags edged at sides by vertical lines, three lines above, close zigzags, two lines below. On body, reserved zones with two lines.

Black glaze for solid parts, brown for ornament.

Cf. *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 74; *C.V.A.*, Athens 1, pl. 2, 2 from a grave on the Areopagus.

Middle Geometric, perhaps from the same grave as the amphora **I 1**.

**I 8** Trefoil oinochoe. Pl. 14.

P 7320. *Agora*, VIII, 41, pl. 4. P. H. 0.29 m.; diam. 0.28 m.

Most of handle restored. Nothing of lower part preserved, edge evened off in plaster. On rim, vertical strokes; solidly glazed beneath. Handle panel and shoulder glazed. In front of neck, a panel with maeander, edged above and below by rows of sets of concentric circles connected by tangents, and by lines. Shoulder glazed with small front panel beginning at neck containing five sets of concentric circles. Below, zone edged by three lines containing concentric circles as on neck. Lower down, reserved zone with two lines. Fragment of handle from near bend shows lines above, loosely spaced concentric circles below.

Black glaze, worn.

Cf. *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 77.

**I 9** Round-mouthed pitcher. Pl. 15.

P 8242. P. H. 0.09 m.

Part of high curved neck; high band handle, part of shoulder. On handle, three St. Andrew's crosses separated by bars. Handle panel marked

off by line. In neck, vertical strokes linked by diagonals, below four lines. On shoulder, slight zigzags, dotted circles linked by tangents. Lines below.

Brown to black glaze.

Later than **K 4**.

**I 10** Squat oinochoe. Pl. 16.

P 8211. *Agora*, VIII, 76, pl. 5. Rest. H. 0.10 m.; max. diam. 0.094 m.

Mouth and most of band handle restored. Bevelled at base; banded above bevel, glazed below. Rest glazed, except for neck panel with connected dots and bands. Ladder ornament on handle.

Black glaze.

Other squat oinochoai with wide necks are later; *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 83, Inv. 855, 331; 'Αρχ. Ἐφ., 1912, p. 35, 3; *Délos*, XV, pl. LII, 11, later; see "P. A. Well Groups," under **F 13** for history.

Date about that of Grave XX, *Hesperia*, Suppl. II.

**I 11** Fragment of oinochoe. Pl. 16.

P 8212. *Agora*, VIII, 364, pl. 21. P. H. 0.10 m.

Neck without rim, part of shoulder preserved; band handle missing. Raised ridge where neck joins shoulder. Back of neck glazed. In front, panel edged with lines at sides and bottom, above with zone of vertical strokes. In part facing birds, feeding. Between them stacked M ornament.

Red to dull black glaze, worn.

For oinochoai with facing bird-panel, see **J 2**. Feeding birds, *C.V.A.*, Munich 3, pl. 107, 2, the Dipylon master's amphora.

**I 12** Neck of trefoil oinochoe. Pl. 16.

P 8240. *Agora*, VIII, 369, pl. 21. Rest. H. 0.09 m.

Small parts of neck and rim; rest restored. Rim glazed, line below. In front, a frog; at side, vertical zigzag.

Brownish black glaze.

For such oinochoai see *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, C 113 ff.; *C.V.A.*, Munich 3, pl. 112, 3 and 4. Not all have panels, e.g. *C.V.A.*, Copenhagen, III H, pl. 73, 4.

Frogs are used as plastic decoration on two unpublished pyxis lids from the Kerameikos. For frogs on pins: P. Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins*, Oxford, 1956, Ills. 255-261, pp. 55-57 with references and interpretations. Frogs from Sparta; R. H. Dawkins, *Artemis Orthia*, London, 1929, pl. LXXX, b, bronze, Geometric; also pl. CXV, bone. They are said to be fertility symbols (see *Acta Archaeologica*, XIII, 1942, pp. 315 ff.).

For similar frogs on coins, see C. Seltman, *Athens, Its History and Coinage*, Cambridge, 1924, pl. IV, Φ.

**I 13** Fragment of mug. Pl. 16.

P 8241. P. H. 0.085 m.; est. diam. of rim 0.11 m.

Part of high rim and short bulge of body. On rim, hatched maeander; on shoulder, chevrons, banding. Band at rim inside.

Red glaze.

Three later examples of the shape (really a low jug): *Jahrb.*, XIV, 1899, p. 209, figs. 82-84.

Cf. *Agora* P 6403 (L 6:2), *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 98, Inv. 777.

**I 14** Fragments of tripod (?). Not illustrated.

P 25402. P. H. 0.076 m.

Rectangular in section with piece gouged out on back, glazed on one side. Broken at top and bottom.

Glaze very worn.

Perhaps from the start of a tripod like *C.V.A.*, Munich 3, pl. 125, 7.

**I 15** Fragment of krater, Early Geometric. Pl. 18.

P 25404. P. H. 0.07 m.

Near rim which makes angle with shoulder. Glazed inside. Outside left, large panel with



concentric circles with Maltese cross in center; at right small stacked panels with part of hatched maeander, checkerboard. Rim glazed.

Brown glaze.

Cf. the krater, *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 17 and the amphora, *ibid.*, pl. 46. The Maltese cross which was at the center of the concentric circles occurs on Protogeometric kraters (Desborough, pl. 12), and our piece may be earlier than the parallels cited. The vertical panel arrangement is unusual.

**I 16** Fragments of krater, Middle Geometric. Pl. 18.

P 25399. P. H. of large fragment 0.13 m.; est. diam. of rim 0.44 m.

Short stand-up rim, flat on top which has groups of verticals. Inside glazed with firm glossy brown glaze. On rim, outside, little dots between bands. On high, round shoulder, triangles; below at right, vertical panels of stacked M ornament and hatched maeander separated by vertical zigzags toward center of bowl, horizontal panels of stacked zigzag lines, close zigzags, hatched maeander. A smaller fragment preserves same ornamental scheme on larger scale; probably from farther down.

Brown glaze.

Cf. *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 21, Middle Geometric.

**I 17** Handleless egg-shaped krater, Middle Geometric. Pl. 17.

P 8218. H. 0.275 m.; diam. at rim 0.20 m.

Broad flange for lid with bands at rim. Ring foot. From top down: symmetrical zones of dots, fine stacked zigzag lines, close zigzags, large hatched maeander (which is center of pattern); and below the same in reverse order. Below that, ray zone, thin bands and solid glaze to foot.

Brownish black worn glaze.

The shape is not frequent. An earlier parallel: *C.V.A.*, Munich 3, pl. 108, 3, which had, as did this krater, a lid, now missing.

Lidless egg-shaped cauldrons: *Kerameikos*,

V, 1, pl. 51, no. 657, Early Geometric; "P. A. Well Groups," F 23, Protoattic.

This krater seems to have made a pair with **I 18**.

**I 18** Handleless egg-shaped krater, Middle Geometric. Pl. 17.

P 8217. P. H. 0.17 m.; diam. at rim 0.225 m.

Like **I 17**, but flange glazed, one hole preserved, and close zigzags in place of dots.

Shiny brownish black glaze.

See **I 17**. The tie hole points up the similarity between this shape and the pyxis; the handleless krater is, in fact, only a deep pyxis.

**I 19** Fragmentary krater. Pl. 17.

P 8244. Rest. H. 0.175 m.; diam. at rim 0.22 m.

All of lower part missing. Much of handle restored. High stand-up rim with flat top sloping sharply inward. Double rolled handles set on rounded shoulder. Rim only glazed inside and on top. On outside of rim, groups of verticals at edge, connected concentric circles dotted and undotted. Over handles, diagonals framed by bands. Handles outlined in handle zone, in corner of which a wheel of connected dotted circles with a dotted circle in center. On both sides of shoulder a central panel with dotted triangles along top and bottom; a stretch of hatched maeander in middle. At sides, columns of stacked M ornament and dotted, framed diamond. Below zigzags and short rays.

Brownish black glaze, worn.

Similar piece, still with its lid: *C.V.A.*, Munich 3, pl. 105. **I 19**, with its careful decoration, is not far from Middle Geometric. The disposition of the ornament, with a long central maeander panel and vertical columns at the side, is used on kraters and pyxides: *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, XVII, 13, 15; *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 23, Inv. 1255.

Varieties of wheel-circles are characteristic of Late Geometric, e.g. Agora P 25638 (J 14:5); *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, C 104; *C.V.A.*, Copenhagen, III H, pl. 73, 5a; *C.V.A.*, Munich 3, pl.

115, 3; *Jahrb.*, XIV, 1899, p. 209, fig. 81, p. 212, fig. 91; *Ath. Mitt.*, XLIII, 1918, pl. 6, 7, etc.

**I 20** Fragmentary krater. Pl. 17.

P 8245. P. H. 0.10 m.; diam. at rim 0.207 m.

Both handles restored; nothing of base. High standing rim with narrow reserved dotted band inside, dots around outside. On rounded shoulder, panels, alternately with hatched quatrefoil, and narrow with dotted vertical diamond. Central quatrefoil panel has concentric triangles in corners. One panel of back preserved, with smaller quatrefoil, stacked chevrons at sides and hanging concentric triangles. Three bands below, then broad band, and more banding.

Glazed inside, black glaze.

Later than **I 19**.

The panel decoration is similar to that on Late Geometric pyxides and skyphoi, *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pls. 59-60, 97.

**I 21** Fragment of bowl. Pl. 17.

P 8246. P. H. 0.13 m.; est. diam. at rim 0.27 m.

Nothing of foot. Stand-up rim, rounded inside. Horizontal band handle with long cross over it; attachments outlined in glaze. Inside glazed, groups of verticals on top of rim. Rim glazed outside; below, a band. Handle zone reserved, with three bands. In center a panel with hatched quatrefoil and stars between foils. Below, banding and solid glaze.

Black glaze, worn.

Cf. *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 24, Inv. 789 for shape and triple division of shoulder, also *Jahrb.*, XIV, 1899, p. 213, fig. 93 (two zones). This system, with a panel in the center, occurs also on the oinochoe **K 3**.

Similar shapes are frequent in Corinthian Late Geometric; see *Corinth*, VII, i, under 103.

**I 22** Fragments of gadrooned krater. Pl. 18.

P 7317. *Agora*, VIII, 325, pl. 19. P. H. 0.195 m.; est. diam. of rim 0.40 m.

Large fragment preserves stand-up rim, con-

cave outside, and with flat top sloping inward, perhaps for lid, and upper parts of flutes on body. Background, including flutes, glazed; on ribs reserved ovals framed with lines and filled alternately with stacked zigzags and connected dotted double concentric circles; these occur also on neck between framing lines. On outer rim groups of verticals. Two small fragments preserve bottom of flutes and ribs and a large gear pattern. P 25404 b is probably part of the rolled vertical handle, attached at shoulder and showing part of diminished flute with chevrons and hatching. Many non-joining pieces, adding nothing.

Brownish black glaze.

The gadrooning represents the fluting seen on metal vessels such as phialai and is fairly common in Late Geometric, though usually used for skyphoi and kantharoi rather than for large pots like this krater, for which I do not know an exact parallel; see however the standed fluted krater, *C.V.A.*, Athens 2, III H d, pl. 9.

Gadrooned pots from the *Kerameikos*: *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 99. From the *Agora*, P 25628 (J 14:5); **I 22**, see also "L. G. Grave Groups," p. 405, under E 19:3, no. 5 for references.

A gadrooned jug was found together with a gold band at Menidi; see D. Ohly, *Griechische Goldbleche*, p. 104, pl. 24.

**I 23** Fragmentary bowl. Not illustrated.

P 8247. P. H. 0.182 m.; diam. at rim 0.41 m.

Part of one rolled vertical handle restored. Nothing of base. Short stand-up rim, rounded on inside and flat on top, hardly set off from shoulder. Mending holes in rim. Glazed inside and over rim. On shoulder broad wavy line, glazed zone below and then bands.

Black glaze, worn.

Nearly like **O 11**.

**I 24** Pointed pyxis, Middle Geometric. Pl. 18.

P 7204. H. 0.11 m.; max. diam. 0.091 m.

Broad slightly concave flange for lid with

one hole on each side. Bands of checkerboard, hatched maeander, zigzag, triangle band with dots, rays, solid glaze zone of bands at point.

Shiny brownish black glaze.

A pointed pyxis sufficiently close in decoration comes from the filling over the Geometric house (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 558, fig. 16, no. 47). This fill accumulated after the house was abandoned and is presumably on the whole later than the pots found in the house, e.g. the oinochoe, *ibid.*, p. 559, fig. 18, and p. 566, which is Late Geometric (not pre-Dipylon). This circumstance does not mean that our pyxis is also as late—earlier rubbish may have been swept into the ruins of the house, but it does suggest that the pyxis is not very much earlier than the oinochoe. Its own context also speaks for a late date. Still in the 8th century from an Agora grave: *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. XLI, 1 d. 9th century: *Ath Mitt.*, XLII, 1918, pl. 1, 6 (Berlin Group); *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 110, Inv. 1201; *C.V.A.*, Munich 3, pl. 129, 1. Cf. also *C.V.A.*, Reading 1, pl. 8, 1a, a little later. About contemporary with **I 24**: *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pl. 68, 4.

The shape goes out of use in Late Geometric.

**I 25** Flat pyxis. Not illustrated.

P 8219. H. 0.105 m.; diam. at rim 0.25 m.

Flange with two holes on one side preserved. Ring foot slightly concave outside. Downwards: zigzags, hatched maeander, zigzags, rays; foot glazed; bands on flange, glazed inside. Decoration of foot not preserved.

Brownish black glaze.

See under **O 16**.

**I 26** Skyphos, Middle Geometric. Pl. 19.

P 8220. Rest. H. 0.011 m.; rest. diam. 0.16 m.

Largely restored, including base and most of handles. Linked dotted circles on rim. In shoulder zone, hatched maeander. Star in corner of handle panel; hatching on handle. Lines between zones; broad band near bottom, more lines. Inside glazed, but rim reserved with

groups of vertical strokes separated by X's and bounded by lines.

Brownish black glaze.

An unusually large and carefully made skyphos of the stage represented by *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 92, Inv. 241, there dated "turn of the 9th to the 8th century B.C." The decoration, with circles on the rim and banding below the dark zone, is analogous to that on kantharoi, *ibid.*, pl. 85, Inv. 258, same date; characterized as end of severe style by Kahane, *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, p. 473, pl. XXII, 4. Shape like that of the skyphos with warriors inside the rim, *Studies Presented to David M. Robinson*, II, St. Louis, 1953, pl. 10 a, b.

**I 27** Skyphos. Pl. 19.

P 8228. Rest. H. 0.125 m.; diam. 0.188 m.

All of base and one handle restored. On shoulder, linked blobs, bands and solid glaze below.

Shiny brown glaze.

An oversize example; cf. *C.V.A.*, Munich 3, pl. 122, 7.

**I 28** Skyphos. Pl. 19.

P 8227. Rest. H. 0.093 m.; diam. 0.15 m.

Largely restored, including handles and base. Shape like **I 27** but straighter sides. On rim, reserved line both outside and inside. On shoulder, vertical lines at sides, bands in center. Lower part and inside glazed.

Off-color brownish glaze.

Cf. *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 91, Inv. 330.

**I 29** Bowl-skyphos. Middle Geometric (?). Pl. 19.

P 8225. H. 0.11 m.; rest. diam. 0.15 m.

Both handles and much of body restored. Deep with low rim and well marked disk foot. Glazed all over except for rim which has band on outside, groups of vertical lines inside.

Cf. **I 31**. Similar deep skyphoi are found in Early Geometric wells, e.g. Agora P 3748 (H 15:1); the shape has not changed much by the 8th century, see *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 100, Inv. 781.



**I 30** Skyphos. Not illustrated.

P 8229. H. 0.10 m.; diam. at rim 0.155 m.

Blackish glaze, very worn.

Like **I 29**.

**I 31** Skyphos. Not illustrated.

P 8230. H. 0.131 m.; rest. diam. 0.20 m.

Over half restored. Like **I 29**.

Shiny black glaze.

**I 32** Skyphos. Pl. 19.

P 8233. Rest. H. 0.08 m.; rest. diam. 0.137 m.

Slightly offset rim; disk foot not set off. Rim banded inside and out. On shoulder, bands and a chevron frieze.

Red to black glaze.

Cf. *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 91, Inv. 330, "second quarter of the 8th century B.C."; earlier examples of this leading skyphos type on the same plate. For Young's later dating of such skyphoi, see *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, XVII, 1.

**I 33** Skyphos. Pl. 19.

P 8222. H. 0.078 m.; diam. 0.138 m.

Handles and lower body glazed to just above foot. Reserved handle zone with three groups of chevrons. One band edged by two thin ones on rim and onto rim-shoulder joint. Inside glazed except for bands on rim.

Red to brown glossy glaze.

This is a variant of **I 32** with the banding left off; more carefully done than the former, and contemporary with it.

**I 34** Skyphos. Not illustrated.

P 7315. Rest. H. 0.09 m.; diam. 0.16 m.

Base and one handle restored. Shape like

**I 33**. Handle zone reserved, with groups of chevrons on either side of a central zone of vertical lines. Bands on rim. Reserved band with groups of vertical strokes inside on rim.

Shiny brownish glaze.

**I 35** Skyphos. Pl. 19.

P 8223. H. 0.073 m.; diam. 0.125 m.

Slightly offset rim; disk foot.

Like **I 32**, but zigzags instead of chevrons.

Red glaze inside, streaky brown outside.

A variant of **I 32**; perhaps a little later.

**I 36** Skyphos. Pl. 19.

P 8221. H. 0.09 m.; diam. 0.165 m.

Low disk foot; convex rim. Handle zone reserved with three lines on rim. Reserved line inside on rim and half way down body.

Red to brown glaze.

Like **I 32**, with the banding left off in favor of horizontal triple division by lines, a scheme which comes into favor at this time; cf. an oinochoe, *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 76, Inv. 274.

**I 37** Skyphos. Not illustrated.

P 7313. Rest. H. 0.11 m.; diam. 0.16 m.

Over one half, including base, restored. Shape like **I 36**, but more rounded. Handle zone reserved, with dot rosettes framed by lines. Band on rim and shoulder junction, line on top of rim. Reserved band with groups of vertical lines inside of rim.

Shiny brownish glaze.

**I 38** Skyphos. Pl. 19.

P 8231. H. 0.085 m.; diam. at rim 0.159 m.

Both handles restored. In shoulder-zone at center, a knob covered with glaze surrounded by dots. Below, a line and solid glaze to bottom. On rim, band with line on either side. Inside, reserved line on rim.

Red to brown glaze.

The light-ground skyphos, *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pl. 104, b, is very close in decoration though much deeper, consequently it must be true that this deeper "subgeometric" shape (see **M 8**) began in Late Geometric. An early 7th century descendant of our skyphos is *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, V, 3. The deep and the shallow skyphos types, therefore, were made concurrently in the last quarter of the eighth century and into the 7th (the shallow, properly Geometric, type is then rejuvenated, as in the fish cup, *ibid.*, C 39).

**I 39** Skyphos. Pl. 19.

P 8226. Rest. H. 0.08 m.; diam. 0.159 m.

On handle and bottom part restored. Short, very slight, rim arched inside and not set off from body. On rim and in shoulder zone, zig-zags on either side with a dotted whirligig in center. Glazed below and inside except for two reserved bands on rim.

Red to black glaze.

A variant of **I 38** in decoration, shaped perhaps by analogy to contemporary kantharoi (see **O 28**). Whirligigs on Late Geometric are rare in Athens, e.g. P 10201 (B 14:5, *Antike Kunst*, II, 1959, pp. 35-37; pl. 17, 1), common on Boeotian pottery.

**I 40** Skyphos. Pl. 19.

P 8224. H. 0.06 m.; rest. diam. 0.125 m.

Over half, including one handle, restored. Plain base and four lines in shoulder zone.

Reddish glaze.

Like *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, C 37 except for the banded rim. Later version of **I 36**.

**I 41** Skyphos. Pl. 19.

P 7081. H. 0.06 m.; diam. at rim 0.103 m.

Flaring stand-up rim; straight pointed body. Plain base; rolled handles. Vertical strokes on handles, three lines on lip, two below handle zone; one line above a broader band at base. Glazed inside from reserved line at rim and reserved dot on bottom.

Red glaze.

The shape is under the influence of the "metallic" cups, see under **L 28**. Light ground decoration is a vogue of Late Geometric, perhaps a Protogeometric reminiscence, used mostly for kantharoi (see under **I 49**) and oinochoai, e.g. *C.V.A.*, Athens 2, III H d, pl. 14, 1; *C.V.A.*, Munich 3, pl. 113, 1 and 2, decorated with dot rosettes on the shoulder. A slightly earlier light ground skyphos *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pl. 104, b; child's grave.

**I 42** Miniature skyphos. Pl. 19.

P 7311. H. 0.03 m.; diam. at rim 0.07 m.

One handle restored. Slightly flaring rim, not set off from convex body; low flat base. Handles framed by vertical lines. On shoulder sample of hatched key and battlement meander. Near handles little crosses. Glazed at and on to base and inside except for reserved line inside rim and reserved dot on bottom.

Brown to black glaze.

**I 43** Fragment of a skyphos (?). Pl. 20.

P 8232. P. H. 0.05 m.; est. diam. at rim 0.17 m.

Short rim, arched inside. Outside, three lines at rim; on shoulder alternating dot rosettes and stars, three more lines and solid glaze below. Inside of rim reserved with groups of vertical lines.

Brown glaze.

Shape like **I 39**. Cf. pyxis bottom, *C.V.A.*, Munich 3, pl. 128, 1.

**I 44** Fragment of skyphos (?). Pl. 20.

P 8237. P. H. 0.059 m.; est. diam. at rim 0.085 m.

Fragment of wall down to base. Rim banded; below, panels separated by vertical lines; in each a star. Glazed below and inside. Reserved line on rim inside.

Thick red glaze.

From a skyphos decorated like those in *Keramikos*, V, 1, pl. 96.

**I 45** Fragment of skyphos. Pl. 20.

P 25403. P. H. 0.045 m.

Panel with bird with hatched body to right. Dot rosette, swastika, in field.

Brown glaze.

**I 46** Fragment of gadrooned skyphos. Pl. 18.

P 7316. *Agora*, VIII, 330, pl. 19. H. 0.06 m.; est. diam. ca. 0.12 m.

Stand-up rim; thickened and sloping toward inside, where there are groups of verticals, two lines below, then solid glaze. Outside on rim, dots between bands. Flutes glazed, framed tongues filled with stacked chevrons on ribs.

False ring foot, glazed. On horizontal rolled handle, hatching. In upper corner of handle-panel, dot rosette.

Brownish black glaze.

This cup, as well as the krater **I 22**, differ from most other such pots in being glazed, with only the flutes in the shape of long ovals reserved; same scheme used on a jug, *C.V.A.*, Karlsruhe 1, pl. 3, 4; also on the Menidi jug cited under **I 22**. Shape and ornament are closer to skyphoi somewhat earlier than the bulk of those here presented, *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 97, Inv. 1301; *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pl. XXI, 3.

**I 47** Skyphos. Not illustrated.

P 7319. Rest. H. 0.09 m.; diam. 0.15 m.

Large parts restored. Slight ring foot. Three lines in handle zone; bottom glazed with one reserved line. Inside glazed, except for reserved line on rim and reserved band toward bottom.

Shiny brownish glaze.

**I 48** Skyphos. Not illustrated.

P 8234. Rest. H. 0.062 m.; rest. diam. 0.13 m.

Brownish glaze, peeled.

Like **L 29**.

**I 49** Kantharos. Pl. 20.

P 8243. *Agora*, VIII, 174, pl. 10. H. 0.11 m.; diam. 0.143 m.

One handle and part of other restored. Glazed inside; outside and handles unglazed, covered with smooth surfacing.

Reddish black glaze.

There are numerous predominantly clay-ground kantharoi, but all have some decoration: *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, C 64; *C.V.A.*, Munich 3, pl. 120, 2 and 3; *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 87, Inv. 268; *B.S.A.*, XXXV, 1934-1935, pl. 26, 3; G. M. A. Richter, *Metropolitan Museum, Handbook of the Greek Collection*, Cambridge, 1953, pl. 176, d; *C.V.A.*, Munich, pl. 120, 2 and 3. These are here listed in reverse chronological order, with our kantharos among the earliest.

It is possible that the idea of making an altogether light-ground pot was inspired by the analogous shapes of Yellow Minyan pottery which has, indeed, been found in Late Geometric groups (*Hesperia*, Suppl. II, pp. 115-116, B 22-24) and thus was known at the time.

For such non-Attic kantharoi (earlier) see *Corinth*, VII, i, no. 81, pl. 13.

**I 50** Kantharos. Pl. 20.

P 7080. *Agora*, VIII, 175, pl. 10. H. 0.072 m.; diam. 0.09 m.

High, straight rim. On rim dots, on each shoulder three panels. a) in center; two horses facing over tripod (?), swastikas, at sides birds with hatched bodies, dot rosettes and "bird seed." b) Same, but bird between horses, stars in field. Banding and solid glaze to base. On shoulder, ladder ornament and St. Andrew's cross panel.

Brownish black glaze.

In the "apprentice style" of **L 26**; cf. *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pl. 104, b, from a child's grave. Horses and tripod: *B.S.A.*, XXXV, 1934-1935, pls. 25-26. All Late Geometric.

**I 51** One-handled cup. Pl. 20.

P 8236. H. 0.06 m.; diam. at rim 0.085 m.

Pointed with offset rim; banding on rim, horizontal lines on handle.

Cf. *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 106, Inv. 934. The standard Geometric small cup.

**I 52** Fragment of cup, Phaleron. Not illustrated.

P 8238. H. 0.035 m.; est. diam. 0.075 m.

Flaring wall, flat base. Glazed inside and at base outside; wavy line above.

Red glaze.

Like those from Phaleron graves, *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, pp. 25 ff., 47 no. 4; 70, nos. 28, 2a; 11, nos. 2A, 28; *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, IX, 3.

**I 53** One-handled cup. Not illustrated.

P 8235. H. 0.06 m.; diam. at rim 0.095 m.

Straight rim, band handle not offset from shoulder, handle and base restored. Reserved



line on rim inside, two glaze bands on rim outside; shoulder plain, lower body glazed, two vertical lines mark off handle zone.

Red to black glaze.

**I 54** Plate. Pl. 21.

P 8208. H. 0.04 m.; diam. 0.23 m.

One handle restored. Like **I 55**. Articulation at shoulder less sharp.

Black glaze, worn.

**I 55** Plate. Pl. 23.

P 7083. *Agora*, VIII, 114. H. 0.036 m.; diam. 0.21 m.

*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 369, fig. 32, drawing of bottom.

Low disk foot, rolled handles applied at rim; flaring rim with strong carinated profile and flat top on which are groups of verticals. Inside glazed except for reserved dot at center; bands on handles. Outside banded. Quatrefoil on underside of foot with swastikas between leaves.

Glossy chocolate-brown glaze.

Same date as *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 102; the tondo decoration on the underside is analogous to that of pyxis bottoms; loosely drawn concentric leaves are in general later than carefully hatched ones (*ibid.*, pls. 62-64). The earlier plates have rounded sides and sometimes a rim-like offset at the handle zone. Later on their sides are straighter and often warped and weak-looking: **O 33**, **O 34**, **O 35**; the last the latest. For the 7th century plates see "P. A. Well Groups," under F 29; the plates grow progressively shallower, except for a side-line which develops into bowls (see under **R 18**).

**I 56** Plate. Pl. 21.

P 7203. *Agora*, VIII, 113, pl. 7. H. 0.05 m.; diam. 0.21 m.

Low ring foot with quatrefoil on underside. Heavy glaze band at foot, narrow band above; dots connected by tangents at rim. Verticals

on top of rim. Two reserved bands and dot inside.

Brown to black glaze.

Like **I 55**; cf. also H. Schaal, *Griechische Vasen*, Frankfurt a.M., 1923, p. 18, fig. 5.

**I 57** Plate. Pl. 21.

P 8209. H. 0.055 m.; diam. 0.205 m.

About half, including parts of handles, restored. Flattened hemisphere, pierced lugs with turned-out ends at plain rim. Outside covered with closely spaced band running across and right onto handles, inside covered in same way with widely spaced bands. Line on rim.

Red to black paint.

Plates with non-circular decoration are very rare, though bowls often have it, see **O 14** and 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1898, pl. 2, 13; *C.V.A.*, Brussels, Musées Royaux, III G, pl. 3, 3a, b. The holes in the lugs suggest that this plate was used to be tied as a cover over a basket.

**I 58** Fragment of lid, Middle Geometric. Pl. 21.

P 25405. P. H. 0.093 m.; est. diam. 0.28 m.

Shallow rise. Broad standing surface inside. Outside glazed with reserved zone filled with zigzag lines framed by bands.

Black glaze.

Probably contemporary with the Berlin Group, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLIII, 1918, pl. I.

**I 59** Lid. Pl. 21.

P 7084. Diam. 0.137 m.

Shallow concavity. Knob with flat disk top. Outer edge depressed; vertical flange inside. Outside decorated with diagonals on depression, alternately narrow and wide bands. Bands on stem of knob. St. Andrew's cross in outline on disk.

Black glaze.

Contemporary with *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, XVII, XVIII.

**I 60** Lid. Pl. 21.

P 8207. Diam. 0.19 m.

Shallow convexity. Knob missing. Decorated on top with dots, broad and thin bands.

Reddish glaze.

See under **I 59**.

**I 61** Lid. Pl. 21.

P 7318. *Agora*, VIII, 328, pl. 19. Diam. 0.20 m.

Much of handle restored. Inside, shallow concavity. Outside beveled sharply at rim. In center, large raised disk with arched band handle attached at edge. Only outside decorated, with connected concentric circles and broad band. On disk, head of fish in outline, rest missing.

Brownish black glaze.

Another lid with fish: *C.V.A.*, Belgium, Brussels Royal Museum III H d, pl. 2, 10.

Besides plastic horses, Geometric lids often carry plastic animal decoration; e.g. bulls' heads (*C.V.A.*, Athens 1, pl. I, 9 from an Areopagus grave; probably copied from metal protomes attached to cauldrons, see P. Amandry, "Chaudrons à protomes de taureau en Orient et en Grèce," *The Aegean and the Near East, Studies Presented to Hetty Goldman*, Locust Valley, 1956, pp. 239 ff.); frogs (*Kerameikos* Museum, unpublished). Fish, of course, do not lend themselves to plastic representation, but they are often painted on Dipylon and Late Geometric pots, e.g. *C.V.A.*, Louvre, III H b, pl. I, 7, A 517; Munich Shipwreck oinochoe, R. Hampe, *Die Gleichnisse Homers und die Bildkunst seiner Zeit*, Tübingen, 1952, pl. 11; the Ischia shipwreck krater, *Röm. Mitt.*, LX-LXI, 1953-54, pp. 46 ff. They are ubiquitous on Argive Late Geometric, e.g. *B.C.H.*, LXXVII, 1953, pls. XXIV-V; see also *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, p. 70. Also C. Robinson, *Greek and Roman Vases, Rhode Island School of Design Museum of Art*, [n.d.] p. 4, fig. 2, a fish-lid a little later than ours.

Our lid must have belonged to a pyxis like *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, XVII, 16 and *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 60, Inv. 1310. The loop-handled lid goes back to Mycenaean times, see A. Furu-

mark, *Mycenean Pottery*, Stockholm, 1941, p. 78.

**I 62** Fragment of lid. Pl. 21.

P 8206. *Agora*, VIII, 329, pl. 19. Max. dim. 0.084 m.

Nothing of edge left. Size, shape and decoration like **I 61**, but band handle of which attachments are left set further into center of disk. Head of fish pointing toward center. At edge of disk verticals and band.

Brownish glaze.

**I 63** Fragment of lid. Pl. 21.

P 25406. P. W. 0.18 m.; est. diam. 0.42 m.

Part of rim. Slight dome, bevelled at edge. Outside decorated with triangles, hatched diamonds, zigzags.

Brownish black glaze.

Cf. the lid, "L. G. Grave Groups," pp. 412-413, N 21: 6, no. 3; same as *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 291, fig. 34. Style of *C.V.A.*, Munich 3, pl. 114, a pitcher.

**I 64** Fragment of lid. Pl. 21.

P 8210. P. H. 0.09 m.; est. diam. 0.44 m.

Over half, including center, missing. Rises in a shallow cone. About 0.03 m. from edge underneath, a vertical flange to be set inside of rim. Banded on outside.

Brownish glaze.

A similar lid was found in the Middle Geometric Well L 6:2.

Late broad banding, perhaps for a bowl like *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, C 102.

**I 65** Concave Lid. Pl. 21.

P 8205. Diam. 0.183 m.

Shield-shaped, with flat rim sloping downward decorated with verticals interrupted by St. Andrew's crosses. In upper, concave side a double arched band handle with bands and star panel. Central circular handle zone reserved, outer part glazed. Underside unglazed.

Black glaze, worn.

See "L. G. Grave Groups," pp. 411-412, under E 18:1, no. 1.

**I 66** Lid, Argive monochrome. Pl. 21.

P 8239. Diam. 0.057 m.

Handmade. Nearly flat with knob handle hollowed on top. Holes on opposite sides of circumference.

Cf. *Corinth*, VII, i, under no. 52, a little handmade pyxis with just such a lid; a similar one on a hydria was found at Eleusis, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1898, col. 94, fig. 22, evidently with Late Geometric pottery. For other Argive Monochrome from the Agora see "P. A. Well Groups," under F 78.

**I 67** Fragmentary large amphora, coarse ware. Pl. 22.

P 25400. P. H. of shoulder fragment 0.17 m.; est. diam. of rim 0.38 m.; est. diam. of foot 0.19 m.

A large fragment preserves part of shoulder with cracked band handle. Neck curves into shoulder without break. Rim fragments show flat top, spreading outwards with flat vertical edge. Fragments of plain flat base.

Yellowish discoloring on outside of red micaceous clay.

This amphora has the size of a small Late Geometric pithos, (e.g. *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 156, Inv. 1234), but with short arched band handles (there were probably two) set somewhat as on the kadoi (see **N 17**); see *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, p. 189 for the general relationship of pithos and kados.

**I 68** Fragment of Pithos. Pl. 22.

P 25401. P. H. of foot 0.07 m.

Stump foot and fragment of spreading rim, slightly rounded on top.

Coarse ware with heavy rusty discoloration.

The rim fragment comes from a less flaring neck than those usual for Late Geometric pithoi (e.g. *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pl. 104, a) but fits in with fragments from earlier contexts (e.g. P 17460, A 20:5).

**I 69** Clay ball. Not illustrated.

MC 252. Diam. 0.027 m.

See under **L 44**.

**I 70-73** Spindle whorls. Not illustrated.

MC 272. Diam. 0.047 m.

MC 303. Diam. 0.049 m.

MC 304. Diam. 0.049 m.

MC 305. Diam. 0.057 m.

See under **L 61**.

**I 74** Stone whorl, Mycenaean (?). Pl. 23.

ST 151. H. 0.012 m.; diam. at bottom 0.024 m.

Cf. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 410, fig. 92 a-g, from the Mycenaean fountain on the Acropolis.

**I 75** Piece of pumice. Pl. 23.

ST 150. Max. dim. 0.08 m.

Pumice is, and probably was in ancient times, obtained from volcanic Santorini, ancient Thera.

## WELL J

**N 11:3** Well. *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 39, and C on pl. 16, a.

Depth 5.05 m.; diam. 1.0 m. Collapsed at top. Tangent to Well N 11:4 and breaking through wall. Traces of footholds. Field stones in uniform fill. Plentiful water.

**J 1** Fragment of hydria. Not illustrated.

P 24840. P. H. 0.065 m.

Shoulder fragment showing neck joint, edged by band from which hangs a group of verticals and an arrow, bands below.

From a hydria like *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, X, 1; note same shoulder ornament.

**J 2** Trefoil oinochoe. Pl. 14.

P 22433. P. H. of upper part 0.18 m.; diam. at foot 0.122 m.

Most of mouth, handle, lower body missing. Slight ridge at base of neck. Twisted handle. Foot has a slight ring. Mouth and back of neck with handle glazed. In front, panel framed by lines. In panel, meander left and right with a battlement filled with stacked M ornament in



center. At base of panel, running dotted diamonds. Shoulder glazed, with panel beginning at neck in front. Facing birds, separated by stacked ornament between lines. Body banded to base alternately with one broad band and two lines.

Black glaze, very worn.

Cf. *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pl. XVII, 4 "Severe Geometric"; *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 75. All are earlier than **J 2**. Contemporary: 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1898, pl. 5, 2.

**J 3** Round-mouthed jug. Pl. 16.

P 22453. H. to rim 0.24 m.; diam. 0.18 m.

Handle missing. Curved neck, plain rim and base, neck glazed, broad banding down body.

Black glaze, worn.

A variety of oinochoe like **L 15**, **K 9** and earlier. For other round-mouthed jugs see under **K 4**. The jugs which predominate in the 7th century also have short painted necks (see "P. A. Well Groups," F 43 ff.) but fewer bands. It almost looks as if this jug and **R 8** were early attempts to find a type.

**J 4** Fragment of krater. Pl. 18.

P 24841. P. H. 0.15 m.; est. diam. 0.43 m.

High rim with marked ridge at bottom. Top of rim slopes outwards and has broad over-

hanging flange. Shoulder little curved. Glaze inside and on rim. Below, at left, vertical panel with hatched meander framed by close zigzag between three lines on each side. At right, a panel framed at top with horizontal zigzag lines, at side with stacked chevrons; in panel concentric circles with reserved cross at center, dot rosettes at corner.

Black glaze, worn.

Cf. *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 22, Middle Geometric; *C.V.A.*, Copenhagen III H, pl. 71, 6.

**J 5** Rim-handled amphora. Pl. 22.

P 22434. H. 0.25 m.; diam. 0.218 m.

Plain base, wide oval body, broad band handles attached at flaring, flattened rim. One handle has deep groove scratched across top, and sides incised, probably to hold rope. Paring. Burnt all over.

The shape is just like that of the cooking jugs, with a second handle added; it may well be a by-product of experimenting with the kados shape (see **N 17**). This pot was evidently used for heating water since it shows signs of fire and of being used on a rope.

**J 6** Rectangular whetstone. Pl. 23.

ST 547. L. 0.157 m.

Almost intact. Light brown stone.

## WELL K

**P 7:3** Well

Depth 11.65.

Probably largely use fill; few sherds in upper fill (**K 1**, **K 10**). Twigs and wood at bottom.

**K 1** Neck fragment of amphora. Pl. 14.

P 21707. *Agora*, VIII, 5. P. H. 0.16 m.; est. diam. at rim, ca. 0.23 m.

One handle attachment preserved. Rim rounded outside, painted on to neck. On one side, a bird, to left, painted in outline with checkered body. Other side seems to have been blank.

Glaze worn.

See P 21800 under **I 2**.

**K 2** Neck amphora, banded. Pl. 13.

P 21578. *Agora*, VIII, 29, pl. 3. H. 0.40 m.; diam. 0.26 m.

Intact, except for two small holes in lower body. Rolled rim, band handles, short ring foot. Bands at rim, neck joint below handles, at widest circumference, and somewhat below. Foot painted. Two wavy lines forming loops on handles. Heavy white incrustation on one side.

Glaze worn.

In Protogeometric times banded amphorae figure among the fine ware (e.g. Desborough, pl. 3, 910). Later on they become utility ware used for bringing water from wells, though oc-

asionally a large specimen is still made for use in graves (e.g. *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, VII, 1).

The shape does not change very much except for a widening of the neck and a more flaring foot. For the 7th century history see "P. A. Well Groups," under G 38, *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, C 146.

**K 3** Trefoil oinochoe. Pl. 15.

P 21579. *Agora*, VIII, 80, pl. 5. H. 0.145 m.; diam. 0.135 m.

Intact except for hole in center shoulder, chips off mouth. Band handle attached at rim. Very slight trefoiling; plain base. Neck glazed; two lines at bottom. Shoulder divided into three zones by two lines set off from handle by vertical line. In front a panel with bird to right, dot rosettes, swastika. Banding below, solid glaze at base. Ladder on handle, St. Andrew's cross panel on straight part.

Red to black glaze.

Shape like *C.V.A.*, Copenhagen, III H, pl. 70, 3; *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 82, Inv. 811, 874. Decoration like *ibid.*, pl. 76, Inv. 274; *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, C 113; *Ath. Mitt.*, XLIII, 1918, pl. IV, 4; *Jahrb.*, XIV, 1899, p. 211, fig. 88; "L. G. Grave Groups," pp. 404-405, E 19:3, no. 2. Division of the shoulders of oinochoai into horizontal blank zones by means of fine bands, almost like a ruled staff, is a curious usage of Late Geometric.

**K 4** Round-mouthed jug. Pl. 15.

P 21580. P. H. 0.195 m.; diam. 0.17 m.

Plain base, largely missing. Plain high rim, band handle attached at rim. On handle, three panels with union jack pattern separated by lines. On neck panels, separated by three lines, left to right: a narrow panel with vertical dots; double St. Andrew's cross; the same with dot rosettes in corners; center front, union jack pattern with dots in corner; St. Andrew's cross; bird to left with dot rosettes; St. Andrew's cross. On shoulder, wavy lines edged with dots, larger dots above and below. Shoulder and

neck set off from handle panel by three lines. Broader bands to base.

Black glaze, worn.

Jugs of this shape are more modestly decorated than the great grave jugs with very high rim, e.g. *C.V.A.*, Munich 3, pls. 114-116, of which they are a variant; see *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 116, Inv. 1305, 329. For dotted snake band, dot rosettes, see a pyxis bottom, *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, XVIII, 6. Except for the broad bands the jug looks early in Late Geometric. A fairly close parallel is *Ath. Mitt.*, XLIII, 1918, pl. IV, 5, also London, British Museum [A 382], 1912, unpublished I believe.

**K 5** Standed krater. Pl. 17.

P 21706. *Agora*, VIII, 92, pl. 5. H. 0.29 m. diam. at rim 0.23 m.

*Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 110, pl. 29, a-b.

High straight rim, rolled double handles, hollow stem, ridged flaring plain base. Glazed inside, reserved zone with stretches of strokes inside rim, line on top and below top, outside. Row of dotted circles, three lines. On shoulder, same on both sides, panels, divided by three lines. In center, hatched St. Andrew's cross with concentric triangles between legs. On each side, diagonals, vertical row of dotted circles. Dotted circles near handle. Dots between lines over handles, lines on central spur. Banding below, then solid glaze, three reserved bands on foot.

Red to black glaze.

Like most small-size versions of larger pots, this krater has features of various types: 1) the large grave krater (several of these are decorated with copious dotted circles, e.g. *Agora* P 25263, Middle Geometric; *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pl. XXV and W. Kraiker, *Die Malerei der Griechen*, Stuttgart, 1958, pl. 7, top, detail, "Ripe" Geometric; *Jahrb.*, LVIII, 1943, p. 29, fig. 15. 2) Lidded bowls, like *C.V.A.*, Munich 3, pl. 105; see "L. G. Grave Groups," under N 21:6, no. 3. 3) Early egg-shaped kraters like J. D. Beazley, *The Development of Attic Black-figure*, California, 1951,

pl. 2; *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 24, Inv. 1143; see "P. A. Well Groups," under F 14. Circles as well as hatched cross bars are particularly frequent on the Islands, but rare at Athens; for the hatched cross bars see *C.V.A.*, Musée des Sevres, II E, pl. 11, no. 14; *Ath. Mitt.*, XXVIII, 1903, Beil. XXXVII, 2.

The style is Late Geometric, cf. **O 18**.

**K 6** Cut sherd. Pl. 22.

P 21585. H. 0.065 m.

Glazed only outside. Human torso (?).

Black glaze.

Perhaps a toy.

**K 7** Disk. Pl. 22.

P 21586. Diam. 0.04 m.

From a pot. Glazed inside. Outside glaze and band. Hole in center.

Black glaze.

Probably from an  $\Sigma$  O  $\Sigma$  storage jar.

**K 8** Fragment of pithos. Pl. 22.

P 25415. P. H. 0.30 m.; est. diam. at rim 0.39 m.

Short flaring rim curving into shoulder without break. Two big lugs, broken on top, from an attached arched handle.

Red micaceous clay.

An unusual shape in coarse ware, probably analogous either to the egg-shaped krater (see "P. A. Well Groups," under F 14) or the spouted bowl (see under **M 7**); such bowls in coarse ware occur in the 7th century, e.g. P 26308 (O 7:15).

**K 9** Fragment of stirrup jar, Mycenaean. Not illustrated.

P 25416. Max. dim. 0.085 m.

Disk of false neck of a large, coarse, Late Helladic III stirrup jar; see *B.S.A.*, XLII, 1947, pp. 12 ff.

**K 10** Loomweight, lead. Pl. 23.

IL 1257. H. 0.032 m.; W. 0.021 m.; Th. 0.005 m.

Shaped very much like a terracotta loomweight. Lead clamps are used plentifully in mending, even on plain pottery, and must have been cheap, see *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 415-416.

## WELL L

S 18:1 Well. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 219.

Depth 8.90 m.; diam. 1.20 m.

Circular shaft, caved in at mouth. Diameter narrows to 0.50 m. at bottom of shaft, which is slightly concave. No water, but mud at bottom. Lower fill collected during the period of use; upper fill dumped above (**L 11, 16, 21, 23, 25, 31, 37, 38, 52, 54, 55**); however fragments of **L 33, 41, 66** were found in both fills, and the upper fill did not contain the latest pieces.

**L 1** Neck amphora. Pl. 13.

P 12105. *Agora*, VIII, 9, pl. 1. H. 0.335 m.; diam. 0.23 m.

Rounded rim, band handles, vertical ring foot. Rim glazed. On both sides of neck, three

short horizontal zigzag lines, vertical wavy lines on the sides. Handle panel framed with line. On handles, wavy lines forming loops. Body glazed on to neck. Below handles, five reserved bands, one below greatest diameter, another lower.

Mottled reddish brown blaze, worn.

A small-sized amphora, in shape like the banded amphorae (see **Q 11**) the decoration partly analogous to  $\Sigma$  O  $\Sigma$  amphorae (see **R 3**), partly improvised (for the zigzags on the neck, see those in panel of **I 38**).

Another small amphora, midway between the banded and the decorated type, *C.V.A.*, Munich 3, pl. 108, 1 and 2.

This amphora, well rounded and neatly made, is perhaps somewhat earlier than two amphorae,



comparable in size, from the Agora: *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, XI, 1 and 2.

**L 2** Neck fragment of amphora. Pl. 14.

P 12281. *Agora*, VIII, 299, pl. 17. P. H. ca. 0.14 m.

Handle panel set off by vertical. Shoulder glazed. In front, concentric standing triangles with St. Andrew's crosses, star.

Black to dull brown glaze.

Cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, VI, 1, and P 21800 (under **I 2**).

**L 3** Neck fragment of an amphora. Pl. 14, photo and drawing.

P 12127. P. H. 0.076 m.

Band at top, bird with wing partly in outline and reserved face, to right. Band below.

Brown red glaze.

Cf. *Jahrb.*, XIV, 1899, p. 191, fig. 51. See P 21800 (under **I 2**).

**L 4** Neck amphora, banded. Not illustrated.

P 12282. P. H. 0.355 m.

Nearly all of neck and handles missing. Much like **Q 1**.

Glaze drippings.

**L 5** Amphora, banded. Not illustrated.

P 12283. P. H. 0.28 m.

All of upper part gone. Much like **Q 1**.

**L 6** Amphora, banded. Pl. 13.

P 12119. *Agora*, VIII, 30, pl. 3. H. 0.32 m.; diam. 0.23 m.

Complete except for chips. Inside strongly ridged by potter's fingers. Band handles attached at plain rim. Band on rim, in curve of neck, at base of handle and down the body. Foot glazed. Crossed wavy lines on handle. Around neck, clearly outlined by rust, marks of about eight turns of a twisted rope. On body more marks of a rope looped and tied to make a net around body.

Purplish to black glaze.

The advantage of this neckless, rim-handled

water jar is its sturdy compactness, combined with a wide mouth. It was invented in the second quarter of the 8th century as a variant, more convenient for water drawing, of banded neck amphorae like **N 1**. An Agora fragment, P 13652 (L 6:2) and *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 41, Inv. 296 are among the earliest, as the present one must be. They grow dumpier (**O 3**) and lose the ring foot (**O 4**; *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 139, Inv. 1230) toward the end of the century. It is likely that the banded jugs in use in the 7th century (see "P. A. Well Groups," under F 43) are simply rim-handled amphorae with one handle left off.

It is interesting that this early example was specially safeguarded with a great deal of rope.

**L 7** Quatrefoil amphoriskos. Pl. 14.

P 12113. H. 0.102 m.; diam. 0.085 m.

Part of mouth and all of base restored. Band handles attached at opposite foils of mouth. Mouth painted, reserved band, then high zone with vertical decoration, same on both sides: in center interlocking latticed triangles, at both sides checkerboard, diagonals between lines. Below zone of dots and banding. On handles, interlaced wavy lines.

Black glaze. Clay very orange, but apparently Attic.

Strangely enough the shape finds a Middle Helladic parallel (*Agora* P 13960, unpainted). The decoration is imitation Protogeometric (hatched triangles and checkerboard panels, see the lip handled amphorae, Desborough, pl. 6). Clearly the craftsman wanted to make something with an ancient look.

**L 8** Hydria. Pl. 14.

P 12124. *Agora*, VIII, 39, pl. 3. H. 0.39 m.; diam. 0.27 m.

Vertical handle and much of neck restored. Ring foot. Neck glazed, with line just below joint; on shoulder wavy line, then broad band with three bands on either side; in handle zone, wavy line, four bands, further down two bands; foot glazed. Little hole cut into neck, probably after firing.

Orange brown glaze, pitted.

See under **N 6**.

The use of wavy lines in two zones and the broad bands are a sign of lateness. The use of the air hole is to allow air to escape while the pot is submerged in the well.

**L 9** Fragmentary hydria. Pl. 14.

P 12284. P. H. 0.32 m.; diam. 0.295 m.

Top missing; attachment of one vertical handle preserved; foot restored. Shape like **N 6**. Near top of fragment, banding. In handle zone, wavy lines; the one at left ends in a snake's head. At handles a "tail" crossing over four bands below. Further down, three bands.

Red to black glaze, worn.

See under **N 6**.

7th century.

**L 10** Trefoil oinochoe. Pl. 14.

P 12104. *Agora*, VIII, 43, pl. 4. H. 0.28 m.; diam. 0.19 m.

*Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 219, fig. 21.

Front of mouth restored. Spherical body, rounded handle, plain base. Neck glazed, two lines below. Wavy line on handle. On body four overlapping sets of compass-drawn concentric circles with centers at greatest diameter of pot. Innermost circles have spokes. Front and back set smaller than those on sides. In spandrels between circles, hourglass ornament. At base, a band; on underside, a large cross.

Brown to black glaze.

For other oinochoai with concentric circles, see *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, C 114 (with references). A. Fairbanks, *Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan Vases*, I, *Boston Museum of Fine Arts*, Cambridge, 1928, pl. XXIII, 269, c; *C.V.A.*, Belgium, Brussels, Royal Museum, III H b, pl. 2, 11; H. Schaal, *Griechische Vasen*, Frankfurt a.M., 1923, pl. 1, b, c; *Keramikos*, V, 1, pl. 76, no. 1327; *Πρακτικά*, 1957, pl. 25. This decoration scheme comes from Cyprus; see Schweitzer in *Ath. Mitt.*, XLIII, 1918, pp. 143 ff., pls. 5, 2 and 6, 2.

**L 11** Trefoil oinochoe. Pl. 15.

P 12266. H. 0.27 m.; diam. 0.182 m.

Slight ridges at base of rim. Rolled handle. Plain base. Neck glazed. Wavy line on handle, two widely spaced lines on shoulder. Below one broad, four narrow bands. Rest of body glazed except for reserved zone on lower body.

Red to dull black glaze, worn.

For triple zone on shoulder see under **K 3**.

The other banding is as on  $\Sigma O \Sigma$  amphorae, and becomes usual in the subgeometric style.

Probably later than **O 7**.

**L 12** Neckless trefoil oinochoe. Pl. 15.

P 12120. H. to rim 0.24 m.; diam. 0.19 m.

Band handle, slight disk foot. Glazed to below handle, banding down to broad stripe on bottom. Ladder on handle.

Red to black glaze.

Shape like **N 11**, banding as on neck oinochoai like **P 7**.

**L 13** Neckless trefoil oinochoe. Pl. 16.

P 12115. H. to handle 0.255 m.; diam. 0.183 m.

Handle restored. Plain base. Rim glazed on to shoulder, two lines below, banding by threes down body. Broad band with line above it at base.

Black glaze, very worn.

A "light style" neck oinochoe: *C.V.A.*, Athens 2, pl. 14, 1 and 3; see also under **L 15**. Shape like **O 8**, but deeper.

**L 14** Trefoil oinochoe. Pl. 16.

P 12108. H. 0.23 m.; diam. 0.164 m.

Band handles rising over rim, decorated with bars on to top of band, crossing wavy lines below. Neck glazed; wavy line on shoulder, bands, and very broad band below, glazed to bottom.

Streaky brownish black glaze.

Like **O 8**, but deeper; therefore, to judge from the general trend, later.

**L 15** Oinochoe. Pl. 16.

P 12128. P. H. 0.125 m.; diam. 0.125 m.

Rolled (?) handle, upper part of narrow neck, part of shoulder missing. Plain, broad base. Thin double lines, widely spaced on body.

Clay much pitted, glaze very worn.

Cf. *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 83, Inv. 809, or pl. 139, top. The decoration is "light style," i.e. the solid glaze has simply been left off and only the customary fine bands remain. The shape may be either a degenerate squat oinochoe or a round-mouthed aryballos jug.

**L 16** Shoulder fragment of oinochoe. Pl. 16.

P 12267. *Agora*, VIII, 307, pl. 18. P. H. 0.082 m.

Long-eared does to right, birds in field. Bands and dotted diamond strings below.

Like the work of the Knickerbocker workshop, see Davison, "Geometric Workshops"; cf. D. Ohly, *Griechische Goldbleche*, Berlin, 1953, pl. 26.

**L 17** Fragment of trefoil oinochoe. Not illustrated.

P 12114. P. H. 0.16 m.

Back part preserves part of trefoil mouth; rolled handle, nothing of foot. Rim glazed solidly, wavy line on band. In neck, broadly spaced  $\Sigma$  ornament. Shoulder glazed, body banded. Solid glaze near bottom of fragment.

Dull black glaze.

Shape like **O 7**; for ornament see *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, C 120.

**L 18** Fragmentary oinochoe. Not illustrated.

P 12285. P. H. 0.18 m.

Neck and handle missing. Plain base. Solid glaze on shoulder. Body banded. Broader band at base.

Red to black glaze.

Like **O 7**.

**L 19** Fragmentary oinochoe. Not illustrated.

P 12286. P. H. 0.17 m.

Like **L 18** in preservation and looks.

**L 20** Jug. Pl. 16.

P 12122. P. H. 0.13 m.

Band handle attached at shoulder and strut on high neck-like rim. On rim, a panel, framed by bands above and below, by vertical lines including a hatched column at sides. In panel, bird to left with hatched body; dots around stars, "bird seed," chevrons on body. At base of neck, dots. On shoulder, connected long blobs; banding below and on handle.

Red to black glaze.

Cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, XVIII, 2; *C.V.A.*, Copenhagen, III H, pl. 70, 13; also the amphora *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 38, Inv. 816; *B.S.A.* XII, 1905-1906, p. 84, fig. 3, from Kynosarges.

**L 21** Fragment of krater (?). Pl. 18.

P 12268. *Agora*, VIII, 476, pl. 29. Max. dim. 0.085 m.

Glazed inside; outside, panel framed by hatched column with long-necked bird, man in chariot, to right.

Black to brown glaze.

Of the delicate Dipylon style represented by Davison's Kunze painter in "Geometric Workshops"; see *C.V.A.*, Louvre III H b, pl. 2, A 527 and *'Αρχ. Έφ.*, 1953-1954, I, p. 162 ff., pls. I-IV.

The figure in the chariot with hatched rear railing is one-legged, which is unusual, but whether this is an early (perhaps the earliest) case of a pure side view or the result of lack of space in the chariot is not determinable.

**L 22** Ribbon-handled bowl. Pl. 18.

P 12123. H. 0.063 m.; diam. 0.159 m.

One handle restored. High stand-up rim, low echinus body; ribbon handle with return ends; disk foot, two reserved lines and rim inside; reserved band at shoulder height. On rim outside, panels separated by hatched columns between verticals. In panels, hatched swastika, checkerboard and bird with checkerboard body and a dotted circle. In handle zone,



line-maeander, bands, and at bottom solid glaze. On handles, St. Andrew's cross panels.

Black glaze.

Such bowls occur more frequently in grave finds than in wells: *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pls. 119-121. Ours is nearer to the later, looser work of those on pl. 121. The line-maeander occurs also on pots from the Isis grave; *C.V.A.*, Athens, pl. 4, 16 and pl. 5, 5; and from the Agora, *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, XI, 4. It becomes standard in the 7th century B.C.

**L 23** Bird bowl. Pl. 17.

P 12076. H. 0.09 m.; est. diam. 0.215 m.

Plain drawn-in rim. Disk foot. Only attachments of horizontal rolled handles remain. Inside glazed red with reserved bands, including one with groups of verticals on top of rim. In handle zone, birds with dots between them, to left. Fine banding; above foot broad bands and fine lines.

Dark brown glaze.

For two-handled bowls of this type see *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, C 96 ff.

Similar bird procession: *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 121, Inv. 334.

The decoration and shape of this bowl are reminiscent of the rounded Protocorinthian kotylai which were often copied in Attica, see *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pl. XXVII, 1 and 2.

**L 24** Miniature cauldron. Pl. 18.

P 12117. H. to rim 0.06 m.; max. diam. 0.106 m.

One handle and much of one side restored. Rolled ring handle set at shoulder, in-drawn rim; plain base. On shoulder, long petals, alternately filled with crosshatching, and cross-hatched tongues. Below bands, solid glaze. Dots on handles, glazed inside.

Careless brownish black glaze.

Very similar: *B.S.A.*, XII, 1905-1906, p. 85, fig. 6, from Kynosarges. Cf. the standed miniature cauldrons in *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, XII, 2 and 3; *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 134. For the metal cauldron shape which they imitate, see

*ibid.*, pl. 164, Inv. M 129; although that had legs, some bowls were set on separate stands. For the tongue decoration see **O 19**. It is remarkable how little such miniatures change from Protogeometric on (Desborough, pl. 14, 554).

**L 25** Fragment of bowl, Light on Dark. Pl. 18.

P 12270. P. H. 0.10 m.

From lower body. Glazed inside with streaky glaze. Glazed outside with brownish black glaze, four bands in added white (tan colored), concentric circles above.

For Geometric Light on Dark see under **N 8**. In this technique the usual Geometric motifs are used with the color scheme reversed; on **L 25**, the circles are probably comparable to those seen so often on Boeotian pottery, see Hampe, *Sagenbilder*, pl. 20.

**L 26** Skyphos. Pl. 19.

P 12109. H. 0.075 m.; diam. 0.11 m.

On rim, bands. On shoulder, two panels separated by vertical lines; blobby birds facing each other, dots and zigzags in field. Glazed below and inside, except for reserved band on rim.

Streaky brown glaze.

Cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, B 52, and "L. G. Grave Group," p. 405, under E 19:3, no. 4. The present skyphos is a very careless, but not necessarily late, example of such common bird skyphoi; one has the impression that they were made by apprentices since their quality is sometimes so much lower than that of the rest of the group, e.g. in the grave *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pl. 104, b.

**L 27** Skyphos. Pl. 19.

P 12110. *Agora*, VIII, 144, pl. 8. H. 0.06 m.; diam. 0.113 m.

One half including handle restored. Plain base. Two bands on rim, in shoulder zone hatched standing triangle and zigzag. Glazed

to base and inside except for reserved line on rim.

Reddish glaze.

Degenerate version of a Geometric skyphos like *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, XXV, 1.

**L 28** Skyphos. Pl. 20.

P 12112. H. 0.06 m.; diam. 0.128 m.

Over half including handles restored. Banding on rim; on shoulder long zigzag, two bands below, then solid glaze. Fine bands inside; checker pattern on rim.

Cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, C 40 with literature and remarks on the metallic origin of this group. The zigzag band in the handle zone of these, as well as their shallow shape, shows them to be already Protoattic. A Geometric example from the Agora is *ibid.*, XXV, 1.

New pictures of two elaborate Late Geometric skyphoi of this class: *C.V.A.*, Athens 2, III H d, pl. 10 (dancers), *Festschrift Schweizer*, Stuttgart, 1954, pl. 3 (winged horses) and the skyphoi *C.V.A.*, Munich 3, pl. 124, 3, 4 which makes almost a pair with the preceding. All of these skyphoi are close in style and about contemporary with *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, XI. Perhaps a little later: E. Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg*, Munich, 1932, pls. 4, 8, no. 58.

Early 7th century B.C.

**L 29** Skyphos. Pl. 20.

P 12107. *Agora*, VIII, 136, pl. 8. H. 0.067 m.; diam. at rim 0.107 m.

Outturned rim, plain base. Hole broken in bottom. Glazed, except for reserved line half way down inside rim which has glaze line on edge area under handles and standing surface.

Brown-black glaze.

This skyphos represents the transition between the Late Geometric and the subgeometric type (see under **M 8**), being deeper and more pointed than the former, e.g. **O 25**, but more capacious and more carefully made than the latter. Cf. *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 100, Inv. 1322.

**L 30** Skyphos. Not illustrated.

P 12111. H. 0.075 m.; diam. 0.134 m.

Rim banded inside. Dot on bottom inside.

Uneven brown-black glaze.

Like **L 29**.

**L 31** Skyphos. Not illustrated.

P 12264. Upper fill. H. 0.085 m.; est. diam. 0.15 m.

Streaky brown-black glaze.

Like **L 29**.

**L 32** Fragment of skyphos. Pl. 20.

P 12278. P. W. 0.043 m.

Glazed inside. In panel, facing birds with hatched bodies, star.

Black glaze, worn.

**L 33** Fragment of skyphos. Pl. 20.

P 25290. P. H. 0.055 m.

Glazed outside, bands near top. Inside, broad bands and fine lines between them.

Black glaze, brown for fine lines.

From a skyphos like *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 129, Inv. 787. **O 25** is similar on the outside but unbanded inside.

**L 34** Fragment of skyphos. Pl. 20.

P 12277. P. H. 0.037 m.

Part of flaring rim, handle attachment. Dots on rim, bands inside and out, arch about handle, hanging and standing hatched triangles. Inside "bird and birdseed" procession to left.

Brownish black glaze.

Outside like **O 23**. For the "bird and birdseed" see *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 129, Inv. 788; *C.V.A.*, Munich 3, pl. 124, 1, 2. This painting style is treated by Davison, "Geometric Workshops."

**L 35** Fragment of skyphos. Not illustrated.

P 12276. Est. diam. 0.08 m.

Brownish black glaze.

Like **O 19**.

- L 36** One-handed cup, Phaleron. Not illustrated.

P 12118. H. 0.038 m.; diam. 0.069 m.

Dull brownish black glaze.

Like **R 15**.

- L 37** Fragment of cup, Phaleron. Not illustrated.

P 12269. Est. diam. 0.11 m.

Broad bands inside, verticals on rim. Vertical wavy lines outside, bands below.

Brown glaze.

From a cup like **R 15** in shape.

- L 38** One-handed cup. Not illustrated.

P 12265. H. 0.075 m.; est. diam. at rim 0.10 m.

Handle partly glazed on top, vertical lines below.

Streaky brownish black glaze.

Like **R 7**.

- L 39** Fragment of cup. Not illustrated.

P 12279. H. 0.038 m.; diam. 0.075 m.

Glazed with streaky brownish glaze, reserved band at rim inside and out.

From a cup like **R 14** in shape.

- L 40** Fragment of plate. Pl. 21.

P 12280. P. W. 0.09 m.

Bars on handle, groups of verticals at rim inside and out. Inside broad glaze bands; outside leaves and hanging hatched triangles.

Brown to black glaze.

Cf. *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 104, Inv. 1144. The little hanging triangles achieve an effect like the zigzags, *ibid.*, pl. 121, top.

- L 41** Fragment of lid. Pl. 21.

P 25289. P. H. 0.095 m.; est. diam. 0.19 m.

Part of circumference, nothing of center. Slight dome. Standing surface on underside. Outside has dots framed by triple lines, and one heavy and two light bands alternating.

Brownish black glaze.

Banding system used on the oinochoai, *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pl. XXVI; *C.V.A.*, Munich 3, pl. 112, 1 and 2; these are from the Dipylon workshop, see Davison, "Geometric Workshops."

- L 42** Disk. Pl. 22.

P 12275. Diam. 0.06 m.

From wall of Dipylon pot; diagonal columns and vertical banding.

Brown glaze.

- L 43** Disk. Pl. 22.

P 12274. Diam. 0.073 m.

From coarse pithos. Hole in center, worn as if by rope passing diagonally through.

- L 44** Clay ball. Pl. 22.

MC 455. Diam. 0.008 m. Undecorated.

Clay balls, usually though not always decorated with dots, are found in graves, but all are earlier than Late Geometric; see *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, under C 176; *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 15.

- L 45** Cooking jug. Pl. 22.

P 12106. H. 0.203 m.; diam. 0.167 m.

Intact. Plain base; band handle attached at rim; wide neck. Horizontal paring on body; burnt down front.

For a general discussion of this cooking ware see "P. A. Well Groups," Introduction and F 50. Earlier examples like *Kerameikos*, I, pl. 75, Protogeometric, and *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 154, up to Inv. 832, Geometric, are unevenly made, ungainly in shape, and the fabric is heavy. The Geometric ones are a little more rounded, and thinner in fabric; otherwise there is little development observable. Late in the 8th century there is a noticeable change in technique; the walls become thin and even, the contours rounded and shapely and the edges crisp.

The present pot looks rather like a transition between the earlier and the later, predominantly 7th century, series.



**L 46** Cooking jug. Pl. 22.

P 12125. H. 0.20 m.; diam. 0.167 m.

Like **L 45**. Burnt down front.

**L 47** Incised cooking jar. Pl. 22.

P 12116. *Agora*, VIII, 204, pl. 11. H. 0.352 m.; diam. 0.257 m.

Like **Q 11**, but swastika is made of plain line edge with chevrons and double dashes, probably with a pronged reed. Shape of pot deformed.

**L 48** Incised cooking jar. Pl. 22.

P 12126. H. 0.32 m.; diam. 0.24 m.

Like **L 47**, but less decorated, with knobs widely spaced. At rim and above knobs, wavy line. On handle, one wavy line down center, one across. Burnt down front.

**L 49** Neck fragment, coarse ware. Pl. 23.

P 12288. P. H. 0.05 m.

From narrow neck with wide band handle attached at rim. On handle, three sets of triple lines with zigzags between. On neck, horizontal triple lines met by "bushes" made of triple lines and little diagonals.

From an unusual coarse ware shape, perhaps an oinochoe.

**L 50** Cooking jug. Not illustrated.

P 12121. H. 0.23 m.; diam. 0.184 m.

Like **L 45**. Burnt down front.

**L 51** Cooking jug. Not illustrated.

P 12287. H. 0.23 m.; diam. 0.177 m.

Like **L 46**, but more pointed bottom; burned on front and base.

**L 52** Fragment of brazier or bowl, coarse ware. Not illustrated.

P 12273. *Agora*, VIII, 619, pl. 40. P. H. 0.08 m.; est. diam. 0.40 m.

Flaring side with thickened flat rim and vertical rolled handle, flattened at bend. Burning on inside.

Perhaps from a large semi-cylindrical brazier

like *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, C 165, but also possibly from a straight-sided basin.

**L 53** Incised shoulder fragment, coarse ware. Pl. 23.

P 12289. P. H. 0.09 m.

At bottom zigzag, three lines from which spring bushes (?) made of three main branches and short diagonals.

A similar incision technique, also employing short strokes edging longer lines, is used on a special handmade ware which is no longer produced in the 8th century (*Kerameikos*, IV, pls. 29-31; V, 1, pl. 157, up to Inv. 1222). When revived, it appears mostly on micaceous household ware like **L 47** and this fragment and employs wavy instead of straight lines.

**L 54** Incised handle fragment, coarse ware. Pl. 23.

P 12272. W. of handle 0.034 m.

Vertical band handle attached at rim meets rising basket band handle. Mouth was covered (probably with strainer); three sets of three incised lines run across both handles, crossing line at rim.

Coarse ware version of a banded basket handled pot, see *C.V.A.*, Athens 1, pl. 3, 3 and 4.

**L 55** Incised fragment, coarse ware. Not illustrated.

P 12271. P. H. 0.065 m.

Knob, double wavy lines above, swastika of double wavy lines below. Like **O 39**.

**L 56** Fragment of terracotta wheel (?). Pl. 22.

MC 463. Est. diam. ca. 0.10 m.

Thin disk with hole in center. On one side a glaze square around the hole, on the other a cross (?). Probably from a terracotta wagon or chariot; see *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, under XII, 24, also "P. A. Well Groups," G 48.

**L 57** Spindle whorl. Pl. 23.

MC 453. Diam. 0.038 m.; Th. 0.027 m.

Four rays of rouletting, done with a toothed wheel as on Argive monochrome (see "P. A. Well Groups," under H 43). The cross is apparently a mark (of ownership?) which occurs on amphora necks, e.g. P 6423 (L 6:2) and disks, e.g. *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 603.

**L 58-60** Spindle whorls. Not illustrated.

MC 451. Diam. 0.043 m.

MC 452. Diam. 0.047 m.

MC 462. Diam. 0.042 m.

Like **L 57**, but undecorated.

**L 61** Spindle whorl. Pl. 23.

MS 454. Diam. 0.047 m.; Th. 0.03 m.

Double convex, hole pierced through center before firing. On one side, four stamped rosettes, all made with the same instrument, perhaps the notched stalk of a plant.

A loomweight from L 6:2 (MC 204) has one similar rosette. Those from that group seem to be the earliest of biconical shape (see "L. G. Grave Groups," pp. 410-411, under E 19: 2, no. 4); the earlier shape is a single cone with convex sides. The biconical whorls are standard

for the 7th century (see "P. A. Well Groups," under F 61) and they then cease to be decorated, though loomweights still sometimes have rosettes.

**L 62-64** Stone disks. Not illustrated.

ST 230. Diam. 0.121 m.; Th. 0.032 m. Poros.

ST 231. Diam. 0.19 m.; Th. 0.076 m. Lava (?).

ST 229. Diam. 0.122 m.; Th. 0.031 m. Sandstone (?).

**L 65** Pierced stone disk. Pl. 23.

ST 235. Diam. 0.08 m.; Th. 0.044 m. Poros.

Worn hole in center. Perhaps used as a lid, see "P. A. Well Groups," under F 62.

**L 66** Six Mycenaean goblet stems. Three illustrated. Pl. 22.

P 25288. P. H. of largest 0.06 m.

Perhaps used as bobbins, like **P 26**. These stems look just like the bobbins made for the purpose; see *Corinth*, XII, nos. 1279-1281, p. 178, pl. 79.

## WELL M

N 11:5 Well. *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 39, and E on pl. 16, a.

Depth 4.50 m., from bedrock; diam. 0.95 m.

Narrows at bottom. Footholds on east and west. Uniform fill; water pot (**M 3**) and Dipylon neck (**M 1**) were found near bottom, the latter perhaps used as lining. Bones found in the well make it likely that it had cut through a grave, as it was itself overlain by one (N 11:1, Late Geometric, see "L. G. Grave Groups," pp. 413-414).

**M 1** Neck of amphora. Pl. 14.

P 22435. a) P. H. of neck from its base 0.39 m.; diam. at rim 0.50 m.; b) diam. of base 0.25 m.

*Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 39, pl. 18, a, other side; *Agora*, VIII, 303, pl. 17.

Nothing preserved of body but part of shoulder with lower part of band handle. a) Heavy rounded rim, glazed, with dotted reserved zone. Below, two lines, dotted running diamonds, then three lines. Neck divided into four panels by vertical maeander at center and zigzag line between bands at sides. At bottom, running dotted diamonds. In top panels, concentric circle with vertical wavy line in center, chevrons, vertical wavy lines at sides, dots around circumference. In bottom panels, horses facing center, chevrons, scriggles, hatched diamond star. The same on other side of neck.

On handles, panels (probably three) with crosses edged by three lines. Broad zone under handles glazed.

On shoulder, standing hatched triangles,

dotted running diamond framed by three lines, hanging hatched triangles.

b) Ring foot, bevelled at base. Bottom knocked out, perhaps in antiquity. Foot glazed.

Brownish black glaze, worn.

Illustrated by Davison, "Geometric Workshops"; belongs to the sub-Dipylon group. Exact parallel in *Jahrb.*, XIV, 1899, p. 194, fig. 97; similar, a neck from the Academy area, *B.C.H.*, LXXXI, 1957, p. 508, fig. 9.

**M 2** Neck of amphora. Pl. 13.

P 22439. *Agora*, VIII, 322, pl. 18. P. H. 0.135 m.; diam. at rim 0.17 m.

Part of shoulder preserved. Rounded rim, band handles. Rim glazed, two crude lines below. Handle zones framed by three lines. In panels, grazing horse to right, zigzags, hour-glass ornament. Shoulder glazed. On handles, horizontal lines, but vertical ones in panel over bend.

Streaky reddish brown glaze.

Illustrated by Davison, "Geometric Workshops," from the Benaki workshop; cf. the Benaki amphora, *B.S.A.*, XLII, 1947, pl. 19.

**M 3** Amphora, banded. Pl. 13.

P 22443. H. 0.33 m.; diam. 0.225 m.

Wavy line on handles. High ring foot.

Brown to black glaze, worn.

Like **N 1**.

**M 4** Neckless trefoil oinochoe, running dog. Pl. 15.

P 22430. *Agora*, VIII, 361, pl. 21. H. to rim 0.24 m.; diam. 0.17 m.

Shape like **N 11**. Five hounds on shoulder. Panel is set off at handle by vertical zigzags with two lines on each side; zigzags only in field. Dogs have spiky tails.

Fabric discolored. Black glaze, much worn.

Workshop of amphora Athens 897, see Davison, "Geometric Workshops," and *B.S.A.*, XLII, 1947, pl. 20, b.

**M 5** Waster, oinochoe. Pl. 16.

P 22438. P. H. 0.11 m.

Double handle. Body banded, on neck a panel with animal to right.

From an oinochoe like **P 7**. Either potter's refuse or the result of a house fire.

**M 6** Neckless trefoil oinochoe. Pl. 16.

P 22437. H. 0.105 m.; diam. 0.085 m.

Part of mouth and band handle missing. Lower body bevelled. Plain base. Glazed all over except for broad banded zone below handle.

Black glaze, much discolored and worn.

Cf. *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, p. 25, fig. 1, 47.5, from a late 8th century grave; subgeometric.

**M 7** Fragmentary spouted krater. Pl. 17.

P 22440. *Agora*, VIII, 339, pl. 20. P. H. 0.20 m.; diam. at rim 0.38 m.

All of lower part missing; much of rolled vertical handles restored. Short stand-up rim with slight flange on outside and flat top. Spout attached to rim and body pierced for it. Glazed inside, groups of verticals on top of rim, glaze around spout. Flange glazed and double line at base of rim. Broad bands on lower body. On shoulder, in handle zone in back: three long-legged, long-horned bulls to left with reserved eyes and squiggle tails. In field, stacked M ornament, zigzags, vertical squiggles; under each bull's belly, a hatched diamond star. In front, on both sides of spout, one grazing horse with bristle mane to left. Under spout, boar-snouted running dog to left. Under horses' bellies, a hatched diamond star. In field, zigzags and diamonds. On both sides of handles, framing zones of vertical lines with a vertical lattice ornament in center. Framing glaze arcs at handle attachment.

Black glaze, almost worn off.

This Late Geometric shape, a revival from the Mycenaean period (see *B.S.A.*, XLII, 1947, p. 39, Type B, pl. 10, 2), follows the general development in beginning fairly broad and low (Hampe, *Sagenbilder*, pl. 22, the Toronto and



London bowls; also *Jahrb.*, XIV, 1899, p. 111, fig. 19, from Menidi); **M 7** probably belongs to this stage. Then this shape grows deeper and more open ("P. A. Well Groups," F 19); **P 12** belongs to that stage. During the 7th century the trend is reversed toward lowness (*op. cit.*, under F 20).

Late Geometric representations of cattle: **P 10**; skyphos, E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, Munich, 1923, Vol. III, pl. 4, 14. Two other pots, both jugs, probably by the same hand, form a little group with the skyphos, showing a weirdly affected Dipylon manner; *Ath. Mitt.*, XLIII, 1918, pl. III, also in H. Schaal, *Griechische Vasen*, Frankfurt a.M., 1923, p. 19, fig. 6; and Robinson, Harcum, and Iliffe, *Greek Vases in Toronto*, Toronto, 1930, Vol. II, pl. IX, 120. A skyphos in *C.V.A.*, Munich 3, pl. 124, 1 has the same outside decoration as the cattle skyphos, i.e., bird and birdseed. A fairly close Early Proto-attic bull: *C.V.A.*, Berlin 1, pl. 8, 2. See also E. Kunze, *Kretische Bronzereliefs*, Stuttgart, 1931, pl. 53, c.

The bulls on our bowl are seen more truly sideways, i.e., their horns are not shown as a crescent but parallel. The horses are much like those of the Stathatou workshop (Davison, "Geometric Workshops," e.g. *B.S.A.*, XLVI, 1951, p. 45, name amphora). Very late Late Geometric work.

In view of the frequency of bull representations in Mycenaean times it is remarkable to see the variety of cattle in Attic Geometric; they are almost unknown before Late Geometric (see *Kerameikos*, V, 1, p. 41 and note 95; the Areopagus pyxides with plastic bulls are Middle Geometric). They do not occur even on gold bands; the 9th century phiale (*ibid.*, pl. 162) with a bull is oriental. Cattle bones are found in Geometric grave fills, though apparently not in large amounts (*Hesperia*, Suppl. II, p. 19); this fact supports Thalia

Howe's thesis that meat was not plentiful in the "Dark Age" diet (*A.J.A.*, LXIII, 1959, p. 189). For stylistic reasons for the absence of cattle, see Kunze, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-159.

#### **M 8** Skyphos. Pl. 20.

P 22423. H. 0.065 m.; diam. 0.093 m.

Reserved line inside and outside, part way down. Banding on rim. Outside, rim reserved. Black glaze.

Cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, B 53-54, C 45-47. These innocuous little cups are the subgeometric followers of the simple Late Geometric skyphoi, like *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, XX, 1-3 or **O 25**. They are deep and narrow about the turn of the 8th to the 7th century. Later on in the 7th century they grow shallow again, see "P. A. Well Groups," under F 33.

#### **M 9** Skyphos. Pl. 19.

P 22431. H. 0.072 m.; diam. 0.097 m.

On shoulder, in center, zigzags; at sides, crude vertical lines. Reserved line on rim, inside.

Streaky brownish black glaze, worn.

Type of **R 12**; late and careless.

#### **M 10** Kantharos, unglazed. Pl. 20.

P 22424. H. 0.065 m.; diam. 0.087 m.

Cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, C 70 ff. Such cheap versions of two- and one-handled cups were made in large quantities.

#### **M 11** One-handled cup. Pl. 20.

P 22422. *Agora*, VIII, 180, pl. 10. H. 0.065 m.; diam. at rim 0.098 m.

Intact. Small hole cut in top of handle, very slightly offset base. Glazed all over except for banding inside rim; horizontal strokes on handle; reserved standing surface.

Brown to black glaze.

Cf. *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 107, Inv. 357. The hole is perhaps for hanging on a nail or peg.

## WELL N

## Q 8:9 Well.

Depth 11.75 m.; diam. 1 m.

Shaft roughly cut; collapsed during period of use; most of the fill comes from this period. Compact fill of late 8th century B.C.

## N 1 Amphora, banded. Pl. 13.

P 23656. H. 0.26 m.; diam. 0.19 m.

Rolled rim, band handles set just below rim. Careless broad banding and broad glaze streak on handles. Rusty deposit.

Brownish red glaze.

A series midway between neck amphorae like **K 2** and rim handled amphorae like **O 3**, i.e., with the handles attached beneath the rim but without a neck offset, seems to have been invented in Late Geometric times and to have been in use through the 7th century (see "P. A. Well Groups," G 38) without much change.

## N 2 Amphora, banded. Pl. 13.

P 23658. H. 0.23 m.; diam. 0.165 m.

Like **N 1**, but the banding closer and more careless. Handle panels marked off by three vertical lines. Thinner bands in handle zone.

Red glaze.

## N 3 Amphora, banded. Pl. 13.

P 23669. H. 0.305 m.; diam. 0.225 m.

Intact. Handles attached just below rim. Rim glazed, wavy line on handles, rough banding on body; foot carelessly glazed.

Red glaze.

Like **N 1**.

## N 4 Amphora, banded. Not illustrated.

P 23650. H. 0.14 m.; diam. 0.11 m.

Intact except for one handle and chip of body. A small version of **N 1**, but without foot. Plain rim, slanting out.

Red to brown glaze, worn.

## N 5 Amphora, banded. Not illustrated.

P 23660. P. H. 0.385 m.; diam. 0.275 m.

Rim missing. Small hole low on body, larger one on shoulder. Like **Q 1**.

Black glaze, worn.

## N 6 Hydria. Pl. 14.

P 23674. P. H. 0.35 m.; diam. 0.28 m.

Neck restored (not in photograph). Rim fragment preserved; thickened rim rounded outside. Vertical band handle, horizontal rolled handles, ring foot. At base of neck, three little holes were cut. Rim glazed; three bands at base of neck, crossing wavy lines on handle. Shoulder reserved. Below vertical handle attachment, three lines (on uppermost of which short vertical strokes in sets of six), broad band, two lines. In handle zone wavy line, slapdash "tails" at handles. Below, one line, broad band, two lines; further down one line, foot glazed.

Chalky soft clay, mottled brownish red glaze.

See *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, V, 1 and X, 2 with references. Young there points out the Proto-geometric look of these hydriai, apparently a survival rather than a revival, for such hydriai are found in contexts as early as the first half of the 8th century (Agora P 6163 and P 6421, Well L 6:2; *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 50, both from Grave 89). Systems of banding analogous to the banding on utility ware are used alongside the archaic looking broad and narrow bands and large light zones. In the later 8th century single wave bands and hanging and standing strokes in the shoulder zone appear (e.g. **N 6**, **J 1**). These are deliberate archaisms which betray themselves by the fact that the Protogeometric wave bands are usually either double or triple and that the strokes do not stand on the shoulder band but hang from the neck joint (see Desborough, pls. 4, 5, 14). The wave band is, of course, generally adopted in Protoattic pottery, and on the later pots of this hydria series it shows its Protoattic nature by acquiring an arrow (**O 6**) or a snakehead at the end of a band running wildly over the zone (**L 9**).

A great number of miniatures of this type was found in the "Archaic Stratum" in the Argive Heraion, see *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 197 ff., pls. 54-55, also at Delos, *Délos*, XV, pls. 6 ff. See also, from the Samian Heraion, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXVIII, 1953, Beil. 42, p. 120, 7th century; from Tarsus, *The Aegean and the Near East, Studies Presented to Hetty Goldman*, Locust Valley, 1956, pp. 176 ff. The holes at the shoulder facilitate filling the pot by acting as air vent.

**N 7** Oinochoe. Pl. 15.

P 23649. P. H. 0.21 m.; diam. 0.14 m.

Mouth and handle broken off, otherwise intact. Like **P 7**, with slightly different neck panel: horse to right, mane broken away; stacked M ornament, hatched diamond under horse. Panel edged by oblique stroke zone framed with lines.

Black glaze, worn.

**N 8** Trefoil oinochoe, Light on Dark. Pl. 15.

P 23673. H. 0.26 m.; diam. 0.18 m.

Band handle, disk base. Glazed all over. On handle, ladder ornament, on neck five white lines, not in complete circles, but showing gap under handle.

Mottled red to black glaze.

White paint is not as common on Attic Geometric (see *Kerameikos*, V, 1, p. 175, note 161) as on Corinthian, and it is possible that our oinochoe and **N 9** are actually Corinthian imports, though this is not obvious from the clay. Corinthian Late Geometric Light and Dark oinochoai have a wider neck (*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 209, C 3, pls. 72-74; XVIII, 1949, p. 153, pl. 19, 26 left), but this may be because they are somewhat later than ours.

Third quarter of the 8th century B.C.

**N 9** Neck fragment of trefoil oinochoe, Light on Dark, Pl. 15.

P 23671. P. H. 0.13 m.

Most of mouth broken off; part of shoulder preserved. Rolled handle. Glazed all over.

Seven white bands on lower part of neck. On front of shoulder two rows of running hook ornament, white line just below lower handle attachment.

Red to black glaze.

See under **N 8**.

**N 10** Oinochoe. Not illustrated.

P 23675. P. H. 0.305 m.; diam. 0.275 m.

Neck and handle missing. Like **Q 3** in scheme but shoulder glazed solid where **Q 3** has coursing hounds. Bit of neck shows banding.

Mottled black and red glaze.

**N 11** Neckless trefoil oinochoe, running dog. Pl. 16.

P 23654. *Agora*, VIII, 360, pl. 21. H. to rim 0.24 m.; diam. 0.175 m.

Double rolled handle attached at narrow trefoil mouth; neck makes curve with shoulder; plain base. On shoulder, pair of grazing deer, diamond chevrons, water bird. Below, band with zigzags. Body banded.

Clay has impurities. Dull black glaze, worn in places.

Assigned to the Stathatou hand, Davison, "Geometric Workshops" and there illustrated. See *B.S.A.*, XLVI, 1951, p. 45 for the name amphora. The heraldic opposition of the animals is a new element; usually they all go in one direction.

The loose, sack-like shape is a Late Geometric invention probably made specifically for use at the well where a streamlined pot is more desirable than an articulated one. It becomes a fine ware shape, an "olpe," during the 7th century, see "P. A. Well Groups," under G 5.

**N 12** Neckless trefoil oinochoe, running dog. Pl. 15.

P 23655. *Agora*, VIII, 84 = 359, pls. 7, 21. H. to rim 0.235 m.; diam. 0.18 m.

Shoulder panel has three hounds chasing a hare. Fill ornament of zigzags, running diamond, hourglass. Three bands below lower



handle attachment, then zone with stretches of vertical scriggles. Broader banding and a higher zone of solid glaze. Disk foot, not offset from body.

Red to black glaze, worn.

Late Geometric hound and hare chases: R. Hampe, *Die Gleichnisse Homers und die Bildkunst seiner Zeit*, Tübingen, 1952, pls. 8, 13, Munich oinochoe; *B.S.A.*, XXXV, 1934-1935, pl. 25, 4, jug in Empedocles Collection; G. M. A. Richter, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Handbook of the Greek Collection*, Cambridge, Mass., 1943, p. 186, a. Hares only: *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pl. XXVIII, 2, Attic kotyle; Protoattic: E. Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg*, Munich, 1932, no. 79, pl. 7. Late Geometric hound and fox chases: *C.V.A.*, Athens 2, pl. 14, 1 and 3; Hampe, *op. cit.*, pl. 13, b, Oxford amphora; *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, C 30. These motifs seem to be both earlier and more frequent in Athens than in Corinth in the 8th century; this is reversed in the 7th (see Johansen, *V.S.*, p. 86, notes 1-7).

Very close to the above mentioned Empedocles jug; illustrated by Davison, "Geometric Workshops," as showing the close relationship between the manner of amphorae Athens 897 and 894 (see *B.S.A.*, XLII, 1947, pls. 20, b and 22, b).

**N 13** Neckless trefoil oinochoe. Pl. 16.

P 23657. H. to rim 0.215 m.; diam. 0.155 m.

Part of mouth restored. Band handle; neck continuous with body, disk foot. Ladder on handle, rim and neck glazed. Three lines, then wavy line on shoulder, banding by threes down body, broad band at foot.

Brown to black glaze, very worn.

Like **L 13**, but later to judge from the wavy line, broader banding, deeper body.

**N 14** Skyphos. Not illustrated.

P 23652. H. 0.065 m.; diam. 0.095 m.

Intact.

Streaky brown to black glaze.

Like **N 15**.

**N 15** Skyphos. Not illustrated.

P 23651. H. 0.062 m.; diam. 0.10 m.

Intact. Glazed inside, bands on rim and over them four groups of strokes. Outside, reserved line at rim, glaze below.

Brick red glaze.

See under **M 8**.

**N 16** One-handled cup. Pl. 20.

P 23672. *Agora*, VIII, 181, pl. 10. H. 0.073 m.; diam. 0.093 m.

Deep body. Glazed inside; on rim, banding and short strokes on top of rim. Horizontal lines on handle. Glazed outside to just above base.

Reddish brown glaze.

Cf. *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 106, grave 100. This deep shape introduces the subgeometric series. The development is analogous to that of the subgeometric skyphos, see under **M 8**, and "P. A. Well Groups," under F 35 ff., G 25 ff.

**N 17** Kados, coarse ware. Pl. 22.

P 23659. *Agora*, VIII, 195, pl. 11. H. 0.305 m.; diam. 0.215 m.

One handle broken, otherwise intact. Neck flares to plain rim; band handles; false ring foot.

For the name of this amphora-like water pot see D. A. Amyx, "The Attic Stelai" under *Kados*, *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, p. 189, pl. 47, d. The series begins in the late 8th century; evidently this specimen is among the earliest, rather deep and without an offset foot. The banded amphora series (see **N 1**) has a similar form at this time. For the 7th century development, when rolled handles, high ring feet and a rounder body prevail, see "P. A. Well Groups," under F 46.

**N 18** Cooking jar. Pl. 22.

P 23653. H. 0.20 m.; diam. 0.145 m.

Intact. Like **L 45**, but more evenly shaped,

rim turned out more, slimmer and perhaps a little later. Burnt down front. Perfectly preserved.

A similar one found with a Late Geometric grave from the Dipylon, *Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, pl. VIII, 2, no. 4.

## WELL OR PIT O

M 11:1 Pit. *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 202, pl. XLVI, 4.

Ca. 1.80 m. by 1.50 m.; depth 0.40 m. Irregular in shape, contents unstratified.

**O 1** Fragment of neck, Early Protoattic. Pl. 14.

P 17207 a. P. H. 0.045 m.

Thickens at bottom. Hind legs and tail of animal to right. Vertical diagonals, band below. Black glaze.

Cf. *B.S.A.*, XXXV, 1934-1935, pl. 38, a, neck.

**O 2** Fragments of closed pot, Protoattic. Pl. 14.

P 17207 b. One fragment from well, M 11:3, Protoattic. P. H. 0.03 m.

Non-joining. Spirals connected by double lines. Dotted triangle hanging from line on top. Brown glaze.

Cf. *C.V.A.*, Athens 2, III H e, pl. 6.

**O 3** Amphora, banded. Pl. 13.

P 17197. H. 0.235 m.; diam. 0.19 m.

Like **L 6**, but wavy line on handle and no band below handles. Handles arched higher, more bulbous body, high vertical ring foot. Knife marks on lower body.

Dark discolored clay, black to red glaze, worn.

**O 4** Amphora, banded. Pl. 13.

P 17198. H. 0.16 m.; diam. 0.145 m.

Like **O 3**, but has rounded rim slightly offset and no foot.

Red to brown glaze.

**N 19** Small cooking jug. Not illustrated.

P 23670. Est. H. 0.11 m.

Band handle and hole through bottom, perhaps intentional. Blackened all over front and bottom and even on outside.

Small version of type of **L 45**.

Cf. *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 139, Inv. 1230 and *Ath. Mitt.*, LXVIII, 1953, p. 120, Beil. 42, late 8th and 7th centuries, respectively.

**O 5** Neck amphora, banded. Not illustrated.

P 17199. P. H. 0.251 m.

Lower part missing. Much like **K 2**.

Worn black glaze.

**O 6** Fragment of hydria. Not illustrated.

P 17208. P. W. 0.32 m.

Part of body with vertical handle. Shape like **N 6**. Broad bands on top; in handle zone, wavy line ending in arrowhead at left. Glaze over handles and short "tails." Below three bands, then solid glaze.

Black glaze, very worn.

Like *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, V, 1, except for the broad glaze band on the lower body, wider spacing of upper banding.

**O 7** Trefoil oinochoe. Pl. 15.

P 17194. *Agora*, VIII, 270, pl. 16. H. 0.22 m.; diam. 0.145 m.

*Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pl. XLVI, 4.

Rolled handle, plain base. Neck, shoulder, handle glazed. On lower neck, reserved zone with thick vertical strokes connected by diagonals, framed by two lines top and bottom. Above this zone, pattern of little circles incised with deep centers, five in front, two at sides. Banded down body to base.

Red to black glaze.

Cf. *C.V.A.*, France, Musée Rodin, pl. 8, no. 5.

Earlier: *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 76, about contemporary with *ibid.*, pl. 78, also *C.V.A.*, Munich 3, pl. 112, 3 and 4. Later: *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, C 115 ff.

The circles are curious, about the earliest ornamental incision known on Attic painted pots, made by an instrument undoubtedly intended for some other use; such circles are often found on ivory, e.g. R. M. Dawkins, ed., *Artemis Orthia*, London, 1929, pls. CLXIV-CLXV; *B.S.A.*, XLIV, 1949, pl. 11.

(An oinochoe from Aegina, K. Kraiker, *Aigina, die Vasen des 10. bis 7. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1957, pl. 6, 107, from an "Unknown Workshop" with Cycladic features, is very much like one cited above, *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 78, Inv. 841).

**O 8** Trefoil oinochoe. Pl. 16.

P 17193. Rest. H. to rim. 0.20 m.; diam. 0.165 m.

Top part of band handle and base restored. Rim flattened on top. On handle, ladder and St. Andrew's cross. Solid glaze to shoulder; on shoulder wavy line, then banding about half way down body. Solid glaze below.

Orange to brown glaze, worn.

Just like *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 82, Inv. 811, Grave 88; the other pots in this grave (*ibid.*, pls. 98, 117) are careful and not late. See also *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, XIV, 1; IX, 16, 17; *C.V.A.*, Copenhagen, pl. 70, 3. All these are varieties of a basic type. Earlier than these, **K 3**. Far more common than these wide-mouthed jugs are the olpe type jugs like **M 4** of which the former are variants. A really wide-necked oinochoe type comes to Athens only in the later 7th century, under Corinthian influence; see "P. A. Well Groups," under G 8.

**O 9** Jug. Pl. 16.

P 17196. *Agora*, VIII, 321, pl. 18. P. H. 0.104 m.

Just like **L 28**, but in panel a goat looking backward and kneeling with forefeet, zigzags in field.

Brownish black glaze.

The goat is derived from those of the Hirschfeld Workshop, see Davison, "Geometric Workshops"; the New York krater, *Jahrb.*

LVIII, 1943, p. 29, fig. 15 (also the Athens krater, *ibid.*, p. 21, fig. 10, which has birds and dot rosettes with trailers like **L 28**); and especially a pitcher in London, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXIII, 1928, Beil. VIII; also a ribbon handled bowl, *Jahrb.* XIV, 1899, p. 215, fig. 99. Possibly the goat's position is intended to depict a "galop ramassé," see *Rev. Arch.*, XIX, 1942-1943, pp. 18 ff., fig. 1.

**O 10** Stand fragments. Pl. 18.

P 17206. P. H. of fragment with birds to right 0.155 m.; W. of panels 0.12 m. and 0.06 m.

Fragments preserve lower standing ring with bevelled edge, three panels with finished edges and grooves at top and bottom. Part of standing ring has finished upper edge showing that there were windows as large as panels. Above, two more zones marked by grooves. Top zone has vertical wavy lines, below a hatched zigzag. In panels, all framed by three lines, 1) birds with hatched bodies to right, stars and standing hatched triangles; 2) hatched zigzag with hanging and standing triangles; 3) facing birds, a fill ornament as in 1). Below vertical wavy lines and band on bevel.

Brown glaze.

For other such stands, see *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, under C 150. These stands are made similarly to those which are attached to Late Geometric stood bowls (e.g. *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 126) but they have mouldings like earlier separate stands (*ibid.*, pl. 69). The birds, with their pointed and curved bodies, are the ubiquitous Late Geometric type; one variant (with a non-hatched stripe along the back) is regularly copied in Boeotia, see Hampe, *Sagenbilder*, pl. 20 ff.

**O 11** Basin, Protoattic. Pl. 17.

P 17185. H. 0.185 m.; diam. 0.33 m.

Foot and most of one side restored. Slightly flaring stand-up rim, flattened on top, rolled handles. Rim glazed, on shoulder wavy band; over handles wavy band framed by straight



bands. Body banded, solid glaze at base. Glazed inside, groups of verticals on rim.

Black glaze, worn.

For similar Protoattic bowls, see *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, C 96 ff. **O 11** is still Geometric, not really much different from large skyphoi like **I 29** except in having a high rim. Similar bowls were made in Corinth: Johansen, *V.S.*, pl. II, 1 and 2. The decoration is as on the simple ware of Late Geometric, e.g. *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, XV, 1.

**O 12** Basket bowl. Pl. 18.

P 17189. H. 0.069 m.; diam. at rim 0.111 m. *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 210, pl. 4, 4.

Flat-bottomed, with nearly straight sides, plain rim, flat on top. Made by pressing clay into fine-woven basket. Inside smooth with three bands of thin red glaze, crossing at center of floor.

Cf. *C.V.A.*, Munich 3, pl. 129, 8.

**O 13** Fragment of basket bowl. Not illustrated.

P 17190. P. H. 0.075 m.

Just like **O 12**.

**O 14** Handmade bowl. Pl. 18.

P 17191. H. 0.026 m.; diam. 0.072 m.

Slightly rounded bottom. Dots on plain rim; few bands inside, crossing at center.

Red glaze. Buff clay but evidently Attic.

Cf. *C.V.A.*, Munich 3, pl. 129, 9; *C.V.A.*, Athens 1, III H d, pl. 6, nos. 12, 15, 17. The decor is, of course, ubiquitous on Cypriote Iron Age bowls.

**O 15** Fragment of handmade bowl. Not illustrated.

P 17205. Max. dim. 0.053 m.

From flat bottom and lower wall. Decorated all over with irregular bands and strokes.

Brownish red glaze.

**O 16** Fragment of pyxis. Pl. 17.

P 17203. Max. dim. 0.125 m.; max. diam. 0.31 m.

Ring foot preserved; of side, zone of short rays; on foot, rays on tondo, concentric multi-foil with concentric hanging triangles between leaves.

Brownish black glaze, worn.

One of only two flat pyxis fragments found in all the wells (the other is **I 25**). Bottom decoration of flat pyxides: *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pls. 61-65. Ours is like pl. 63, Inv. 776. Pyxides from Agora graves: *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, pp. 200 ff.

**O 17** Skyphos. Pl. 19.

P 17179. H. 0.102 m.; diam. 0.161 m.

One handle restored. Shape like **I 48**, with flat base. Glazed all over except for reserved line on top of rim and half way down inside.

Red to black glaze.

An oversize subgeometric skyphos like **L 29**.

**O 18** Bowl skyphos. Pl. 19.

P 17184. Rest. H. 0.166 m.; diam. 0.21 m.

Nearly half, including base and one handle restored. On rim, connected elongated blobs framed by bands. On shoulder, five panels separated by vertical bands. In outer panels, vertical hatched bands, in next inner panels hatched trefoil with hatched triangles between leaves; in center, hatched hourglass and hatched triangles at sides. Below, banding and then solid glaze.

Black glaze.

Contemporary with the skyphoi *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 97 (except Inv. 1301). Shape analogous to that of Late Geometric kantharoi.

**O 19** Skyphos. Pl. 19.

P 17180. H. 0.105 m.; diam. 0.141 m.

Banded rim. On shoulder four panels separated by four vertical lines; hatched leaf in each panel. Elongated blob in upper corners of handle panels. Glazed below and inside, except for reserved line on rim.

Streaky brownish black glaze.

Cf. *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 99, bottom. For these cheap painted imitations twice removed

from the metal original, see "L. G. Grave Groups," p. 405, under E 19:3, no. 3.

**O 20** Skyphos. Pl. 19.

P 17181. H. 0.096 m.; diam. 0.155 m.

Shape and decoration like **O 19**.

**O 21** Skyphos. Pl. 19.

P 17183. H. 0.097 m.; diam. 0.16 m.

Shape and decoration much like **O 19**; probably three panels with narrow leaf panel in center. Longer panels with facing birds with hatched bodies at sides. Fill ornament of dot rosettes and dot streamers. In upper handle panel, a dotted circle.

Red to black glaze.

For bird skyphoi see "L. G. Grave Groups," p. 405, under E 19:3, no. 4.

**O 22** Skyphos. Pl. 19.

P 17182. H. 0.125 m.; diam. 0.182 m.

*Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pl. XLVI, 4.

Shape and decoration like **O 19**, but instead of two front panels one long panel filled with interlocked hatched maeander hooks. Blobby stars in upper corner of handle panels.

Brown to black glaze.

**O 23** Small skyphos. Pl. 19.

P 17177. H. 0.042 m.; diam. 0.08 m.

About half, including one handle, restored. Banded rim; hanging and standing triangles on shoulder; glazed below on to foot. Reserved band on rim inside.

Brown to black glaze.

"Apprentice style"; see **L 26**.

**O 24** Skyphos. Pl. 19.

P 17178. H. 0.078 m.; diam. 0.143 m.

Slightly flaring concave rim. On rim, dots, edged by bands; reserved line inside, otherwise all glazed.

Red glaze.

Like **O 25**.

**O 25** Skyphos. Pl. 19.

P 17174. H. 0.058 m.; diam. at rim 0.112 m.

Flaring rim, slightly offset, plain base. All glazed except for two bands on outside rim and areas under handles.

Black glaze.

Cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, XIV, 2, which is more rounded and perhaps a little earlier. *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 129, Inv. 787 is of the same date as ours.

**O 26** Skyphos. Pl. 20.

P 17175. H. 0.067 m.; diam. at rim 0.11 m.

Deeper, with slight disk foot. Reserved line on inside and outside of rim.

Red to black glaze.

Like **L 29**, transitional between a full Late Geometric and the undecorated subgeometric skyphos. Cf. *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 100, Inv. 810.

**O 27** Skyphos. Not illustrated.

P 17176. Rest. H. 0.063 m.; rest. diam. 0.108 m.

Burned or misfired greenish black glaze.

Like **O 19**.

**O 28** Kantharos. Pl. 20.

P 17192. H. 0.11 m.; diam. 0.16 m.

Both handles restored. Short flaring rim; mouth pushed into oval shape, band handles at long sides. Corrugated inside, glazed except for reserved line on handle. Shoulder reserved, with crosshatched diamond in center, two swastikas on both sides. Below bands and solid glaze to foot.

Reddish brown glaze, worn.

Decorative scheme as on the kantharoi, *C.V.A.*, Reading 1, pl. 1, 8 and *Πρακτικά*, 1911, p. 119, fig. 9; also on the skyphoi, *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, XXV, 1; *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 78, Inv. 841. Shape like *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, XI, 5; *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 87.

Probably a little later than **I 49**.

**O 29** One-handled cup. Pl. 20.

P 17172. H. 0.049 m.; diam. at rim 0.076 m. Largely restored.

Rim reserved with two lines outside. Base reserved.

Brown to black glaze.

See under **O 30**.

**O 30** One-handled cup. Pl. 20.

P 17170. H. 0.057 m.; diam. 0.085 m. Much restored.

Narrow band handle, rim not offset from body. Glazed inside. On rim, two lines; zig-zag with strong vertical on shoulder. Glazed below. Ladder pattern on handle, handles are framed by vertical lines.

Brownish black glaze.

Cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, XI, 7, V, 2 and C 57; *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 106, Inv. 846. Weak and late version of cups like **I 51**, **M 11**. Shows the very late Geometric loosening of contour accompanied by cursory decoration.

**O 31** One-handled cup. Not illustrated.

P 17171. H. 0.062 m.; diam. at rim 0.098 m. *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pl. XLVI, 4.

Reserved line inside rim, base reserved. Horizontal lines on handle.

Red to black glaze.

Like **O 29**.

**O 32** One-handled trefoil cup. Pl. 20.

P 17173. H. 0.068 m.; widest diam. 0.09 m.

Only a fragment with whole profile including part of trefoil and plain base preserved. Glazed inside. Dots below rim outside, three bands; then panels; below two lines and broad band at base. Panels have opposing pairs of concentric arcs. Between them, narrow zone of cross hatching between triple lines.

Red to black glaze.

For regular cup parallels see **O 30**. Other Late Geometric cups pinched to make feeders: *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, C 60; *C.V.A.*, Munich 3, pl. 118, 5-6 (with handles); a Protoattic example "L. G. Grave Groups," p. 416, Q 17:6, no. 6. On our cup, the arcs against a frame prove an almost Protoattic date (cf. *B.S.A.*, XXXV, 1934-1935, pl. 51, a; they regularly

occur, as here, under the handle on the necks of Protoattic amphorae or hydriai).

**O 33** Plate. Pl. 21.

P 17186. *Agora*, VIII, 105, pl. 6. H. 0.075 m.; diam. 0.322 m.

About half, including one handle restored. Corrugated interior; flaring rim, flat on top, with concavity on outside. Rolled return handles at rim. Reserved band inside; verticals on rim. Bands on top of handles, ladder ornament below. Outside at rim dots bordered by bands. Below leaves, more bands, separated by incision where they run together. Dots on ring of foot, on underside hatched leaf rosette with dot rosette between foils.

Brownish black glaze.

Cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, C 77, *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 104. The separation of carelessly applied bands occurs in Late Geometric and Early Protoattic; it is entirely likely that the Attic technique of incision was encouraged if not invented by such makeshift devices.

**O 34** Plate. Pl. 21.

P 17187. H. 0.045 m.; diam. 0.205 m.

*Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pl. XLVI, 4.

Shape like **O 33**, but rim more turned out. Inside, reserved circle and dot. Vertical on rim; lines on handle. Outside, on rim connected blobs, bands, leaves, more bands. On foot, hatched quatrefoil with hatched hanging triangles between leaves.

Red to brown glaze.

Cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, VI, 3 and 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1912, p. 33, fig. 14; also *C.V.A.*, U.S.A. Robinson Collection, III H, pl. XI, 1 a, b, a Protoattic bowl developed from this plate type.

**O 35** Plate. Not illustrated.

P 17188. H. 0.06 m.; diam. 0.215 m.

Like **O 34** but more careless. Top of rim slants outward, undercut with groove outside. Dots not connected.

Brownish black glaze, worn.



**O 36** Concave trefoil lid. Pl. 21.

P 17195. Rest. Diam. 0.122 m.

Back half missing. Trefoiled front and part of arched rolled handle preserved. Flat rim sloping outwards. Glazed only on top. Central circle reserved.

Dull black glaze.

Cf. the lid on the fluted jug *C.V.A.*, Munich 3, pl. 120, 1 and 2. See **I 65**.

**O 37** Fragment of lid. Pl. 21.

P 17204. P. W. 0.19 m.; est. diam. 0.57 m.

Part of rim, with broad standing surface. Rather high dome. Outside decorated with long ovals connected by lines framed by bands, solid glaze further in.

Brownish glaze.

Cf. the decoration on the foot of the krater, *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 23. This lid belonged to a large pot.

**O 38** Cooking jug. Pl. 22.

P 17200. Rest. H. 0.27 m.; diam. 0.215 m.  
Burnt down front.

Transitional in size between pots like **N 18** and deep jugs like **Q 11**.

**O 39** Fragments of incised cooking pot. Pl. 23.

P 17202. Max. dim. 0.11 m.

Fragment of plain, flat rim with double wavy line; fragments of body with double swastika and knob. Blackened.

From a pot like **Q 11**.

**O 40** Cooking jug. Not illustrated.

P 17201. H. 0.195 m.; diam. 0.16 m.

*Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pl. XLVI, 4.

Like **L 46**. Burnt down front.

**O 41** Terracotta horse. Not illustrated.

T 2312. L. 0.051 m.; H. 0.066 m.

*Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pl. XLVI, 4, right.

For Late Geometric terracotta horses see "L. G. Grave Groups," p. 411, under E 19:2, no. 5, "P. A. Well Groups," under F 59. The present horses with their short curved bodies and broad rumps look earlier than most of those of the 8th century (e.g. *op. cit.*, E 19:2, no. 5 and *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 143, bottom); more like the earliest horses (*Kerameikos*, IV, pl. 27; V, 1, pl. 142). These earliest ones have a mane all the way down the spine, indicated by cross strokes, and it seems to be this design which, in a later more careless fashion, is indicated by the cross strokes on the present horse's back.

Probably early 8th century.

**O 42** Terracotta horse. Not illustrated.

T 2313. L. 0.051 m.

*Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pl. XLVI, 4, left.

See under **O 41**.

**O 43** Fragment of terracotta horse. Not illustrated.

T 2314. P. L. 0.026 m.

Like **O 41**.

**O 44** Spindle whorl. Not illustrated.

MC 675. Diam. 0.045 m.

Like **L 57**, but undecorated.

## WELL P

**R 9:2** Well (intersected by Turkish Well R 9:3).

Depth 6 m.; modern water level *ca.* 1.60 m.

Footholds on both sides; scanty use filling, below 4.60 m. (**P 4, 7, 8, 10, 13, 16, 17, 19, 20, 25, 33, 34** and **36** only); dumped filling above.

**P 1** Fragments of large closed pot. Pl. 14.

P 21424. Max. diam. 0.30 m.

From lower body; zigzags, hatched maeander, zigzags, leaves.

Brown-black glaze.

From a large pot of the stage of the amphora

and krater, *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pls. XXIV-XXV.

**P 2** Fragmentary neck amphora. Pl. 13.

P 21432. P. H. 0.43 m.; diam. at rim 0.165 m.

Little-flaring echinus rim with ridge at bottom, rolled handles. Rim glazed, broad band over ridge. On neck, both sides, in center, standing double concentric triangle with cross bars in center. On both sides of it a double concentric circle, compass drawn. Two bands below; shoulder glazed to below handles, broad banding below. Glaze on handles.

Black glaze, very worn.

Cf. *Jahrb.*, XIV, 1899, p. 191, fig. 48; *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 72, note 5, pl. 35, b for similar decoration. The cylindrical neck and moulded rim are those of the  $\Sigma$  O  $\Sigma$  amphorae (see under **R 3**), though the decoration is that of the group to which P 21800 (under **I 2**) belongs.

**P 3** Neck of storage jar. Pl. 13.

P 21430. *Agora*, VIII, 25. H. 0.137 m.; diam. ca. 0.18 m.

From an amphora like **R 3**. Usually there are sigmas instead of the double squiggles.

**P 4** Amphora, banded. Not illustrated.

P 21437. H. 0.27 m.

One side, including handle, missing. Like **N 1**, but higher, flatter rim. Double banding on body.

Black glaze, worn.

**P 5** Miniature hydria. Pl. 14.

P 21422. P. H. 0.07 m.; diam. 0.075 m.

Handles, neck missing; thick walls, wavy line on shoulder and at handle zone. Banding, solid at base.

Dull glaze, worn.

Small version of **L 8**; see *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, nos. 215 ff., pp. 197 ff., pl. 54, a great number from the "Archaic" stratum at the Argive Heraion.

**P 6** Trefoil oinochoe. Pl. 15.

P 21428. *Agora*, VIII, 51, pl. 4. H. 0.215 m.; diam. 0.14 m.

Double rolled handle mostly restored. Plain base with slight disk. Neck and shoulder painted. On front of neck, panel framed by lines. Deer grazing, to right; ornament, zigzags, diamond ornament. Body banded, glazed solid at base.

Black glaze, worn.

Stathatou Workshop (see Davison, "Geometric Workshops," and *B.S.A.*, XLVI, 1951, p. 45 for the name amphora).

These jugs, since they are specifically intended for water drawing, usually have somewhat wider necks than the real oinochoai, i.e., wine decanters, like **O 7** or better, *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 78, ceremonial ware.

**P 7** Trefoil oinochoe. Pl. 15.

P 21436. H. 0.23 m.; diam. 0.15 m.

Most of mouth and double rolled handle restored. Rest intact except for holes in upper body. Disk base. Neck and shoulder glazed. On front of neck, panel edged with lines; grazing horse with stroke mane to right at base of panel, zigzags. Shoulder glazed, bending below; solid bottom.

Black glaze, very worn.

Though the neck panel decoration is Attic and Earliest Protoattic (cf. *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 126, bottom left, Analatos painter), other oinochoai of this period are squatter; the elegant egg-shaped body of **P 7** is much closer than is usual to the Corinthian prototypes of these oinochoai, cf. H. Payne, *Protokorinthische Vasen*, Berlin, 1933, pl. 4, 1; **O 7** is typical contemporary Attic.

**P 8** Hydria. Pl. 15.

P 21434. P. H. 0.165 m.; rest. diam. at bottom of fragment 0.23 m. Nothing of bottom; lower edge filled out with plaster.

Plain flaring rim with flange below giving effect of a collar rim. Double rolled handles. Bands on rim, vertical strokes on flange.

Neck panel set off in back from handle panel by three lines, and framed by lines top and bottom. In panel, two coursing hounds, stacked chevrons, vertical strokes hanging from panel frame, zigzags. Shoulder glazed, body banded.

Black glaze, very worn.

From an outsize pot with a channel in the neck such as smaller oil jugs have, to secure an even flow; e.g. *Ath. Mitt.*, XLIII, 1918, pl. IV, 1. For the shape cf. Cretan hydria, *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, pl. V, 1.

**P 9** Fragments of neckless trefoil oinochoe. Pl. 16.

P 21423. P. H. 0.155 m.

Part of mouth and shoulder and a non-joining handle fragment. On shoulder hind part of horse (?) to left, with diamond star under belly. Behind, head of grazing horse with stroke mane. Below, stretches of squiggles.

Black glaze, worn.

Like **R 5**.

**P 10** Oinochoe. Pl. 14.

P 21440. *Agora*, VIII, 340, pl. 20. P. H. 0.145 m.; diam. 0.14 m.

Nothing of neck; large parts of body missing.

Plain base with slight disk. Whole body divided into four fields, two low ones on shoulder and two large ones on body. In front, the lower field was glazed solid, the shoulder panel had coursing hounds to left, squiggles and zigzags. In back, the shoulder field was glazed solid and the handle must have been attached here. In the large panel on body, an ox (?) to right; behind, a warrior with helmet; he is on his toes, running(?). Facing them, two men on their toes, the one on the right hurling his spear(?). Shoulder and body fields divided by lines. Banding at bottom, with solid glaze near base.

Brown to black glaze.

If the interpretation of the remains is right, we may have here a representation of cattle rustling. The Pylian episode in the *Iliad*, which tells of a cattle raid, is much alluded to in the

late 8th century (see T. J. Dunbabin, *The Greeks and their Eastern Neighbours*, London, 1957, pp. 83-84, a list; note particularly the Agora oinochoe, *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, XIII, 1); similar thoughts may have occasioned this painting.

The style is much like that of the cattle krater **M 7**. Remarkable is the giant checker-board used to divide the pot into panels, and the fact that one warrior is actually depicted *behind* the ox; this is very unusual for the time.

**P 11** Small jug. Not illustrated.

P 21421. H. 0.07 m.; diam. 0.068 m.

Rim and one side missing. Traces of rolled handle; broad groove above plain foot. Band on lower neck; lines on shoulder, solid glaze over lower half.

Red to black glaze, worn.

Crude wavy line ware.

**P 12** Spouted krater. Pl. 17.

P 21233. H. 0.235 m.; est. diam. 0.32 m.

*Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 85, p. 110, pl. 29; *Agora*, VIII, 323, pl. 18.

Short stand-up rim with rounded top. Pointed body with flaring ring foot. Spout attached at rim, below which the pour hole is cut. Bands on rim and across spout. On shoulder, at each side of rim, panels with horses to right, spike manes. To left of spout, crested bird to left; below spout, cross. In field, double spirals, concentric diamonds, vertical zigzags. At right, framing of vertical lines. Banding below, above foot broad band and solid glaze, including foot. Inside glazed.

Soft fabric, discolored, streaky red and brownish glaze.

For the shape, see under **M 7**. The style of the horses and the heron is about that of the Stathatou Workshop, see Davison, "Geometric Workshops," e.g. the amphora, Robinson, Harcum, and Iliffe, *Greek Vases in Toronto*, Toronto, 1930, Vol. II, pl. CI.

Latest Geometric.



**P 13** Fragment of bowl. Pl. 18.

P 21438. *Agora*, VIII, 374, pl. 22. P. H. 0.075 m.; est. diam. 0.37 m.

Short straight rim; stretches of strokes on flattened top. Glazed inside. Two lines on rim outside; on shoulder, lion with loop ears and curled tail, to right; two birds above, to right. Zigzags in field, also a diamond.

Brown glaze inside, black outside.

For shape see under **M 7**.

The lion is of the regular Early Protoattic type, see *Monuments Piot*, XLIX, p. 25, fig. 12 and under **Q 7**. This one is perhaps close to those of the Mesogeia painter, see Matz, pl. 196.

**P 14** Fragment of ship krater, Early Protoattic. Pl. 18.

P 21232. *Agora*, VIII, 382, pl. 22. P. H. 0.076 m.; est. diam. at rim 0.30 m.

Shape like **R 9**. On shoulder, two rowers to right with egg-shaped, reserved bodies (shields?), reserved faces. Ship's railing and oarlocks visible. In field, dotted circles and squiggle lines.

For shape, see under **M 7**. Earlier ship kraters, Hampe, *Sagenbilder*, pl. 22. Contemporary: Early Protoattic ship plaque, *B.S.A.*, XXXV, 1934-1935, pl. 40, b (Analatos painter); ship krater, unmanned, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 624, fig. 90, 334. A general article on early ships, G. S. Kirk, "Ships on Geometric Vases," *B.S.A.*, XLIV, 1949, pp. 93 ff.; R. T. Williams, "Greek Ships of Two Levels," *J.H.S.*, LXXVIII, 1958, pp. 121 ff.

In all the Protoattic examples of ships (I know none besides those cited above, but for an Argive 7th century ship see Matz, pl. 162), there is something odd; in the Analatos ship, though it is manned, no one plies the oars; on the present fragment a conflation of shield-bearers and rowers seems to have produced very singular looking figures; the *Hesperia*, II ship is entirely empty.

The style of the figures, especially the heads with triangular hair nets, round eyes and

pointed chins, is typically Early Protoattic, but particularly close to the Analatos painter, cf. his krater, *Jahrb.*, II, 1887, pl. 4, top.

**P 15** Fragmentary spouted bowl. Pl. 17.

P 21419. H. 0.115 m.; diam. at rim 0.245 m.

About half of pointed body preserved, including rolled handle with return ends attached at plain rim with sharply profiled flat top sloping inwards, drawn out for spout; high disk foot set off by grooves. Glazed inside; a group of verticals on top of rim at handle; outside banded half way down, then solid glaze with one reserved band.

Misfired red and gray inside, brownish outside.

An early example of bowls like *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, C 85 ff. and "P. A. Well Groups," H 53. The banding system is still Protocorinthian; the shape embodies features both of the Late Geometric plate (see **O 35**) and the spouted bowl (see **M 7**).

**P 16** Fragment of pyxis bowl. Pl. 17.

P 21439. P. H. 0.09 m.; est. diam. at rim 0.12 m.

Nothing of foot; less than half preserved. Sharply drawn in stand-up rim, probably to receive lid. Rolled return-handle, attached at shoulder. On rim, groups of verticals and bands. In handle zone crowded, elongated bird procession. Vertical lines near handle. Verticals on handle. Banding below. Glazed inside with red glaze, except for reserved band in bowl and on rim; glaze has failed to reach over curved part under rim.

Brownish red glaze.

Cf. *C.V.A.*, Munich 3, pl. 122, 6; *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, p. 29, fig. 5, no. 56, 2; *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 139, Inv. 1225. All these are already Protoattic; the type is popular throughout that period, e.g. K. Kübler, *Altattische Malerei*, Tübingen, 1950, pl. 54, 40. Our bowl has the degenerate Protocorinthian decoration often carried by Attic pots of the late 8th century, e.g. *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 133, Inv. 1360.

The shape, which demands a lid, is probably simply a variation on Late Geometric skyphoi with band handle like *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 97, Inv. 326, 328.

**P 17** Fragment of kotyle, Corinthianizing. Pl. 20.

P 21442. *Agora*, VIII, 312, pl. 18. P. H. 0.047 m.

From rim; glazed inside. Outside, two lines at rim; below vertical lines at left. Birds with beaks and squiggle legs to left, banding below. Red glaze.

For Attic imitations of Protocorinthian kotylai see *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, C 19 ff., particularly C 20; for the later history of Attic copying, see "P. A. Well Groups," under F 30, G 19.

**P 18** Skyphos. Not illustrated.

P 21429. H. 0.112 m.; diam. 0.149 m.

One side, including handle restored. Banded high rim. On narrow shoulder zone two (?) panels of zigzags (perhaps degenerate birds) divided by vertical lines, more banding and solid glaze below. Reserved line on rim inside.

Black glaze, very worn.

Like **R 12**.

**P 19** One-handled cup. Not illustrated.

P 21441. H. 0.076 m.; diam. at rim 0.096 m. Groove inside sets off rim.

Dull black glaze.

Like **N 16**.

**P 20** Plate. Pl. 21.

P 21443. H. 0.03 m.; est. diam. 0.17 m.

Dots at rim; more even banding, one broad band at base. False ring foot with verticals on standing surface, many concentric circles inside it.

Orange glaze inside, brownish black outside.

**P 21** Pierced sherd. Pl. 22.

P 21427. Max. dim. 0.045 m.

Banded outside, glazed inside. Broken all around, but breaks ancient.

Brown glaze.

**P 22** Disk, Early or Middle Protoattic. Pl. 22.

P 21426. Diam. 0.04 m.

From pot glazed inside. Hind part of lion with curling tail, to right.

Brownish red glaze.

Cf. the lions in K. Kübler, *Altattische Malerei*, Tübingen, 1950, pls. 8-17, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 603, fig. 71 (no. 268 also has a lion's hind part. It is not impossible that the disks were cut this way on purpose; for a painted hind part, see *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 228, fig. 24, an oinochoe).

**P 23** Disk. Not illustrated.

P 21425. Diam. 0.04 m.

From banded pot, glazed inside.

Black glaze.

**P 24** Clay disk. Not illustrated.

MC 878. Diam. 0.075 m.

Large worn hole in center. See **L 65**.

**P 25** Kados, coarse ware. Pl. 22.

P 21433. *Agora*, VIII, 197, pl. 11. H. 0.258 m.; diam. 0.175 m.

Flaring flat rim, straight ring foot; band handles with finger depression at base.

See under **N 17** which, to judge from the low foot, is earlier. At least four other kadoi, uncatalogued, were found in this well.

**P 26** Base fragment, Protogeometric. Pl. 22.

P 21431. Diam. of foot 0.045 m.

From a very Early Protogeometric skyphos like Desborough, pl. 10, top row.

Five other such bases were found in the well. They may have been used as bobbins; see **L 66**.

**P 27** Terracotta horse. Pl. 23.

T 3073. L. 0.053 m.; P. H. 0.064 m.

Late Geometric, see "L. G. Grave Groups," p. 411, E 19:2, no. 5.

**P 28** Loomweight. Pl. 23.

MC 876. H. 0.052 m.; bottom, 0.032 m. sq.

Stamped loomweights: *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 602, fig. 70.

Weights of truncated pyramidal shape occur in Mycenaean (*Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 410, fig. 92, f), Protogeometric and later contexts but become frequent only in the 7th century; a shape development is hard to establish; see "P. A. Well Groups," under G 49.

**P 29-30** Loomweights. Not illustrated.

MC 875. H. 0.073 m.

MC 877. H. 0.065 m.

Like **R 24**; undecorated.

**P 31** Spindle whorl. Not illustrated.

MC 874. Diam. 0.045 m.

Like **L 57**, but undecorated.

**P 32** Stone disk. Pl. 23.

ST 507. Diam. approx. 0.103 m.; Th. 0.02 m. Grayish white marble.

**P 33** Stone disk. Not illustrated.

ST 508. Diam. 0.085 m.; Th. 0.035 m. Soft stone, section of cylinder in shape.

**P 34** Stone pestle. Pl. 23.

ST 509. 0.042 x 0.045 m.

Dark stone, cubical with rounded edges. Like "P. A. Well Groups," F 66.

**P 35** Fragmentary kotyle, Protocorinthian. Pl. 23.

P 21420. P. H. of largest fragment 0.055 m.

Parts of whole profile. Banding and solid glazed at bottom with unpainted ring foot.

Red glaze.

Like Johansen, *V.S.*, pl. IX, 5, 6. See "P. A. Well Groups," under E 5.

**P 36** Pyxis, Protocorinthian. Pl. 23.

P 21435. H. 0.048 m.; diam. 0.098 m.

Glazed inside and out, with reserved lines outside below handles and near bottom.

Red glaze, worn.

Cf. from Phaleron: *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, Grave 27, 8, found with Phaleron cups (p. 29, fig. 8). The type is analogous to the all glazed kotylai, e.g., *ibid.*, p. 26, fig. 4 (19, 8 c); *Corinth*, VII, i, p. 40, no. 127, pl. 17.

## WELL Q

N 11:4 Well. *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 39, and D on pl. 16, a.

Depth 7.95 m.; diam. 1.10 m.

Neatly cut. Footholds on east and west at intervals of ca. 0.50 m. Plentiful water. Apparently all but **Q 7** come from the use filling.

**Q 1** Neck amphora, banded. Pl. 13.

P 22448. H. 0.385 m.; diam. 0.275 m.

Intact. Rolled rim, band handles, ring foot. Bands on rim, base of neck, below handles and on lower body. Wavy line on handle. Foot painted. Water discoloration inside.

Glaze worn.

Cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, IV, 1, found with a Late Geometric sherd. See under **K 2**.

**Q 2** Neck amphora, banded. Not illustrated.

P 24846. H. 0.38 m.; diam. 0.25 m.

Much like **Q 1**.

**Q 3** Oinochoe (?). Pl. 15.

P 24844. P. H. 0.255 m.; diam. 0.24 m.

Neck and handle missing. Ring foot. On shoulder coursing hounds to right, zigzags in field. Below, four lines, then zone with short stretches of zigzags. Banding down body. Solid glaze with reserved band at base. May have been an amphora.

Red glaze, worn.

In its large size and in having the shoulder decorated, this oinochoe is closer to its Corinthian prototypes than is usual (see under **P 7**;



cf. *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pl. 19). Running dogs are standard on banded neckless oinochoai (see **M 4**; on neck oinochoai they occur only on fully decorated pots; see *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pls. 79, 80, Inv. 616.

**Q 4** Trefoil oinochoe. Pl. 14.

P 24847. *Agora*, VIII, 324. P. H. 0.14 m.; diam. 0.103 m.

Much of mouth, handle, all of lower body zone missing. Like **P 6**. Horse has swastika under belly.

Black glaze almost all worn off.

Benaki painter, see Davison, "Geometric Workshops," with drawing. Cf. *B.S.A.*, XLII, 1947, pl. 19, Benaki amphora.

**Q 5** Neckless oinochoe. Pl. 16.

P 24843. P. H. 0.23 m.; diam. 0.16 m.

Trefoil mouth and handle missing.

Mottled red and black glaze.

Shape like **N 11**. Cf. *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 81; *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, C 123; also *Hesperia*, II, 1933, no. 211, p. 592, fig. 59, with rosette in white paint, 7th century.

**Q 6** Neckless trefoil oinochoe. Pl. 16.

P 24849. P. H. 0.11 m.

Handle and bottom missing. Probably had band handle. Shoulder panel has two bands at top, double stretches of zigzags punctuated with one-legged birds (probably four) to left.

Black glaze, worn.

Cf. *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 127, Inv. 304 for the decoration which is Late Geometric.

**Q 7** Trefoil oinochoe, Early Protoattic. Pl. 14.

P 22436. *Agora*, VIII, 52 = 427, fig. 5, pl. 4. H. 0.117 m.; diam. 0.063 m.

Rolled handle partly missing. Conical neck, plain base. Long straight bevel on lower body. Mouth painted. Back of neck glazed on to shoulder. On handle, ladder ornament, broad band at base of neck. Panel framed by three lines top and bottom, diagonals between triple

lines at sides. In panel, a high-rumped lion with a little animal in its mouth. Lion has reserved eye and ear and curled tail. Standing hatched triangles, N squiggles, hourglass, diamond in field. On shoulder, in zone of lower handle attachment, dotted running diamond, fine banding, broader band at base.

Chocolate-brown glaze.

Belongs to the Phaleron class, see *Jahrb.* II, 1887, pp. 45-48, figs. 3-8. By the Vulture painter, see Davison, "Geometric Workshops," there illustrated; cf. *B.S.A.*, XXXV, 1934-1935, pl. 50, an amphora; also *ibid.*, p. 184, fig. 8 and Hampe, *Die Gleichnisse Homers und die Bildkunst seiner Zeit*, Tübingen, 1952, pl. 14, b, a kantharos; all these are part of Cook's N group, see *B.S.A.*, XLII, 1947, p. 151.

**Q 8** Fragment of standed bowl. Pl. 18.

P 24845. Est. diam. of rim 0.125 m.

Parts of high stand-up rim, low echinus body, return handles. On rim, small panels with stacked zigzags, checkerboard, and birds with zigzag filler, separated by vertical bands with hatched column in center. On handle zone, double zigzags, bands below.

Brownish black glaze.

Bowls like **L 22** are sometimes made with stands (though not apparently the earlier of the series) which became higher on the later bowls, and are two-tiered in Early Protoattic, see *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pls. 119-126; ours is like those on pl. 122; cf. among many others, *C.V.A.*, U. S. A., Robinson Collection, III H, pl. XI, 2.

**Q 9** One-handled cup. Not illustrated.

P 24848. H. 0.062 m.; diam. at rim 0.102 m. Red to black streaky glaze, worn.

Like **M 11**.

**Q 10** Incised cooking jug. Pl. 22.

P 24850. H. 0.392 m.; diam. 0.262 m.

Deep oval body with plain standing base. Wide neck and flaring rim with flat top, sloping out. Band handle with double finger depression at base. On handle, wavy double lines at edges

and down center. Same ornament at rim and twice at height of lower handle attachment. In front, two knobs, between them a swastika made with double wavy lines.

Brick red clay, burnt down front.

A series of deep and large jugs runs parallel with the cooking pots like **L 45**. They probably began to be made concurrently or perhaps a little earlier than the hydriai and kadoi of the late 8th century (see *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pls. 154, bottom; 155, Grave 98; **P 25**). For other such jugs see "P. A. Well Groups," under **F 49**.

The nipple-like knobs, which occur on different kinds of pots throughout Geometric, are

self-explanatory on these kitchen jugs designed to hold nourishment. The swastika which is usual between the nipples is apparently to be explained purely as ornament (see R. Hampe, "Attische Tontafel des 8. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.," *Charites, Studien zur Altertumswissenschaft*, Bonn, 1957, pp. 108-9). It is said to be the nipple-knob which by interrupting the horizontal decoration causes the introduction of the metope (Schweitzer in *Ath. Mitt.*, XLIII, 1918, p. 100), while the swastika is the metope filling *par excellence*; the combination of both on these jugs therefore supports Schweitzer's thesis.

#### WELL R

**N 11:6** Well. *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 39, and **F** on pl. 16, a.

Depth 6.95 m.; diam. *ca.* 1.10 m.

Narrows toward bottom, collapsed at top. Six footholds preserved at south, three at north, spaced at *ca.* 0.50 m. Uniform fill. Little water.

**R 1** Neck amphora. Pl. 13.

**P 23888**. *Agora*, VIII, 10, pl. 1. **P.** H. 0.32 m.; diam. 0.24 m.

Rim missing. Double rolled handles. On neck concentric triangles, hourglass ornaments, two vertical wavy lines on the sides. Handle panels framed by three lines; four lines on each handle. Shoulder glazed to bottom of handles, two-thirds of body banded, solid glaze at base.

Dull red to black glaze.

Cf. *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 72, note 5, pl. 35 b. **R 1** is smaller and less careful, showing an exaggerated version of concentric triangles; it is later.

**R 2** Fragment of closed pot, Early Proto-attic. Pl. 14.

**P 22451**. **P.** W. 0.065 m.

From neck and shoulder. On neck, outline spiral ornament. Three bands. On shoulder, back of animals, dotted open guilloche.

Red glaze.

To judge from the size, from an amphora with a tendril ornament on the neck (cf. 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1912, p. 33, fig. 14) and an animal with high hind quarters on the shoulder.

**R 3** Storage jar. Pl. 13.

**P 23883**. *Agora*, VIII, 23, pl. 2. **H.** 0.72 m.; diam. 0.46 m.

Parts of shoulder and body missing. Echinus rim with ridge below, short cylindrical neck, rolled arched handles set high on shoulder, painted body, steep high ring foot with bevel on outer edge of standing surface. Glazed all over except for neck and reserved zone with four bands on shoulder. On neck, double concentric circle between double *sigmas*.

Streaky black glaze, fired bright red in spots.

Cf. *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 38, Inv. 1298. For the history and significance of these storage and export vessels see "P. A. Well Groups," under **F 40-41**. To the graffito bibliography under the latter should be added L. H. Jeffery's list in *B.S.A.*, L, 1955, pp. 67-69.

**R 4** Amphora, banded. Not illustrated.

**P 22452**. **H.** 0.35 m.; diam. 0.21 m.

Unbroken except for missing handle and

chip off foot. Like **N 1** but wider at mouth and higher.

Glaze worn.

**R 5** Neckless trefoil oinochoe. Pl. 15.

P 22427. H. to rim 0.245 m.; diam 0.18 m.

Panel has two horses with spiky manes to right. Hatched diamond ornament under belly, zigzags in field. At left edge of panel a little hole, carefully cut after painting and probably after firing.

Brown to red glaze, much pitted and worn.

References as for **N 11**. The piston-like protruding hind parts are particularly characteristic of the Stathatou painter.

Water drawing vessels of closed shape often have a little air vent on the upper body to make filling faster.

**R 6** Neckless trefoil oinochoe. Pl. 16.

P 23884. H. 0.136 m.; diam. 0.116 m.

Band handle missing; slight disk at base. Shoulder flares straight into rim. Glazed except for zone below handle which has fine bands, one reserved line a little below.

Weak red glaze, white incrustation (?) on reserved areas.

Cf. *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 81; *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pl. 37, a. The fine banding indicates the beginning of the subgeometric style.

**R 7** Round-mouthed oinochoe. Pl. 16.

P 22442. *Agora*, VIII, 75, pl. 5. H. 0.11 m.; diam. 0.08 m.

Long narrow neck with band handle attached at flat mouth. Slight bevelling on lower body. Glazed all over, ladder on handle.

Peeled grayish glaze.

Cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, IX, 15. Apparently influenced by the Corinthian squat oinochoe (see *Corinth*, VII, i, p. 27, no. 76, pl. 12, J).

**R 8** Round-mouthed jug. Pl. 16.

P 22449. H. to rim 0.215 m.; diam. 0.16 m.

Thickened rim, rounded outside, without

much flare; band handle partly missing, plain base.

Firm white surfacing, no glaze.

Though unbanded, this jug has the surfacing characteristic of banded amphorae like **K 2**. It must be among the earliest of the jug type which largely replaces the amphorae for use at the well. See under **J 3**.

**R 9** Fragment of krater. Pl. 18.

P 23886. P. W. 0.15 m.; est. diam. at rim 0.24 m.

Short stand-up rim. Groups of verticals on flat top. Outside on rim, bands. On shoulder, panel with bird with hatched body and long beak to left; under beak, dotted circle with long tail, cross in square, star, stacked chevrons. Panel framed with vertical line, in the midst of these, at right, vertical diamond ornament. Glazed inside.

Black glaze, worn.

For shape see under **M 7**. For the bird see under **L 28**.

**R 10** Skyphos. Not illustrated.

P 22446. H. 0.058 m.; diam. 0.09 m.

Banding on rim inside, all glazed outside.

Mottled brown to black glaze.

Like **M 8**.

**R 11** Skyphos. Not illustrated.

P 22428. H. 0.065 m.; diam. at rim 0.088 m.

Brown glaze, worn.

Like **N 15**.

**R 12** Skyphos, Corinthianizing. Pl. 19.

P 22450. H. 0.115 m.; est. diam. 0.14 m.

Straight stand-up rim; deep pointed body; well set off disk foot. Fine lines on rim, on shoulder alternately vertical lines and short zigzags, so placed that zigzags come to left, lines to right of the one preserved handle. Line over handle. Banding and solid glaze below, foot reserved. Reserved line on rim inside.

Streaky red to black glaze.

Cf. the Corinthian Geometric skyphos, Jo-



hansen, *V.S.*, pl. IX, 4; *A.J.A.*, LXII, 1958, pl. 58, fig. 7 (group from Syracuse).

The shape, however, is already more like the deep subgeometric version, Johansen, *V.S.*, pl. XIX, 1. The Attic copyist has changed the Corinthian central panel to a continuous panel system and also has introduced bands below the handle zone in analogy to the banded kotylai like *ibid.*, IX, 6. From the Agora see *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, C 35.

Late 8th century.

**R 13** Fragment of kotyle, Protoattic imitation of Protocorinthian.

P 22447. P. H. 0.05 m.

Glazed inside. Outside panels: at left, solid quatrefoil with outline triangle in between leaves. Thin vertical bands. At right facing birds (foot of right one preserved), diamonds, circles, swastikas. Incision for back feathers and wing of bird. Black glaze, worn.

Probably from a kotyle of subgeometric type (see under **R 26**) but with more elaborate decoration than usual at the rim; the motifs are common on Early Protocorinthian, so is the use of incision, see H. Payne, *Protokorinthische Vasenmalerei*, Berlin, 1933, pl. 8, 2 (octofoil at rim, diamonds), 1 (incision). Cf. also a Cretan kotyle: *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, pl. XXI, 4. A bird very similar to that on the present fragment: *B.S.A.*, XXXV, 1934-1935, pl. 16.

**R 14** One-handled cup, Phaleron. Pl. 20.

P 22445. H. 0.055 m.; diam. 0.078 m.

Handle partly restored. Slightly rolled rim; nearly straight walls; bevelling at bottom. Glazed inside and on rim, reserved line inside below rim. Outside, a band below rim; on upper part of body, vertical rows of dots widely spaced; lower part glazed. Bars on handle.

Reddish brown glaze.

Cf. *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 107, Inv. 1337.

**R 15** One-handled cup, Phaleron. Pl. 20.

P 22441. *Agora*, VIII, 150, pl. 9. H. 0.05 m.; diam. 0.09 m.

Glazed to just above base.

Line on top of rim and reserved line below it outside; inside banding at rim, the rest glazed. Horizontal lines on handle.

Streaky brown to black glaze.

Cf. *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 107, Inv. 318, 319, 1321; *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, C 54; *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, p. 26, fig. 4, no. 19, 7. Cf. also *Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, pl. VIII, 2, no. 7.

**R 16** One-handled cup, unglazed. Pl. 20.

P 22426. H. 0.036 m.; diam. at rim 0.078 m. Very flaring rim. Unpainted.

These cups are cheap versions of Phaleron cups such as **M 7**; see under **M 10**.

**R 17** Miniature one-handled cup, Phaleron. Not illustrated.

P 22425. H. 0.03 m.; diam. 0.05 m.

Black glaze, very worn.

Like **R 15**.

**R 18** Plate. Pl. 21.

P 22444. H. 0.042 m.; diam. 0.185 m.

Inside, very worn glaze. Outside, in handle zones, vertical lines, bands below. On under-side of foot an eight-spoked wheel within a circle.

Reddish glaze almost worn off.

Like **O 35** but lower. Cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, XX, 6, B 15, C 79-81.

**R 19** Disk, Protogeometric. Pl. 22.

P 23887. Diam. 0.047 m.

From a large closed pot with concentric circles.

**R 20** Cooking jar. Pl. 22.

P 22429. H. 0.27 m.; diam. 0.19 m.

Like **N 18**, but a larger version, with somewhat more pointed base and narrower handle. Burnt down front.

**R 21** Incised cooking jug. Not illustrated.

P 23889. H. 0.39 m.; diam. 0.293 m.

Just like **Q 11** in shape and decoration but

with wider handle, two double wavy lines at rim, and double wavy horizontal lines in addition to vertical lines on handle.

Brownish clay, burnt down front.

**R 22** Loomweight, abecedarium. Fig. 1, Pl. 23.

MC 907. H. 0.062 m.; bottom 0.047 x 0.033 m.

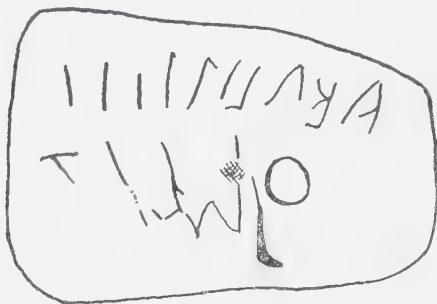


FIG. 1. R 22.

For shape see **P 28**. Pale buff gritty clay. Inscribed on broad face, after firing, beginning of an abecedarium, retrograde. On bottom, figure of a horseman to right, in outline.

The scribbler evidently knew his way up to *delta*, after which he contented himself with strokes. On the second line he had turned the weight around and remembered *nu* of the second half of the alphabet.

The abortive abecedaria were found among the Hymettos graffiti: *A.J.A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, p. 15, no. 10, fig. 5, on a bowl which has 7th century parallels ("P. A. Well Groups," F 54); *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, p. 8, no. 9, fig. 10, from a subgeometric cup, also 7th century B.C. **R 22** has letter forms just like these. It may, however, on account of its predominantly Late Geometric context and because these durable small finds are often the oldest objects in their context, be the earliest of these. They have been taken to indicate "that writing

was a new art at the time when these inscriptions were made" (*ibid.*, p. 8; also *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, p. 225-229). **R 22**, even if 8th century, is no earlier than the famous inscribed Late Geometric oinochoe (J. Kirchner, *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum*, Berlin, 1935, pl. 1, 1-3) and offers no new evidence. A summary of the possibilities is given by T. J. Dunbabin, *The Greeks and their Eastern Neighbours*, London, 1957, pp. 59-61.

**R 23** Loomweight, lentoid. Pl. 23.

MC 976. Max. dim. 0.08 m. Part chipped off.

This shape occurs rarely in Geometric contexts; it is probably simply a variant of the pyramidal loomweight like **P 28**. See "P. A. Well Groups," under F 60.

**R 24** Loomweight. Pl. 23.

MC 975. H. 0.059 m.; bottom 0.03 x 0.036 m.

Almost rectangular. See under **P 28**.

**R 25** Spindle whorl. Not illustrated.

MC 906. Diam. 0.045 m.

Like **L 57**, but undecorated.

**R 26** Kotyle, Protocorinthian. Pl. 23.

P 23885. H. 0.085 m.; est. diam. ca. 0.09 m.

Handles missing. Bands on ring foot, rays near base, bands and panel of vertical squiggles with vertical lines near handles.

Buff clay, black glaze.

Johansen's "subgeometric" type (Johansen, *V.S.*, p. 77, fig. 47). Many are found in Athens, especially in wells: *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, C 8 and following. Straight-sidedness is a mark of lateness in these. Our example is still quite convex.

Early 7th century B.C.

# THE PROTOGEOMETRIC CEMETERY AT NEA IONIA, 1949<sup>1</sup>

(PLATES 24-30)

## THE SITE

THE quarry cemetery at Nea Ionia, the third largest Protogeometric find in Attica, came to light by chance in the early months of 1949. The suburb, 7 km. northwest of Athens—a little over an hour's walk from the Dipylon<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 1)—lies on the edge of the Attic plain in the low foothills that spread down north and west of Tourkovouni. The town lies at the confluence of two branches of the Podonyphtis, a faithful tributary of the Kephissos a few kilometers to the west. The larger channel flows north-south in a deep ravine through the center of the town; the lesser, a broad stony torrent bed, joins it at right angles from the region of Kalogreza.<sup>3</sup> A few

<sup>1</sup> This material was generously turned over to me for study and publication by Dr. John Papadimitriou, now Superintendent of the Department of Antiquities. I have had full access to the records of the excavation and have profited from many discussions of the material with him; many of his observations and suggestions are incorporated within. But errors are my own. I am deeply grateful to Mrs. Semni Karouzou, who facilitated at every turn study of the objects on exhibit and in storage in the National Museum, and to its staff, especially to Miss Eve Stasinopoulou, without whose sympathetic assistance photography and technical observations could not have been completed. Photographs of objects in the National Museum were taken by Mr. N. Tombazis; Kerameikos Inv. 609 and Agora objects are by Miss M. Alison Frantz. The plan, Figure 1, was drawn by Dr. J. Travlos. I am much indebted to the staff of the Demarcheion of Nea Ionia, especially to Mr. Antonios Michaelides, Engineer of the Technical Service of the Deme of Nea Ionia, who made available plans in the files of the Demarcheion; the exact location of the site is recorded on Plan No. 115, beneath the eastern half of the house, Odos Kretis 2.

Preliminary notices: *A.J.A.*, LIII, 1949, pp. 371-372, pl. L, A; *B.C.H.*, LXXIII, 1949, p. 525, fig. 8; *J.H.S.*, LXX, 1950, p. 4, fig. 3. Mentioned: *Protogeometric Pottery*, pp. 1, 315.

Frequent references: V. Desborough, *Protogeometric Pottery*, Oxford, 1952, cited: *Protogeometric Pottery*. W. Kraiker and K. Kübler, *Kerameikos*, I, Berlin, 1939; K. Kübler, *Kerameikos*, IV, Berlin, 1943 and *Kerameikos*, V, 1, Berlin, 1954, abbreviated: *Ker.*, I, IV, V, 1. Individual published pieces from the Kerameikos are cited by inventory number, volume number, plate and grave number, e.g. Inv. 910 (IV, pl. 6, Gr. 28). For references to Agora material, published and unpublished, see Appendix B, p. 177.

<sup>2</sup> Strongly recommended today: the Athens-Peiraeus Electric Railroad (ΕΗΣ, Fig. 1), to Pefkákia, one stop before the Nea Ionia station, ca. 15 minutes beyond Omonoia.

<sup>3</sup> See E. Curtius and J. A. Kaupert, *Karten von Attika*, Berlin, 1883, Bl. V, where Nea Ionia is called "Poderades." The settlement, a fairly prominent one of the Middle Ages, was known by that name until, with the influx of refugees from Asia Minor in 1922, it was formally incorporated as the Deme of Nea Ionia. The ancient name is still unknown. Dr. Papadimitriou has suggested its identification with the classical deme of Daidalidai, long assigned to the region northwest of



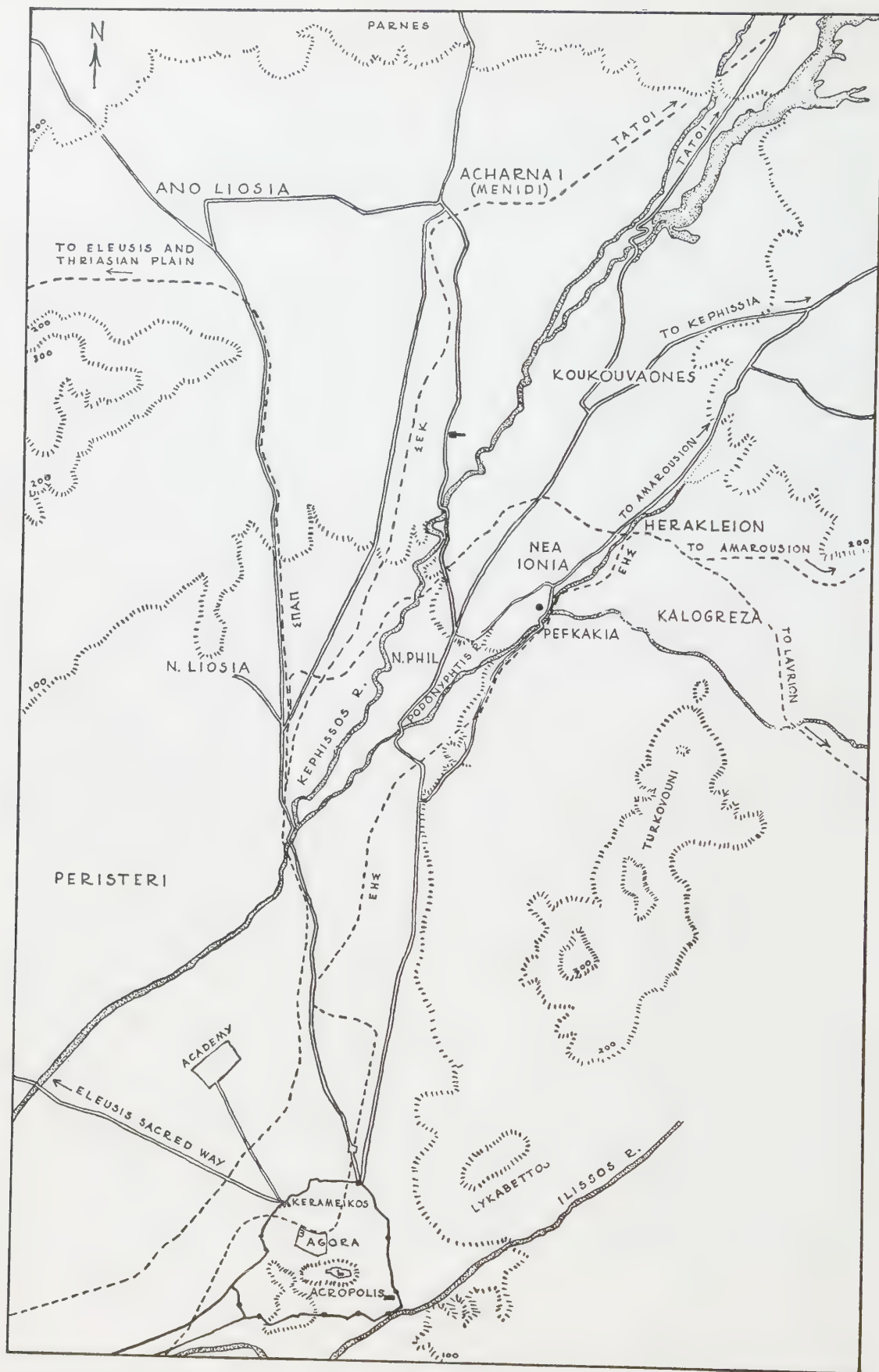


FIG. 1. Map of Nea Ionia and Environs

hundred meters east of the ravine three artesian wells, tapped just below the modern surface, must have provided in antiquity as now an abundance of cool, clean-tasting drinking water.<sup>4</sup> On the rise around these a dotting of scrub pine still suggests something of the lightly wooded appearance that these low knolls preserved until recent years. Near the southern limits of the town the main highway from Athens crosses the river and hugs its west bank. Here the ground rises abruptly and is rocky. This natural condition was intensified when the hillside was quarried in recent times to provide stone for the houses and tiny domestic factories on its slopes. The largest of these quarry scars, a deep apsidal hollow, provided both the stone and a level site for the new Gymnasium of Nea Ionia built in 1948. A sliver of the natural slope stretching out in a peninsular arm separates the Gymnasium quarry from still other hollows to the south; on this, just below the shoulder of the hill, lay the surviving remnants of the Protogeometric cemetery.

#### EXPLORATION AND EXCAVATION

If graves were noticed in the quarrying, they were not reported. It remained for school children playing along the rubble slopes to recover the first pots and report them to Dr. John Papadimitriou, then Ephor of Antiquities for Attica.<sup>5</sup> Two days, March 3-4, 1949, were devoted to a systematic examination and clearance of the remaining unbuilt areas around the quarries. These operations were directed by Dr. Papadimitriou with the assistance of two workmen, thoroughly familiar with Protogeometric burials from pre-war experience at the Kerameikos. Their foreman was the late K. Kasandris, whose services were kindly made available by Dr. Christos Karouzos, Director of the National Museum.

The first day was spent in surface exploration of the entire area. Thanks to the enthusiastic assistance of the Gymnasium pupils, scarcely a sherd escaped; a few remained when I first visited the site in 1954; by 1956, there was nothing.<sup>6</sup> The

Tourkovouni (A. Milchhöfer, *R.E.*, 1901, *s.v.* Daidalidai, col. 1993; *Untersuchungen über die Demeinordnung des Kleisthenes*, 1892, pp. 10, 30); its size and residents were undistinguished.

<sup>4</sup> These wells, now sorely taxed, remained in 1958 the sole source for the community of 70,000.

<sup>5</sup> These first finds were routine Early Christian products; an unfluted column fragment, also brought to the school, came in all likelihood from a small Early Christian chapel, whose long-ruinous brick and mortar foundations, together with a few Early Christian graves, lay close by. Brief reconnaissance by Dr. Papadimitriou and the pupils led to the concentration of Protogeometric sherds and the early cemetery.

<sup>6</sup> I have not seen all the sherds. "Much" Early Helladic is reported, while a quantity of Mycenaean was recovered near the top of the hill north and west of the quarries, some of first quality and ambitious proportions (murex kylix, krateroids, one probably with octopus); the characteristic pieces are LH III A, none certainly later than LH III B. I noted only this Mycenaean and Protogeometric. Characteristic Geometric pieces were lacking, as well as good typical black-glaze, Red-Figure, and roof tiles that might encourage placing a Kleisthenic deme on this hill. But the broader area has been little explored. Fragments of classical walls are reported on both sides of

Protogeometric area was confined to the quarry arm, though some of its remains had been displaced to the rubble slopes just below to the south.<sup>7</sup> On the following day undisturbed earth filling on the quarry arm was cleared to bedrock, a maximum depth

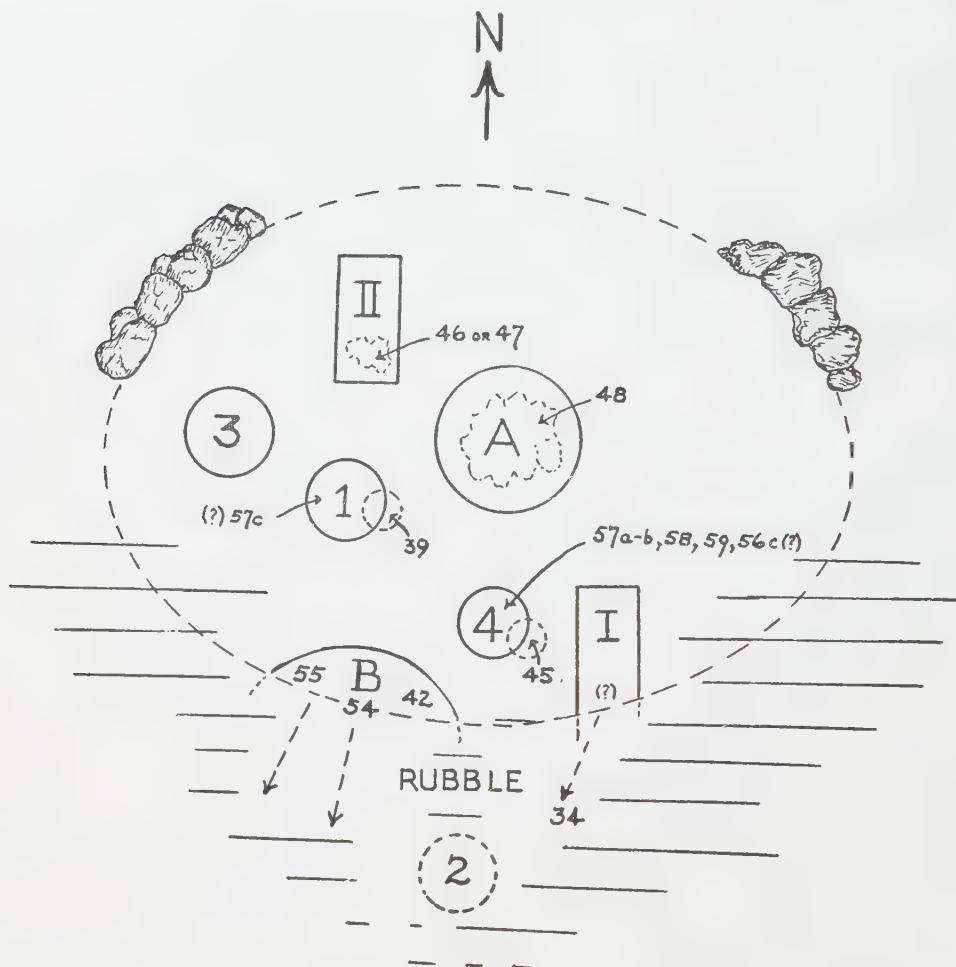


FIG. 2. Sketch Showing Relative Position of Remains at Nea Ionia

of 1.10 m. below the modern surface. Nothing of the original Protogeometric ground level remained; 3 urn pockets, 2 pyres, 2 cist graves and two stretches of lightly curved wall, all damaged, were exposed. Figure 2 shows the relative position of these remains.

the ravine, and on the east side the many remains of waterworks, both rock-cut channels and aqueducts that probably fed the Kephissia-Athens system (see especially, A. Kordellas, *Ἀθῆναι ἐξεταζόμεναι ὑπὸ ὑδραυλικὴν ἔποψιν*, Athens, 1879, pp. 75, 90-92; and less full, but more available, E. Ziller, *Ath. Mitt.*, II, 1877, pp. 122-124, pl. VI), deserve careful charting and study while they are still accessible; some of this construction antedates the Roman period, as also the masonry around the wells, though for reasons of hygiene these are now scrupulously enclosed and guarded. Many of these remains were first pointed out to me by Mr. Michaelides.

<sup>7</sup> Three houses built between 1949 and 1954, served by a narrow footpath, now cover the arm; see note 1.



## CREMATION BURIALS

There were at least four. Three urns (**1**, **3**, **4**) were found *in situ*, a little less than a meter apart, each in a close-fitting hole in bedrock, their mouths just below the modern surface; each still contained human ash. Urn **4** held in addition four (?) pins (**57**, **a-b**, **58**, **59**) and perhaps a whorl (**56**, **c**); its mouth was closed by the skyphos **45**. Urn **1** contained at least one pin (perhaps **57**, **c**); its mouth was closed by the pyxis **39**. Pins have been found elsewhere in only two neck amphorae, a form of burial urn which was ordinarily reserved for men. These two were 1) in Agora Grave **45**, which preserved no other offerings, and 2) Kerameikos Grave **31**, which included a handmade cooking pot which suggests that the deceased was, exceptionally, a woman. Grave **31** casts doubt on the male identification of the burials in other neck amphorae containing pins, but which now lack offerings. The exception may read the other way; **1** may be a woman in a neck amphora rather than a man wearing pins. A fibula is found in only one neck amphora, Kerameikos Grave **40**, indisputably a man. There is no correspondence between form of urn and stopper; for correlation of urn-type and sex, see *Protogeometric Pottery*, pp. 5-6, but see note 17, below. Large fragments of a fourth urn, **2**, only recently uprooted and freshly broken, were found below in the quarry rubble. There is nothing in these remains at variance with the usual Athenian Protogeometric trench-and-hole form of cremation burial (*Ker.*, V, 1, pp. 7-8), in which the urn stood upright, fully concealed in a round pocket, scooped out to size beneath the floor of the rectangular trench that held the pyre debris; here perhaps the trenches are lost (see below).

## PYRES

Pyre A,<sup>8</sup> just east of Urns **1** and **3**, was a shallow deposit, about a meter across, consisting of burnt earth, sherds, carbonized matter and animal bones; covering it were large fragments of the krater, **48**, coated with oil but unburned.

Pyre B, on the edge of the quarry arm near Urn **4**, had been largely destroyed; joining fragments from many of its vases were recovered from the rubble slope below; among these were small closed vases (oinochoai or lekythoi), a chest (**42**), a bell-shaped doll (**54**) and some of the clay beads (**55**), in all an assortment similar to that in the pyre of Kerameikos Grave **48**.

The relation of these pyres to the graves is uncertain. There are two possibilities: a) They may be remnants of trench floors severed by modern disturbances from urn pockets **1** (Pyre A) and **4** (Pyre B). The maximum reported dimension is suitable and the concentration of debris at the end opposite the urn-hole was usual in the Proto-

<sup>8</sup> Mentioned: *Ker.*, V, 1, p. 11, note 36, "Brandplatz" without human bone or ash.

geometric period.<sup>9</sup> b) They may have been surface pyres like some of those reported at the Athenian Agora and Eleusis.<sup>10</sup> Pyres of this type were structurally independent of deposits beneath them or burials adjoining them; they were rarely more than a meter across, but some may have been large enough to accommodate corpse and offerings; none showed signs of repeated use as a fixed cult or cremation place.

The position of the krater (48) on Pyre A is exceptional. Elsewhere large Protogeometric kraters have been found *in situ* only above trench-and-hole graves, their bottoms intact and their bases bedded high above the pyre debris in the pure earth of the trench filling, directly above the urn;<sup>11</sup> they were visible above the graves at least briefly for posthumous ceremonies, perhaps longer as markers. A large krater in similar condition and stylistically contemporary with 48 was found in the Athenian Agora in a disturbed deposit containing pyre debris; alongside it a banded amphora like 1 lay in a pocket in bedrock, not *in situ*. Both may have belonged to one of the plundered grave pits near by.<sup>12</sup> Like 48, the Agora krater was unburned, but discolored from its contents; its bottom was not recovered. There are no indications on either 48 or the Agora krater that the bottom had been intentionally removed. The earliest perforated krater bottoms are now Early Geometric.

#### CIST GRAVES

I, a small rectangular pit, north-south, near Urn 4 and Pyre B, had been rifled and its south end lost down the slope. P. L. *ca.* 0.80 m.; W. *ca.* 0.40 m.; P. D. *ca.* 0.20 m. It was paved and lined with large pithos fragments and stones; large unworked stone slabs closed it. Inside a few bones and Protogeometric sherds remained. The size suggests a child's burial, normally inhumation in the Protogeometric period, for which the miniature lekythos (13), the feeding bottle (53), or the small unburned lekythos (34) found on the slope just below it might have been appropriate furnishing.

II, a small cist further north, west of Pyre A, was covered with stones and pieces of a "krater" (46 or 47?).

#### CURVED WALL FRAGMENTS<sup>13</sup>

Two lightly curved stretches of wall built of unworked stones lay northeast and northwest of Pyre A and Cist II. The full height and width were not preserved and too little remained to define with any certainty the area they limited. Their alignment

<sup>9</sup> A few trenches both at the Kerameikos and the Agora lacked urns, *Ker.*, IV, pp. 3, 47: "Cremation without urn"; these, if analysed, contained human ash.

<sup>10</sup> Agora, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 554, in and around the Geometric oval house, and others unpublished; further references, *Ker.*, V, 1, p. 11, note 36.

<sup>11</sup> *Ker.*, V, 1, pp. 7-8.

<sup>12</sup> Krater, Agora P 7008 (Area, B 10); amphora P 6997 (Grave 11).

<sup>13</sup> Mentioned: *Ker.*, V, 1, p. 17, note 50: "Grabeinfassung."

suggested to Dr. Papadimitriou an ellipse, L. *ca.* 5-6 m.; W. *ca.* 3.5-4 m., enclosing all the remains, its southern half lost down the slope. A terrace wall, lightly bowed toward the north, is also possible, for surrounding levels indicate that the bedrock was still rising over the area that today drops off abruptly to the quarry slope on the south. Cf. curved walls within or adjoining Attic cemeteries of Late Protogeometric or Early Geometric date: Marathon, *Arch. Anz.*, 1940, p. 182; Athenian Agora, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 545-551; and cf. the oval house, apparently purely domestic, in the Protogeometric level at Old Smyrna, *J.H.S.*, LXXII, 1952, p. 104 and *Proto-geometric Pottery*, p. 314. Curved walls may have belonged to a variety of structures, for the apsidal end, as an architectural fashion, was applicable equally to terrace walls, enclosures, shrines and dwellings. The walls at Nea Ionia are most simply regarded as defining a family burial area or supporting its terrace.<sup>14</sup>

#### POTTERY AND CHRONOLOGY

Three context groups were noted in part:

- 1) 4 and 45; probably with 57, a-b, 58; 59; 56, c may belong.
- 2) 1 and 39; 57, c may belong.
- 3) 42, 54 and some or all of the beads, 55.

Six stylistic groups may be isolated with certainty; each is composed of pots made by the same hands (potter and painter; for criteria, see 26) at a single sitting:

- a) 9, 10, 23: two oinochoai and a lekythos
- b) 14, 15: lekythoi
- c) 26-29 and almost certainly 30, 31: lekythoi
- d) 43, 44: low cups
- e) 46, 47: "skyphoid" kraters
- f) 49, 50: kalathoi with handles

Some of these groups could be combined and other pieces, now unassigned, added to them; it is not impossible that all six come, in fact, from a single hand, but this cannot be proved. A very few other hands (most easily recognizable among the lekythoi, 12-33) contributed to the Nea Ionia cemetery.

Because so little of the original groupings can be reconstituted, the finds are

<sup>14</sup> *Ker.*, V, 1, p. 10, note 35 with references. It is unlikely that these walls could have served as a podium for a low mound; mounds seem to have marked individual burials rather than a group as here. No mounds of these dimensions are known in Attica before the end of the eighth century.



best treated together and the range for the cemetery as a unit established. As a group the cemetery is stylistically homogeneous, all falling within Late Protogeometric, to which most of the rich cremation burials at the Kerameikos and the Agora have been assigned. Analogous pieces come mostly from rich Kerameikos Graves 39, 40 and 48; comparisons with Agora well groups confirm the limited span. A few pieces recall the Ripe phase; a few others are most closely matched in Early Geometric groups, but are of types that began earlier. No characteristic Early Protogeometric or Early Geometric sherds were recovered anywhere on the hill.

In spite of the large number of pieces, the Nea Ionia group is limited in types. There is only one large oinochoe (i.e. H. *ca.* 0.30 m.) and a single skyphos, both among the better diagnostic types; small oinochoai and lekythoi, which together make up nearly half the finds, are among the least informative. Common high-footed cups are lacking among the inventoried finds, but a few uninventoried conical feet and scraps of lips show that this type was still in use. The paucity of the types reinforces other indications that a very few graves are represented, and that most of their furnishings were purchased from a single workshop within a short period of time. Among familiar pottery types are a few noteworthy variants, such as 43, 45, 48, 49, and other pieces of rare or unique form are welcome additions to the still limited Attic Protogeometric corpus. 34 is a wholly new type, as also the coarse miniature 52. Among the small finds, the fibula 59 is unique, but surely Protogeometric in date.

The Nea Ionia group is of some assistance to problems of relative chronology, which will be discussed in the publication of the Agora material. Nea Ionia contributes nothing independently useful to absolute chronology; by convention,<sup>15</sup> a date in the second half of the tenth century is sufficiently precise.

#### SUMMARY

The remains at Nea Ionia present a tantalizing fragment from the long history of this suburb that began almost as early as the coming of the first settlers into Attica. The settlement—villa, farmstead or village—has not yet been found. Whether this hill was used as a burying ground in those earliest days is not known, for apart from the Protogeometric cluster, no graves antedating the Early Christian period have been found. But the presence of early sherds on the periphery makes this likely. Too little remained to suggest the original area of the cemetery. Its situation recalls that of the cemetery south of the Eridanos in the Kerameikos: the rocky hillside skirted by a stream, probably with major roads above and below it as today. The surviving fragment is from a single plot within a walled enclosure or terrace. It contained at least six graves, four cremations, perhaps one male and three female, and two inhumed

<sup>15</sup> As *Protogeometric Pottery*, p. 294.

children. All were set down within a very short time during the last half of the tenth century B.C., a few years, even weeks, apart and following the same ritual observed in central Athens. Children and adults were buried side by side as frequently at the Agora, though apparently not in the Kerameikos at this time. The cremation graves were all mutilated, but there is nothing in their remains that suggests other than the familiar trench-and-hole type; the pyres, whether severed remnants of trenches or independent units, have their counterparts in central Athens. Accessory vessels and offerings belong to assortments familiar from the Kerameikos. There is one new detail, not yet reported elsewhere: the fragments of a large oil-coated krater resting on a burned deposit, but itself unburned.

The pottery, like the ritual and architectural remains, reinforces an impression already gained from Marathon and other outlying areas of the cultural unity of Attica at this time. None of these outlying sites gives any evidence of locally produced "provincial Attic."<sup>16</sup> The Nea Ionia vases are all of first quality and were manufactured in the same workshops that equipped families burying at the Kerameikos, the Athenian Agora and the areas to the east, south and west of the Acropolis at Athens. Among them are some of the most exacting and elaborate products of the Protogeometric style, evidence of the wealth that the rich fields near by and unfailing water supply might yield in times of peace. Nea Ionia presents no fresh evidence for absolute chronology or of foreign contacts. Its importance lies in topographical considerations and in the consistently high quality of workmanship and good preservation of its finds.

#### CATALOGUE

All pieces of Protogeometric date that are tolerably complete or of intrinsic interest are listed below; the only significant omissions are a few scraps from high-footed cups (see 43 and p. 154). The arrangement is POTTERY, by fabric (within this, conventionally by closed, then open shapes): Fine Painted Ware, 1-51; Handmade Gritty ("Cooking") Ware, 52-53; Attic Protogeometric Fine Handmade Incised Ware, 54-56; then METAL, 57-59. Inventory numbers are those of the Athens National Museum. All dimensions are given in meters; the descriptions are to supplement the plates. Unless otherwise stated, all pots are assumed to be mended with missing pieces filled out in plaster. Plaster restorations are noted (i.e. portions whose outlines cannot be supplied with certainty from preserved parts). Pyre damage is noted as a key to provenience. Comparative material is drawn by preference from published groups, but a few unpublished Agora groups are cited in anticipation of their publication. Published Agora groups are marked (\*); for reference to these and remarks about unpublished groups, see APPENDIX B, p. 177.

<sup>16</sup> I know only a few pieces from the Sanctuary of Zeus on Mt. Hymettos that differ noticeably from other Attic finds, but whether imported, provincial or only very bad and atypical Athenian work, we cannot be sure until more pottery is recovered from outlying areas.

## POTTERY

**1-51. FINE PAINTED WARE**

The fabric has been well described elsewhere (e.g. *Protogeometric Pottery*, pp. 119-120). In general, I have not described the clay; it is all Attic "pinkish buff," mostly hard-fired. All of it has, or has had, a "skin" or finer surfacing that usually fires lighter in color than the body of the clay. The surface, both clay ground and glaze, had a good gloss, which may have been produced in a variety of ways. Tool marks, whether from finishing or polishing, are noted. I use the term "glaze," admittedly incorrect but conventional in descriptions of Greek pottery; it is the same as Desborough's "paint." Its color and quality, as indicative of the care and control of manufacture, is usually noted where the original survives; the range of pyre discoloration, rarely significant, is not indicated.

**1. Banded neck amphora.** Pl. 24.

Inv. 18089. H. 0.455 m.; D. 0.28 m. Base chipped all around. Part of the shaft of an iron pin rusted against the upper neck inside; a freshly broken shaft-fragment rusted against the base of pyxis **39** suggests that it closed the mouth of this urn. Cf. Kerameikos Grave 28.

Mentioned: Hanfmann, in *Aegean and the Near East* (Goldman Studies), Locust Valley, N. Y., 1956, p. 180, note 47.

Underside of foot rounds up to shallow bottom.

Handles, St. Andrew's cross.

Deep black glaze, mostly dull and worn.

Decoration, *Protogeometric Pottery*, pp. 9, 11, Type A 3.

Tall neck, like Kerameikos Inv. 910 (IV, pl. 6, Gr. 28). **2** has stockier proportions and shorter neck, but is so like **1** in details of finish as to have been made by the same potter.

**2. Banded neck amphora.**

Inv. 18111. H. 0.43 m.; D. 0.272 m. Large pieces from one face missing.

Flaring ring foot.

Brownish maroon to light brown glaze.

See **1**.

**3. Belly-handled amphora.** Pl. 24.

Inv. 18113. H. 0.572 m.; D. 0.395 m. One handle lost.

Deep, crisply turned ring foot, chipped on one side before glazing.

Shoulder, nine sets of plain semicircles (17), evenly spaced; no panels or dividers.

High gloss on unglazed surfaces; brown-black to black glaze, bleeding orange along the edge of the bands.

Shape, *Protogeometric Pottery*, pp. 23-27, Class I; cf. Kerameikos Inv. 560 (I, pl. 56, Gr. 18) especially for the lip with thick flattened top sloping outward as often also on late kraters; full body, cf. Inv. 576 (I, pl. 56, Gr. 20).

**3** is one of the rare departures from the special system of decoration regularly and exclusively applied to very large belly-handled amphorae (H. near or above 0.50 m.: the "Grave amphorae") from the Early Submycenaean period downward, i.e. two zones on the shoulder, the lower with semicircles, the upper with semicircles or rectilinear pattern; across the belly front and back, a row of full circles, the confining bands above and below them multiplied: e.g. Kerameikos Inv. 1074 (IV, pl. 33, Gr. 37), Inv. 1089 (IV, pl. 9, Gr. 38) and Early Protogeometric examples, *Ker.*, I, pl. 55. Here instead there is a remarkably successful adaptation to the larger scale of a scheme common on belly-handled amphorae of usual size (H. around 0.40 m.), e.g. Kerameikos Inv. 1073 (IV, pl. 10, Gr. 37). The continuation of the neck glaze down onto the shoulder and the three narrow bands below it reduce the shoulder zone to a height proportionate to the semicircles; so also on Kerameikos Inv. 1089. For the clear belly, cf. Aegina 1326 (H. 0.57 m.), Kraiker, *Aigina*, pl. 3, 1; Desborough sug-



gests that for small amphorae at least this may be a sign of lateness. Because most of these very large amphorae stood exposed above graves as markers or ritual vessels, few have survived even tolerably complete. A few were buried as urns in very early Protogeometric graves, e.g. Kerameikos Inv. 561 (I, pl. 55, Gr. 5), but they are rare in the developed Protogeometric period; the size becomes popular for urns again only in Earliest Geometric contexts, especially for the neck amphorae in rich male burials.

#### 4. Shoulder-handled amphora. Pl. 24.

Inv. 18115. H. 0.385 m.; D. 0.265 m. Body intact; a few small pieces missing from neck. Five pair of mend-holes line an ancient repair to the neck; the V-shaped fragment fits tightly and was perhaps only laced in position for no trace of lead survives in the holes. Cf. 48.

Ring foot.

Handles, laddered with double uprights at the sides.

Black to brown glaze, in places crazed and peeled.

Shape, *Protogeometric Pottery*, pp. 37-39; it is rare in pure Protogeometric contexts, e.g. Kerameikos Grave 39 (Inv. 2131, IV, pl. 12), but in Early Geometric contexts becomes the exclusive form for female burials. The accessories of Agora Inv. 19228 (\*Grave 49), are more exaggerated than 4 and most of its context-pottery is Early Geometric and more advanced than anything recovered at Nea Ionia.

#### 5. Trefoil-mouthed oinochoe. Pl. 24.

Inv. 18100. H. 0.312; D. 0.192. About half preserved with profile complete. No certain discoloration from heat.

Ring foot rounding up to bottom beneath.

Glazed with zigzag girdle in thinned glaze. Handle laddered.

Shape, *Protogeometric Pottery*, pp. 48, 53: Class II. Black pots of medium size (H. about 0.30) occur in Ripe Protogeometric contexts, but they are common only in Late Proto-

metric; it is the exclusive form of oinochoe in Early Geometric. The ovoid body of 5 is still pure Protogeometric, as is the solidly glazed neck without panel.

**6-11.** Small trefoil-mouthed oinochoai (H. ca. 0.15-0.20), found sporadically throughout the Protogeometric period, are much more numerous in the rich Late Protogeometric graves, where singly or in sets they formed part of large ritual services like that from Kerameikos Grave 48 (IV, pls. 15-16). All of the oinochoai and most of the lekythoi from Nea Ionia are burnt or discolored from smoke. There is considerable variation in shape among these small late oinochoai; because of their size they follow more closely the body contours and decoration of lekythoi than of large oinochoai, but many are individual; see *Protogeometric Pottery*, pp. 50-51. The latest form with overpointed oval body, dainty foot, and low slim concave neck is but a short development from the plain pots of Kerameikos Grave 48. These survive, fossilized, into pure Geometric contexts (e.g. Acropolis West Slope, *C.V.A.*, Grèce 1, Athènes 1, pl. 1, 6); none of the Nea Ionia oinochoai has achieved these proportions. A few, particularly of the smaller oinochoai, are solidly glazed with patterned girdle, but the dark frame (i.e. reserved shoulder and glazed lower body and neck) is characteristic; as with late lekythoi, the glaze of the lower body may be continuous or interrupted by a group of reserved bands. The commonest shoulder decoration is four contiguous sets of semicircles (7-10), rarely with dividers (11), a few with latticed triangles (6). Two of the Nea Ionia oinochoai come surely from a single hand (9-10), the same that produced lekythos 23 and possibly 24.

#### 6. Small trefoil-mouthed oinochoe. Pl. 25.

Inv. 18085. H. 0.165; D. 0.107.

Ring foot.

Four narrow reserved bands around mid neck; none on lower body.

Shoulder, 7 triangles, latticed at center front,

then alternating with receding triangles with glazed core.

Black to brownish glaze, lost over large areas.

Latticed triangles, not necessarily a late pattern, see **13**; receding triangles, rare after the disappearance of Submycenaean stirrup jugs, are found sporadically in pure Protogeometric and Early Geometric contexts: e.g. lekythos, Agora P 5867 (\*Grave 20), alternating as here with latticed triangles; miniature oinochoe, Agora P 730 (\*Grave 26). Reserved neck rings, found occasionally in the Protogeometric period, are here individual (an inversion of the ringed light-ground neck of lekythoi and some oinochoai) rather than an anticipation of the Geometric neck panel.

**7. Small trefoil-mouthed oinochoe.** Pl. 25.

Inv. 18083. H. 0.205; D. 0.12.

Foot deeply turned beneath, rounding up to bottom.

Single narrow reserved band on lower body. Shoulder, four sets of plain semicircles (**13**).

Metallic black glaze, brown where thin.

Decoration, cf. oinochoai from Kerameikos Grave 48 (IV, pl. 16) and Agora P 6851 (Grave 54, a pyre also containing a pair of "branch" lekythoi, one of the commonest types at Nea Ionia; see **26** below).

**8. Small trefoil-mouthed oinochoe.** Pl. 25.

Inv. 18082. H. 0.182; D. 0.125.

Ring foot.

Three narrow reserved bands on lower body. Shoulder, three sets of semicircles (**13**) and to the right of the handle, a latticed triangle.

Glossy black glaze, mottling to red-brown.

Careless painting with broad brushes by a heavy hand. The circle-sets are placed erratically, one group centered well down in the supporting bands; the space between the last set and the handle was too small for a fourth set, but awkward if left empty. Two lekythoi from a single hand, Kerameikos Inv. 2015 (IV, pl. 17, Gr. 40) and Agora P 3170 (Grave 22) also have a latticed triangle as gap-filler in this posi-

tion; **8** has no peculiarities that would assign it to that hand. Elsewhere smaller gaps are filled by combinations of vertical lines (motives commonly used as dividers) as in **22**, or left vacant as in **19**; two late small oinochoai, attempting symmetry, paint in as much circle (*ca.* 135°) as will fit, fixing the interrupted arcs against a radius.

**9. Small trefoil-mouthed oinochoe.** Pl. 25.

Inv. 18101. H. 0.18; D. 0.114.

Foot conical beneath.

No bands on lower body. Shoulder, four sets of semicircles (**7**), hourglass in the core. Lower handle attachment not ringed.

Good black to brown glaze, warm light brown where thin.

**9-10** and lekythos **23** are works of the same potter and painter; **24** may be his too. The hourglass is the commonest core-filling of the Protogeometric period, beginning in the earliest pure contexts and lasting as long as the semicircle itself.

**10. Small trefoil-mouthed oinochoe.**

Inv. 18075. H. 0.185; D. 0.113. Tip of spout restored.

Identical with **9** from the same hand, but with only two bands supporting the shoulder.

Fat black to red-brown glaze, in places with greenish highly metallic sheen, now largely peeled from one side.

**11. Small trefoil-mouthed oinochoe.** Pl. 25.

Inv. 18084. H. 0.020; D. 0.125.

Foot conical beneath.

Single reserved band on lower body. Shoulder, three sets of semicircles (**7**), hourglass in the core; as a divider between each set, a single dot-edged vertical line ("branch pattern").

Mottled, reddish brown to black glaze, much damaged.

Cf. "branch" lekythoi **26-32**; the heavy painting resembles one of those painters (**26-30**), but cannot be assigned surely to him. Hourglass, see **9**.

**12-33.** Lekythoi. Twenty-two virtually complete vases or substantial fragments are published here; a few more fragments in uninventoried storage, duplicate examples below. Only one, the miniature **13**, was surely intact at the time it was buried and shows no sign of smoke; two or three others may have been. The rest, from pyres, are discolored in varying degrees from smoke; a few are heavily burned. One, **12**, is glazed all over with a patterned girdle around the belly; the others are dark ground (i.e. glazed lower body and reserved shoulder). One to three narrow reserved lines sometimes interrupt the glaze of the lower body, the neck is reserved and banded, the handle barred and the lower attachment ringed. Shoulder decoration is of three kinds: 4 have triangles (**13-16**); 8 have three sets of semicircles (**17-24**); 9 have three sets of semicircles separated by dividers (**25-33**). On **25** the dividers are wavy lines; on **33** one of the dividers is a latticed lozenge; all the others are the "branch" pattern (see **26**). Three groups, each made at the same time by a single hand, may be isolated: **14-15**; **26-31**; **23** and probably **24** were made at the same sitting with the small oinochoai **9-10**. The variety of body outline is considerable but not unusual among large groups of lekythoi from a single deposit. All are well-formed of good late fabric; none has an airvent on the shoulder. For glazed cores and "branch" pattern, once thought to belong exclusively to the Early Protogeometric style, see **26**. The shape is exclusively funeral, and none has yet come from a grave later than the pure Protogeometric period; the broad-based oinochoe-lekythos which replaces it in Early Geometric graves is lacking at Nea Ionia. Further, see *Protogeometric Pottery*, pp. 69-77.

**12.** Lekythos. Pl. 26.

Without number (Nea Ionia Storage, Athens Nat. Mus.). P. H. ca. 0.13; H. of neck ca. 0.045; D. of mouth 0.05. About one-quarter preserved, rim to just below mid body; handle missing. All sherds burned dark gray.

Broad band on inner face of lip continuous with the solid glaze of exterior; near mid body patterned girdle with zigzag in thinned glaze.

Cf. **5**. The only other lekythoi with this decoration are from a single hand: Kerameikos Invs. 2085 and 2089 (IV, pl. 19, Gr. 48) and Agora P 6702 (Grave 41); this could be his fourth piece.

**13.** Miniature lekythos. Pl. 25.

Inv. 18096. H. 0.10; D. 0.07. About a third missing, profile complete; breaks fresh with no signs of burning. Nearly all miniature lekythoi are from children's burials; this may be from one of the inhumations.

Foot low conical beneath.

No reserved bands on body; glaze on entire inner face of lip carried over the rim in a narrow band outside. Shoulder, five latticed triangles.

Very light pinkish buff clay; chocolate-brown glaze, in places glossy.

Latticed triangles, used on lekythoi of all sizes throughout the Protogeometric period, are especially popular on small pieces where semicircles are more difficult to accommodate; they become the usual decoration on the small oinochoe-lekythos which replaces the lekythos in the Early Geometric period, as Agora P 19235 (\*Grave 49).

**14.** Lekythos. Pl. 25.

Inv. 18077. H. 0.19; D. 0.117. Pyre damage. Ring foot, deeply turned beneath.

Three reserved bands on lower body; band of medium width on inner and outer face of lip continuous over the rim. Shoulder, four latticed triangles.

Light pinkish buff clay; brown-black to black glaze, thinning to walnut on fine lines, much peeled.

Potter and painter as **15**.

**15.** Lekythos. Pl. 25.

Inv. 18078. H. 0.185; D. 0.12. Discolored, probably from burning.

Potter and painter as **14**.



**16. Lekythos.**

Pl. 25.

Inv. 18076. H. 0.185; D. 0.116. Broken, but no sure signs of heat.

Foot low conical beneath.

No reserved bands on body; lip glazed all over inside and out. Shoulder, five latticed triangles, the three middle ones doubly outlined.

Hard light pinkish buff clay, lighter buff on the surface; black glaze, shading to greenish or deeper bluish, mostly dull, in a few places glossy.

**16** differs from the other Nea Ionia lekythoi in fabric and form. The foot is unusually tall, broad and flaring, the mouth broad and little flattened, the throat open; the handle is high and tucks in close beneath the lip. It looks earlier than the others, but need not be; cf. Kerameikos Grave 39 (IV, pl. 18). The hand is distinct from **14-15**. Doubly outlined triangles, while not the usual form, are not rare.

**17. Lekythos.**

Pl. 25.

Inv. 18103. H. 0.192; D. 0.122. Pyre damage.

Illustrated: *B.C.H.*, LXXIII, 1949, p. 526, fig. 8, right (= *J.H.S.*, LXX, 1950, p. 3, fig. 3; *A.J.A.*, LIII, 1949, pl. L, A).

Ring foot rounding up to bottom beneath.

Three narrow reserved bands on lower body; glaze over one-third of the inner face of lip carried over rim in a broad band on the outer face. Shoulder, three sets of plain semicircles (14), a dot of glaze at the center.

Rich adherent black glaze, thinning to warm light brown.

Plain semicircles without dividers are common on lekythoi of all periods, possibly more popular toward the close of the Protogeometric style; cf. late routine small jugs and oinochoai, particularly those from Kerameikos Grave 48 (see p. 157 and **7**); they are generally of excellent fabric, simply and unimaginatively decorated by a practised but hurried hand.

**18. Lekythos.**

Inv. 18074. P. H. ca. 0.14; H. rest. 0.21; D.

0.127. About two-thirds of body preserved, from base of neck into lower body with lower part of handle. Pyre damage.

Pair of reserved bands on lower body; lower handle attachment apparently not ringed. Shoulder, three sets of plain semicircles (13) drawn with a delicate hand; no dividers on preserved portions.

Pale brown glaze, mauve where thin.

**19. Lekythos.**

Pl. 25.

Inv. 18072. H. 0.20; D. 0.127. Pyre damage. Foot low conical beneath.

Single reserved band on lower body; narrow band on inner face of lip continued over rim, outer face of lip and down the neck to level of upper handle attachment. Shoulder, three sets of plain semicircles (12); gap of fair size between the last set and the handle is left empty (cf. **8**).

Black to brown-black glaze, in places dull and worn, elsewhere with a metallic, silvery sheen.

**20. Lekythos.**

Inv. 18069. H. 0.20; D. 0.13. No sure signs of burning.

Illustrated: *B.C.H.*, LXXIII, 1949, p. 526, fig. 8, left (= *J.H.S.*, LXX, 1950, p. 3, fig. 3; *A.J.A.*, LIII, 1949, pl. L, A).

Deeply turned ring foot, rounding up to bottom beneath.

Three narrow reserved bands on lower body; glaze on most of the inner and outer face of the lip continuous over the rim. Shoulder, three sets of semicircles (12), large dot of glaze in the center point.

Mostly firm red glaze, shading to metallic brown in places.

**21. Lekythos.**

Inv. 18071. P. H. 0.16; H. rest. 0.196; D. 0.124. Neck, mouth and part of handle missing. Pyre damage.

Ring foot, deeply rounded (almost conical) beneath.

Three reserved bands on lower body. Shoul-

der, three sets of semi-circles (11), a dot of glaze over the central point.

Black to reddish glaze.

## 22. Lekythos.

Pl. 26.

Inv. 18073. H. 0.192; D. 0.124. About half of body and all of base missing. Pyre damage. Tall ovoid body.

Three reserved bands on lower body; broad bands of glaze on inner and outer face of lip continuous over the rim. Shoulder, three sets of plain semicircles (14); "branch" divider filling the gap between the last set and the handle (cf. 8); at the top of the shoulder, a row of dots edging the lowest neck ring ("dot-canopy"). A large blob of glaze on the front set of circles was accidental. Single horizontal bar the width of the handle just below the handle ring.

Black to brown-black glaze, metallic in places.

For "branch" pattern, see 26. "Canopies" are relatively rare on lekythoi: dots as here, Kerameikos Inv. 2099 (IV, pl. 18, Gr. 39) and other fragments, unpublished, from the Grave Mound; several lekythoi at the Agora have a zigzag canopy, e.g. P 7077 (Grave 21).

## 23. Lekythos.

Pl. 25

Inv. 18102. H. 0.188; D. 0.116. Pyre damage.

Foot conical beneath.

No reserved bands on body; narrow band on inner face of lip carried just over rim. Shoulder, three sets of semicircles (7), an hourglass in the core.

Fabric and details as oinochoai 9-10; by the same potter and painter.

## 24. Lekythos.

Inv. 18070. H. 0.175; D. 0.12. Pyre damage.

Shape and decoration as 23, but body more plump; probably from the same hand.

Black to brown-black streaky glaze, watery mauve where thin.

## 25. Lekythos fragment.

Pl. 26.

Without number (Nea Ionia Storage, Athens Nat. Mus.). P. H. *ca.* 0.09; D. of mouth 0.056. Pyre damage. Mouth to mid body; handle missing.

Broad band of glaze on inner face of lip carried over rim in broad band on outer face. Shoulder, three sets of semicircles (14); single pinched wavy line, neatly drawn with a fine brush, as a divider between each.

The single wavy line, one of the oldest dividing motives, continues to be used on lekythoi in later Protogeometric contexts: e.g. Kerameikos Inv. 2097 (IV, pl. 18, Gr. 39; note similar cramped hand), one of the Mouseion Hill lekythoi ('Αρχ. Έφ., 1911, p. 251, fig. 20; this grave also contained a "branch" lekythos), and as a gap-filler next to the handle on a solid-core "branch" lekythos, Agora P 5863 (\*Grave 20).

## 26. Lekythos.

Pl. 26.

Inv. 18079. H. 0.19; D. 0.134. Pyre damage.

Broad ring foot, bevelled up to bottom beneath.

No reserved bands on body; wide band on inner face of lip carried over rim in narrow band on outer face; lower handle attachment not ringed. Shoulder, three sets of semicircles (8) with glazed cores; between each set, a "branch" divider (dot-edged straight lines, here once triple, once double).

Warm glossy brown (like thin fondant) to brown-black glaze, in places discolored to greenish or bluish.

This "branch painter" uses a compass with defective brushes, and, setting his central point well above the retaining bands, describes plump arcs that enclose more than a semicircle; the cores are large and full. 26-31 are his, produced at the same sitting; for the hourglass cores of 30-31, the two innermost brushes were removed. The other "branch" lekythoi are not by this hand and show no defects in common that would serve as guides to groupings.

Edging dots are a very old embellishment, but the "branch" divider (the "ugly motive," *Protogeometric Pottery*, p. 74) first appears in pure Protogeometric contexts: Agora P 5863 (\*Grave 20), P 6848, P 6853 (Grave 54), Mouseion Hill ('Αρχ. Έφ., 1911, p. 251, fig. 20). Many fragments, unpublished, from the Grave Mound at the Kerameikos indicate its popularity at that site as well. Like most dividing motives on Protogeometric lekythoi, it is used over too long a period to be helpful in chronological refinements. Apart from lekythoi it occurs only as a gap-filler on the small oinochoe, **11** above, and once on a large neck amphora, Kerameikos Inv. 566 (I, pl. 34, Gr. D). Cf. a similar "branch" motive incised on small objects of Fine Handmade Incised Ware from Late Protogeometric contexts (see **54**).

The glazed core, the commonest filling on "branch" lekythoi, is not necessarily early. Refined from the sprawling half-moon, it is now shown by fresh evidence from Agora grave and well deposits to continue without interruption into Late Protogeometric contexts on all shapes that use semicircles, e.g. neck amphora P 17455, light-ground oinochoe P 17446 (both from Well A 20: 5), dark-ground oinochoe P 1029 (Well H 16-17: 1).

## 27. Lekythos.

Inv. 18081. H. 0.191; D. 0.125. Pyre damage

See **26**; double verticals.

## 28. Lekythos.

Inv. 18088. H. 0.19; D. 0.125. Pyre damage.

See **26**; double verticals.

## 29. Lekythos.

Inv. 18086. H. 0.18; D. 0.123. Pyre damage.

See **26**; double verticals.

## 30. Lekythos.

Pl. 26.

Inv. 18080. H. 0.186; D. 0.123. Pyre damage.

See **26**; triple verticals. Same compass as **26-29** with the two innermost brushes removed (now 6 units); hourglass in the core, see **9**. The outlines of the hourglass are firm and sure, possibly guided by a straight-edge. Cf. **46**, in the same spirit, if not from the same hand.

## 31. Lekythos.

Inv. 18068. H. rest. 0.20; D. 0.127. Pyre damage. Much of lower body and all of base missing.

See **26**, **30**, probably same hand; double verticals; lower handle attachment ringed.

## 32. Lekythos.

Pl. 26.

Inv. 18087. H. 0.185; D. 0.122. Pyre damage. About half of body missing, profile complete.

Ring foot, very deeply rounded beneath.

Three reserved bands on lower body; glaze over about half of inner face of lip carried over rim in narrow band on outer face. Shoulder like **31**, but with 8 units on compass; only one divider (double verticals) preserved.

Brown-black to red glaze, much disfigured from heat.

Fine hand like Agora P 6853 (Grave 54) using the same radii, but no defects in common.

## 33. Lekythos.

Pl. 26.

Inv. 18103. H. 0.19; D. 0.127. Pyre damage.

Foot low conical beneath; the body contour close to **17**.

Single reserved band on lower body; broad band of glaze on inner and outer face of lip carried just over the rim. Shoulder, three sets of plain semicircles (13); between them on one side, "branch" divider with triple verticals, most of the dots attenuated and touching the verticals like fringe; on the opposite side, a latticed lozenge.

Originally a fat glossy black glaze.

See **26**; this hand is quite individual. Three lekythoi from Kerameikos Grave 40 (IV, pls. 17-18) use latticed lozenges as dividers; in this use they are unknown in earlier contexts.



**34.** Miniature flat-bottomed lekythos. Pl. 24.

Inv. 18106. H. 0.09; D. 0.082. Mended nearly complete; no trace of burning.

Flat bottom with no base.

Body glazed to just above resting surface; inner face of lip glazed just to rim. Shoulder, six latticed triangles. Handle, barred with lower attachment ringed.

Black to brownish glaze, somewhat thin and worn.

Triangles, see **13**. The shape is astonishing in a Protogeometric context, but the fabric, indistinguishable from lekythoi **12-33**, appears to be Attic and Protogeometric. See *Proto-geometric Pottery*, p. 76. Several similar pieces are known from the Corinthia and neighboring areas and from the Islands as distant as Crete, all of pale clay, possibly or certainly Corinthian; none was found with the earliest Geometric and none with context has been dated earlier than the second half of the ninth century. Lists and dating: Weinberg, *Corinth*, VII, i, p. 18; Charitonides, *A.J.A.*, LXI, 1957, p. 170; Brock, *Fortetsa*, no. 668, where for the dating of some in the early eighth century see p. 213, note 5. **34** does in fact look and feel different from these aryballoi, and in the absence of Geometric among the mass of sherds collected at Nea Ionia, I can only assume its date to be Late Protogeometric and the others, so like it, archaistic revivals.

**35.** Pilgrim flask.

Pl. 28.

Inv. 18107. H. 0.22; max. D. 0.155; max. Th. 0.10; W. suture band 0.03. Several pieces from body and most of vertical handle shaft above lower attachment missing. Heavily burned.

Assembled from four wheelmade pieces: two caps of spheres form the sides; a shallow cylindrical section into which the neck and handle of an ordinary small trefoil-mouthed oinochoe are fitted forms a suture band between them; the seams are neat and nearly invisible on the outside. A tiny shallow hemispherical depression (just visible, Pl. 28, left), like those often found

beneath Mycenaean cup and kylix bases, survives from the turning; it is off-center from the concentric ornament zones which were placed with reference to the finished pot.

Neck and mouth wholly glazed. Handle laddered.

Fat black glaze where best preserved.

Other Late Protogeometric pilgrim flasks: Kerameikos Inv. 2034 (IV, pl. 25, Gr. 48), unnumbered fragment from Grave Mound (IV, pl. 36, top left), with patterns as here; Marathon, *Πρακτικά*, 1939, p. 32, fig. 5, Early Geometric context. Contrast a very early flask, Kerameikos Inv. 536 (I, pl. 62, Gr. 1) with round mouth and stirrup handles as on Mycenaean examples of this shape (e.g. *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. XL, 2, with foot). No continuity between the Mycenaean, Early Proto-geometric and Late Proto-geometric-Early Geometric pieces has been established.

**36.** Fragments from pilgrim flask. Pl. 28.

Inv. 18099. D. est. of disk *ca.* 0.155. Two large fragments and several non-joining sherds survive from side disks, another (not illustrated) probably from the suture band; other fragments (Nea Ionia storage, Athens Nat. Mus.), among them a small glazed oinochoe-neck and a barred handle, may be from this pot. Burned.

Somewhat flatter than **35**.

At center, a broad reserved cross, then triangles pointing inward and latticed zone. Suture band, checkered like **35**, one row overlapping onto one side disk, two rows onto the other; solid overpainting covers the checkers and swerves into the lattice where a slight thickening of the fabric marks the attachment of an accessory, probably the neck.

Black to brown and deep chestnut glaze, now mostly dull and flaked.

The same patterns are combined on fragments from an early ring vase, Kerameikos Grave Mound (IV, pl. 36, top right).

**37-41.** Ovoid or globular pyxides with projecting lip are common furnishings of later

Protogeometric burials, both male and female; most graves contain at least one. They are deposited whole, often closing the mouth of an urn (39 probably), or broken and burned, with the pyre sweepings (37, 38). At least five, each with matching lid, were recovered at Nea Ionia; four bodies and five lids are published here. The type is now first known in a Ripe Protogeometric context at the Agora, P 19020 (Well C 18:5), where the shoulder is high, the lower body pointed, the foot a narrow cone of medium height, and the outside solidly glazed. The rest are a monotonous group. The contours, like those of the developed lekythos, show many but not chronologically useful variations; the decoration is uniformly solid glaze with patterned girdle near mid body, rarely (40) other than opposed lines with glazed intervals (37-39). Multiple zones are found on only a few of the latest pieces, all from Early Geometric contexts; no sherds of this type were recovered at Nea Ionia. The unglazed inside was not meant to be seen, nor was the reserved bottom. They are always lidded; strings, passed through a single or double pair of opposite holes matched on lid and lip, served both as a track for the loose lid and as a basket handle. Other general remarks, *Protogeometric Pottery*, pp. 106-109.

**37. Miniature pyxis and lid.** Pl. 26.

Inv. 18095. Pyre damage.

Heavy fabric; clay mostly burned gray and glaze, once good, largely lost.

a) Pyxis. H. 0.065; D. 0.472.

Low ring foot. Lip flat on horizontal surface; single tie holes.

The exterior glaze, continued over the rim, covers the horizontal surface of the lip.

b) Lid. H. 0.025; D. 0.063.

Low-domed beneath.

Glazed except for knob which is reserved and ringed.

37 and Agora P 6683 (H. 0.055; Grave 38) are the smallest pyxides from Protogeometric

contexts. Cf. miniature stamnos, Kerameikos Inv. 939 (V, 1, pl. 15, 13, Gr. G 3, Early Geometric context). Biconical knob, cf. Agora P 6696 (Grave 41); an inverted cone (38-41) is commoner on lids of this type.

**38. Pyxis and lid.** Pl. 26.

Inv. 18105. Pyre damage.

Lighter, thinner fabric than is usual for pyxides. Well polished fat black glaze, in places brownish to greenish and metallic, peeled in a few places.

a) Pyxis. H. 0.118; D. 0.135.

Low ring foot, bevelling up to bottom beneath. Lip crisply turned, its vertical face angular, horizontal surface flat; two pair of tie holes.

b) Lid. H. 0.032; D. 0.13.

Lightly concave on underside.

Vertical sides of knob solidly glazed.

**39. Pyxis and lid.** Pl. 26.

Inv. 18090. Mended; no burning. Rust stain on side and part of pinshaft adhering to foot. Probably the stopper in the mouth of Urn 1.

Black to reddish brown glaze, damaged but glossy where best preserved.

a) Pyxis. H. 0.12; D. 0.13.

Ring foot rounding beneath to bottom which sags a bit at the center. Thin lip tapering to a rim bent sharply outward from the shoulder; upper face sloping gently toward interior. Two pair of tie holes, set well in from rim; the tool that pierced the holes at one stroke through lid and lip penetrated the shoulder inside, but did not actually puncture it; this is a fairly common accident among pyxides in this and the Geometric period.

The first and last sets of opposed bars are inclined in the same direction; between them a narrow glazed parallelogram (Pl. 26, near left side of vase). Other "brooches" masking the ends of girdles of opposed bars: latticed rectangle, kalathos Kerameikos Inv. 615 (I, pl. 72, Grave Mound), parallelogram with vertical zig-

zag, pyxis Kerameikos Inv. 912 (IV, pl. 20, Gr. 28); trapezoid with two superimposed rows of triangles, pyxis Kerameikos Inv. 575 (I, pl. 73, Gr. 7, not visible in photograph).

b) Lid. H. 0.03; D. 0.09.

Lightly concave beneath.

#### 40. Pyxis and lid. Pl. 26.

Inv. 18091. Mended; no burning.

Crudely turned and coarsely painted. Poor dull black glaze, shading to greenish and red-brown, in places lightly glossy.

a) Pyxis. H. 0.12; D. 0.11.

Foot, deep conical beneath, pushing up the floor inside to a conical mound. Lip thickened and projecting, the upper surface flattened, vertical face rounded, less heavy than that of 38; tie holes lost.

Top of lip reserved.

b) Lid. H. 0.031; D. 0.082.

Lightly concave beneath; top of knob lightly hollowed. Single tie-holes.

Glazed all over outside, except for reserved dot on top of knob.

Triangles now only here on a single-zoned pyxis of this form; cf. multizoned pyxis, Agora P 386 (Grave 60). The solidly glazed lid is unique; for knob, cf. 38.

#### 41. Pyxis lid.

Inv. 18092 bis. H. 0.045; D. 0.098. Unburned; about a third missing.

Two pair of tie-holes matching those on the lip of a fifth pyxis, uninventoried, that is preserved in substantial fragments. Its decoration and shape are close to 38; heavy rust stain.

Lid glazed except for two pair of reserved bands, one near rim, one on vertical face of knob; maltese cross on top of knob.

Streaky blue-black to orange-brown glaze, now rather dull.

Simple reserved bands are the commonest lid decoration, cf. *Ker.*, IV, pl. 20; combined with maltese cross, Agora P 24799 (Grave 47).

#### 42. Chest. Pl. 28.

Inv. 18104. H. 0.125; L. 0.15; W. 0.075-0.084; H. exclusive of legs 0.052. Applied projecting ears for lid attachment and lid lost. Lightly smoked; from Pyre B.

Illustrated: *B.C.H.*, LXXIII, 1949, p. 526, Fig. 8 (= *J.H.S.*, LXX, 1950, p. 3, fig. 3; *A.J.A.*, LIII, 1949, pl. L, A); mentioned: *Protogeometric Pottery*, p. 119.

Inside, divided by a crosswall, ca. 0.009-0.012 wide into two compartments, ca. 0.06 x 0.06 x 0.037 deep. Carved from a single block of clay; thickness of walls variable and floor of box inside poorly smoothed. Only the base line of the struts was measured; diagonals, spaced by eye, were begun at right; at the left, the last diagonal attaches far short of the corner. At the middle of either end, an ear (in section 0.025 x 0.014), applied flush with the rim, was pierced vertically by a single hole; one side of the hole survives as a short channel in the outer face of the chest.

All exterior faces decorated in panel style. Rim, interior, bottom and side faces of struts and legs reserved.

Black to brown glaze with high luster where best preserved.

Fragments from similar chests of good hard Late Protogeometric fabric: Kerameikos Invs. 1258, 1259 (IV, pl. 36, Grave Mound), with rectangular cut-outs in the legs. A pair of long rectangular lids, also of late fabric, are probably from compartmented boxes of this type: Kerameikos Invs. 632, 1257 (IV, pl. 36, Grave Mound). Contrast the technique of the built chests from Late Submycenaean and Early Protogeometric contexts, Kerameikos Inv. 924 (IV, pl. 3, Gr. 22), Inv. 771 (I, pl. 59, Gr. 13), where both the box bottom and lid were turned flat on the wheel, trimmed to rectangular outlines, and separate members assembled.

Translations from other materials into clay are especially popular in Late Protogeometric and Early Geometric contexts: carved and turned wood, wickerwork and basketry, metalwork. Cf. cut-out stands, e.g. Kerameikos Invs.



2028, 2029 (IV, pl. 25, Gr. 48, where, exceptionally, all surfaces, inner, outer and resting, are glazed); cut-work kalathoi, Agora P 17445 (Well A 20:5) and others from Early Geometric contexts; serried lid-handles, *Ker.*, V, I, pl. 146 ("whorls," see Jantzen, *Arch. Anz.*, 1953, pp. 59 ff.); metallic accessories, e.g. handles 48.

**43.** Large low-based cup. Pl. 27.

Inv. 18092. H. 0.088; H. to top of handle 0.092; max. D. 0.13. Intact and unburned.

Foot faintly hollowed beneath. Tapering, unthickened lip, bent out from body, but not actually inset.

Single reserved stripe on inner face of lip, reserved dot on center of floor inside. Handle, laddered.

Brown-black to reddish glaze, with a good polish where best preserved.

Shape, *Protogeometric Pottery*, pp. 101-102; the Agora Excavations offer fresh evidence. The low teacup, lost in the Early Submycenaean period, reappears in the Attic repertory in developed Protogeometric contexts; its ancestry cannot be traced. It may be, like a number of resurgent types, a Mycenaean revival, i.e. a "copy," slightly modernized, of pieces salvaged from disturbed tombs. The earliest (but with handle lacking), Agora P 17435 (Well A 20:5), is very like 43. The underside of the base is lightly hollowed, the sides full, but deeper, the very narrow lip bent outward and not inset; interior glaze as 43, exterior solid, except for wholly reserved underside of foot. The low base is always the exceptional form; another, Agora P 1048, like 43 in all details except for wholly reserved bottom, comes from the latest of the pure Protogeometric wells (H 16-17:1); this deposit was rich in cups, about half of them the common high-footed Protogeometric type (as *Protogeometric Pottery*, pl. 11), half with plain flat bottom that persists as the regular Early Geometric type. A few high conical feet and lip fragments from conventional high-footed cups are preserved among the Nea Ionia sherds.

**44.** Large low-based cup.

Inv. 18093. H. 0.09; H. to top of handle 0.095; max. D. 0.13. Mended; a few sherds discolored, possibly from smoke.

Identical with 43, from the same hand, but lip, like that of Agora P 1048, is less flaring.

**45.** Skyphos on low flaring foot. Pl. 27.

Inv. 18094. H. 0.118; D. at rim 0.149. Complete but for one handle; found upright in mouth of 4, where it served as stopper.

Foot conical beneath. Lip forms a continuous curve with body; thickened and bevelled sharply on inner face.

Glazed inside except for reserved stripe on lip and dot at center of floor; area beneath handles, as usual, reserved.

Glossy fat black glaze, much worn inside and discolored, probably from its contents.

Shape, *Protogeometric Pottery*, pp. 77-79. The foot and decoration of 45 are exceptional; both may be contaminations from the kantharos, which is well established before the old skyphos disappears. The kantharos, like the low cup, appears to be a revival inspired by Mycenaean pieces; Agora P 17441 (Well A 20:5), perhaps the earliest, has a lip profile and decoration like 45, but its lower body is puffy and the foot is a heavy cone of medium height. The low flaring foot, found rarely on kantharoi before the Early Geometric period (cf. Kerameikos Inv. 2131, IV, pl. 21, Gr. 48), is not preserved elsewhere on skyphoi of Protogeometric shape; note that the base on Agora P 19242 (\*Grave 49), though probable from traces surrounding the fracture, is restored. The severe decoration of 45 is common on vases with low offset lip: low cups as 43, kantharoi, and the broad low Geometric skyphos that replaces the kantharos in an advanced stage of Early Geometric.

**46.** Fragmentary large skyphos ("skyphoid" krater). Pl. 27.

Inv. 18109. P. H. 0.21; H. rest. 0.234; D. 0.282. Discoloration, possibly from contents

rather than heat. About half of bowl preserved, rim into lower body with one handle; no evidence for base. This or **47** found on top of Cist II.

Mentioned: N. Kontoleon, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1945-47 (1949), p. 8, *ἔτερος*.

Lip slightly thickened, the inner face deeply bevelled.

Half of the reverse missing; it need not have been identical with the front (see below).

Black to brown glaze.

Form and decoration are those of the common high-footed skyphos, which was made in a wide range of sizes, D. *ca.* 0.10-0.30; **46** is the largest of which any substantial part has survived. The decoration is exactly that of the large "Cycladic skyphoi," *Protogeometric Pottery*, pp. 82-84, Type II a, e.g. *Thera*, II, p. 30, fig. 81 (D. 0.25), Langlotz, *Würzburg*, pl. 4, no. 72 (D. 0.26). Kraiker, *Ker.*, I, p. 149, note 2, notes that the base of the Würzburg skyphos, broken and trimmed all around, had been a ringed stem like that of the Thera skyphos and Kerameikos Inv. 1266 (IV, pl. 34). Very large fragmentary bases of this form were found in the Grave Mound at the Kerameikos and in the Sanctuary of Zeus on Mt. Hymettos (both uninventoried and unpublished; the Hymettos sherds, from the excavations of Blegen and Young, *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pp. 1-9, are in Athens National Museum storage); Agora P 734 (\*Grave 26) could have supported a bowl of the size of **46**. A splaying pedestal, ringed or plain like Kerameikos Inv. 609, Grave Mound T 26 (here Pl. 27) appears to be the usual form on very large Protogeometric skyphoi; either is more probable than the low base now restored by analogy with **45**. Kraiker believed the fabric of the Würzburg skyphos to be Attic; favoring Cycladic manufacture, see most recently Kunze, *Jahreshefte*, XXXIX, 1952, p. 55, note 10. Fabric alone can be decisive, since adequate documentation both for the form and decoration now exists in Attica.

The reserved cross as core-filler, predominantly a late pattern (see *Protogeometric Pot-*

*tery*, p. 84), is rarely earlier. Narrow auxiliary panels, usually the glazed lozenge column, are fairly common on larger circle and lattice skyphoi, as symmetrical borders or along one side of the lattice only, on one or both faces; while sometimes part of a planned design, often they were inserted as space fillers where pre-drawn circles had been too widely spaced for the span of one lattice panel, cf. Kerameikos Inv. 606 (I, pl. 49, Grave Mound T 25).

The same compass was used on **47**; the outlines of the lozenges and core-fillers are bold and straight-edge true, the filling glaze thin and sloppy. The draughtsmanship resembles the work of one of the "branch lekythos" painters (**26-31**); cf. especially the hourglasses on **30**.

#### **47.** Fragmentary large skyphos ("skyphoid" krater).

Inv. 18110. P. H. *ca.* 0.165; H. rest. 0.195; D. 0.229. Discoloration as **46**. About a third of bowl preserved, rim into lower body with one handle; all of the handle zone on the reverse is missing; no evidence for base.

Dark brown glaze, pale brownish where thin, in places greenish.

See **46**, from the same hand.

#### **48.** Krater with vertical handles. Pl. 29.

Inv. 18114. P. H. 0.45; H. rest. 0.468; D. rim 0.47; D. max. 0.553. Discoloration from oil. About three-quarters preserved, rim almost to base with one handle; no evidence for base. Six pair of mend holes along an ancient fracture curve from near the center of face A into the lower body below one handle and, about a third of the way around face B, up again to the rim; the fragment may have been replaced as in **4** and the holes caulked with gum, for no trace of lead survives. Covering Pyre A.

Discussed: *Protogeometric Pottery*, pp. 96-97; mentioned: *Ker.*, V, 1, p. 11, note 36.

The lip, beginning just at the top of the decorated zone, is barely offset from the body; thickened and projecting rim with the flat top surface sloping outward.

Decoration, see Pl. 29; a set of quadruple reserved bands on the lower body; top surface of lip glazed. Panels, the basic plan is simple: [aabaa] I [aabaa] II [aabaa] I [aabaa] II . . . , i.e. broad (checkerboard) alternating with narrow (face A, glaze column; face B, latticed lozenge column); between each a unit of five narrow panels (opposed lines flanked by pairs of narrow zigzags). Face A preserves 6 major panels with space for a seventh; B preserves 5 (with space for 7 if cramped). The panels, drawn in order from left to right, were not measured; the "central" panels are far off-axis and the end of each series is pinched or curtailed (note to right of handle). Embellishments: 4 of the 6 checkerboards are confined by narrow horizontal panels above and below: A, central only, by zigzag; B, the first by zigzags, the second by zigzags and dogtooth above, dogtooth below, of the third, only a dogtooth below is preserved.

Thick glaze of good quality, fired light red over much of the outside, shading in places to brown and black, black inside and peeled over large areas.

The shape, a one-time hybrid, combines features of the kantharos and krater; its accessories are adapted from metalwork and probably Mycenaean-inspired. Full high-shouldered body of Late Protogeometric form, cf. the cup 44, the kantharos Kerameikos Inv. 2026 (IV, pl. 21, Gr. 44), and especially a very large pyxis, Inv. 657, (V, 1, pl. 51, from the Grave Mound). For the lip, cf. kraters, Agora P 7008 (Isolated Find, B 10:—) and P 21083 (Well K 12:2); the type begins in the developed Protogeometric contexts, but the sloping top is late; the strong inclination of the vertical face is individual, cf. contemporary stamnoi, e.g. London 1950. 2-28.3 (*Protogeometric Pottery*, pl. 13). The handles, like the kantharos which appears a little earlier, are metal-inspired, the models plausibly Mycenaean from displaced tombs. Kantharos, cf. Persson, *New Tombs at Dendra Near Midea*, Lund, 1942, p. 88, fig. 99, 1. No detail-for-detail ensemble has been found like

48, but cf. "amphoroid kraters" common in the Eastern provinces and also on the Mainland; for the handles especially, a metal "amphoroid krater" in Cyprus, Kourion Kaloriziki, No. 40, 11 (G. McFadden, *A.J.A.*, LVIII, 1954, pl. 21) with grooves, semicircular lower attachment plate and "T-bar" attachment at the top, there fitted neatly beneath the projecting rim. For base, see 46; a plain or flaring ringed pedestal is here probable, cf. Kerameikos Inv. 1233, Gr. 1 and Inv. 1292, Grave Mound (V, 1, pl. 16), a type known already in pure Protogeometric contexts at the Agora and elsewhere.

There are no indications that the bottom had been removed intentionally, the bottom of Kerameikos Inv. 1233 is intact; it stood *in situ* as a grave marker above a "male" amphora; like 48 its bowl had been extensively repaired. The high percentage of mended pots among grave pieces suggests that these large display pieces, more than usually vulnerable in manufacture, on dealers' shelves, and in domestic or ritual use, were often summarily repaired for this one last use; the valuable lead clamps, common on the heavy-duty domestic ware of well deposits, are rare on these pots, where they would have been unsightly as well.

All of the motives in the panels are from the standard repertory of the Protogeometric period, though horizontal subdivision of panels is commoner among late pieces. Cf. the krater Munich 6157 (*C.V.A.*, München 3, Deutschl. 9, pls. 103-104; *Protogeometric Pottery*, pl. 12) where shape, fabric and drawing are Early Protogeometric. Sherds from contexts of the intervening periods suggest that the panel style may have been in continuous use on large kraters.

#### 49. Kalathos with handle.

Pl. 28.

Inv. 18097. H. 0.082; D. at rim 0.152. Pyre damage. About one-third missing.

Fabric thick at the bottom, tapering upward to thin everted lip.

The two upper zones are interrupted by the handle. Inside glazed except for a narrow re-



served band along the inner face of the lip and dot at center of floor; top surface of lip glazed. Handle, doubled uprights, three bars at top, two just above lower handle attachment, between them herringbone as on 50.

Thick brown to black glaze, glossy where best preserved.

General remarks, *Protogeometric Pottery*, pp. 113-117; 49-51 are exceptional. Convex walls only here and on a larger piece, Athens Nat. Mus. 18419 (Empedokles Collection, provenience unknown: H. 0.18; handleless, with a single suspension hole beneath lip; pattern on upper part of body, solid glaze below). Pattern covering the whole of the exterior is individual; 50, closer to the common type, is from the same hand. Checkered girdle not elsewhere on kalathoi; cf. eared jar, Agora P 21341 (\*Grave 24).

50. Kalathos with handle. Pl. 28.

Inv. 18098. H. 0.08; D. at rim 0.152. Pyre damage. About half missing with lower part of handle.

Lighter construction and straighter sides than 49; the thin walls taper to plain everted lip, its upper face nearly horizontal.

Uppermost decorated zone interrupted by handle. Narrow reserved stripe on underside of lip, finely barred; upper face of lip reserved and filled with groups of bars, sloppily perpendicular or slanting. Inside glaze, carelessly applied, has refilled the reserved dot on the center of the floor. Handle as on 49, but with single uprights.

Fabric as 49, from the same hand.

Opposed lines on kalathoi only here and Kerameikos Inv. 615, (I, pl. 72, Grave Mound) which has a latticed rectangle ("brooch") linking the ends of the pattern, cf. 39; note the popularity of lattice in unusual places at Nea Ionia, e.g. 49, 36.

51. Fragments from kalathos with handle. Pl. 28.

Without number (Nea Ionia storage, Athens Nat. Mus.). P. H. ca. 0.06; D. at rim est. ca.

0.14. Pyre damage. Four non-joining fragments preserve about one quarter, rim to mid body with handle: on c) a slight thickening around the lower handle attachment and part of the vertical line framing the zone of triangles it interrupts; the handle, d) preserves a bit of the inner and outer wall faces below and the profile of the lip against the upper attachment.

Splaying sides, apparently straighter than 49 and 50, with thickened, lightly projecting lip, flattened on top.

Outside, parts of two deep decorated zones beginning just beneath the lip: triangles and zigzag. Upper surface of lip reserved and barred.

Dull dark brown glaze, more red-brown inside, the brown partly peeled; not thinned for the zigzag.

High-set decoration, see 49.

52-53. MINIATURES OF HANDMADE GRITTY FABRIC.

There is a long tradition of small pots, handmade from gritty fabric, similar to or undistinguishable from common local cooking fabric. Because of its extremely crumbly fabric, few pieces large enough to be identified have survived. The clay of 52 is porous, lightly micaceous, pale red with white bits and dark specks; the surface is well finished, retaining a fair polish above, but below is much crumbled from fire, more likely pyre than hearth; its finish is unusually careful and the walls thin. 53 is like 52, but more compact, heavier, lighter in color and fired harder. The finish is the same, with marks of a fine finishing tool everywhere visible, but not prominent; the workmanship is delicate. Both could be Attic; neither need be. Almost identical in fabric with 52, but less carefully finished, are a Submycenaean miniature pyxis lid, Kerameikos Inv. 491, and a pyxis, Inv. 2168 (see pp. 174-175); also close, an Early Protogeometric fragment from a tiny closed pot, Agora P 17256 (Well L 11:1), with flattened bottom and delicate thin walls. 52 is not earlier

than Late Protogeometric in date; 53 could be earlier.

52. Small lekythos of gritty handmade fabric.  
Pl. 30.

Inv. 18120. H. 0.085; D. rest. 0.07; D. mouth 0.027. Heat damage. About half preserved, the profile complete with neck, mouth and handle intact.

Flattened bottom, no base; flaring mouth with neat angular rim; strap handle lightly concave in section. Delicate workmanship.

Shape, cf. 34 with references.

53. Small feeding bottle of gritty handmade fabric.  
Pl. 30.

Without number (Nea Ionia storage, Athens Nat. Mus.). H. 0.082; D. 0.062. Unburnt. Single piece, most of mouth missing; upper shaft and attachment of handle restored.

Foot, low neat false ring. Handle round in section. Flaring neck with plain lip, lightly flattened like 52 and bevelled outward. Spout of uniform diameter (ca. 0.01) and bore (ca. 0.004), about 120° from handle. On shoulder, opposite the handle, two small conical bosses, ca. 0.007 apart.

Shape, *Protogeometric Pottery*, pp. 66-69; cf. especially Agora P 6836 (\*Grave 23). Feeding bottles are fairly common in Mycenaean graves, usually with basket handle, rarely with vertical handle, e.g. Blegen, *Prosymna*, fig. 189, Inv. 455; Graef, *Akropolisvasen*, I, pl. 5, no. 175 (note restorations, p. 17); there are now no Attic Submycenaean examples of either type. The vertical-handled feeding bottle reappears in an Early Protogeometric context, Agora P 17236 (Well L 11:1). Cf. a Corinthian Geometric handmade feeding bottle of this type, *Corinth*, VII, i, pl. 14, no. 90, with round bottom and broad trefoil mouth. Later Attic feeding-bottles are again basket-handled, but at right angles to the spout; the vertical-handled feeder survives in the tubular spouted "feeding cup."

The false ring foot is unusual in cooking fab-

ric of the Protogeometric period; cf. miniature one-handled jar (H. 0.10), Kerameikos Inv. 1101 (IV, pl. 28, Gr. 45). Bosses are very rare on pots of Protogeometric date; large cooking pots: Agora P 17450 (Well A 20:5), one neatly modeled lump on the shoulder opposite the handle; P 3952 (Well K 12:1), a pair on the shoulder, each about 90° from the handle. Bosses were fairly popular on Mycenaean and Submycenaean pots, both coarse and fine painted, generally accenting decorative motives, one on either side of the shoulder, on low cups, belly-handled amphorae, small oinochoai and cooking pots; none have yet appeared on Protogeometric fine painted ware. In the Early and Middle Geometric periods they enjoy a limited revival on low cups and oinochoe-lekythoi, where they are usually enmeshed beneath complex meanders, as veiled apotropaic eyes or, possibly, imitation rivet-heads. Two close-set eyes directly opposite the vertical handle are very common on later Corinthian Geometric large coarse hydriae.

#### 54-56. SMALL OBJECTS OF ATTIC PROTOGEOMETRIC FINE HANDMADE INCISED WARE.

No comprehensive study of this fabric has been published. It is one of several local handmade fabrics specializing in small objects and miniature vessels, mainly or exclusively for use in tombs or ritual, which appear at a number of sites about this time, e.g. Weinberg, *Corinth*, VII, i, pp. 7-8; Argolid, Desborough, *B.S.A.*, L, 1955, pp. 240-241. Of these the Attic group is the most sophisticated, the shapes varied and the decoration complex. The fabric is thick and heavy, the clay compact and almost pure, pink to gray at the core, shading to light, creamy tan-buff on the outside, sometimes with pinkish red blushes; it is unslipped, the exposed surfaces slick, highly glossy and free of tool and brush marks; though sometimes hard-fired, it is more often underdone. It is very fragile, flaking easily, pitting and rotting. Decoration, covering almost the entire exposed surface, is incised (lines and strokes) or impressed (cir-

cles made with a hollow reed), sometimes pricked; a few pieces are undecorated. On some pieces from Early Geometric contexts, the incisions appear to be white-filled; none from Nea Ionia is.

Shapes and decoration have little relation to contemporary fine painted or cooking wares. Common Attic types are bell-shaped dolls (54), hole-mouthed pyxides (e.g. Pl. 30, see below, note 20), hemispherical bowls with round, pointed or narrow flat bottom (*Ker.*, IV, pls. 29-30), beads (55), balls, whorls (56); rare or unique, and mostly from Early Geometric contexts, are tripod bowls, collared jars on three toes, pomegranates and a number of fragments apparently from more individual creations. The ware has so far appeared only in tombs or with cemetery debris and may have been restricted to women and children.<sup>17</sup>

The uniformity of these pieces suggests a single workshop, but a number of hands, both in fashioning and decoration (note the diversity, e.g., among the Kerameikos dolls, IV, pl. 31). The Nea Ionia group is close-knit, its patterns and mannerisms nearly identical with one of the groups from Kerameikos Grave 48, and pieces from Kerameikos Grave 37 and two Agora graves (pyxis P 6695, Grave 41; bowl, P 21344, \*Grave 24).

This elaborate and distinctive fabric appears suddenly in later Protogeometric contexts, its repertory virtually complete; the shapes show no evolution, though some new ones are added

and a greater variety of patterns is found among pieces from Early Geometric contexts.<sup>18</sup> Toward the end of the Early Geometric period the ware drops from fashion and is replaced in Middle Geometric by simpler handmade wares, Attic or imported, mainly aryballoi and small oinochoai, their shapes unrelated to the earlier group, rarely and only sparsely and simply decorated. Much careful work remains to be done with this fabric, its antecedents and successors, as well as its ritual significance; but it is doubtful that present data can provide lasting conclusions. Similarities in isolated details to products of other regions and epochs have been noted,<sup>19</sup> and still others could be cited, but so far, decisive combinations of shape and ornament or chronological relationships that would establish a necessary connection with the Protogeometric-Early Geometric Group are wanting. The characteristic hole-mouthed pyxis with tall-stemmed, lentoid lid,<sup>20</sup> finds its only near parallels in three pyxides from Attic Submycenaean contexts (see Appendix A, p. 174). A few beads and whorls of this fine fabric come from chronologically intermediate contexts, but otherwise, evidence for a continuous tradition is now lacking; apart from simple melon ribbing (some beads and two of the early pyxides) rarely found among later pieces, the characteristic patterns of the late group are lacking. Though these earlier pyxides put us no closer to explaining the sudden appearance and popularity of the Protogeometric ware, they at least

<sup>17</sup> One incised bead, Kerameikos Inv. 2154 (IV, pl. 32, Gr. 41) in the flooded trench of a "male" neck amphora; a smooth bead, Inv. 729 (I, pl. 70) in the disturbed offering trench of Kerameikos Grave 19, also a "male" urn. The analysis of the bones in this last case reads "vermutlich weiblich" (*Ker.*, I, p. 260), again casting suspicion on the rigidity of the rule that only men were buried in neck amphorae; only offerings or, better, bone analysis can be decisive.

<sup>18</sup> E.g. at Eleusis and in and around the Agora Geometric oval house, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 564-566.

<sup>19</sup> Especially the Balkans, Milošević, *Arch. Anz.*, 1948-1949, pp. 29-34; Cyprus, Daniel, *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, pp. 73-75; Thessaly and elsewhere, Kübler, *Ker.*, IV, pp. 15, 19, 25; V, 1, p. 38, note 85, p. 139, note 106, *et passim*, comment and extensive bibliography. Note especially Early Helladic incised patterns, many of which are reproduced in this later fabric with a plausibly archaistic carefulness.

<sup>20</sup> E.g. Pl. 30: Agora P 6695 (Grave 41), H. body 0.077, lid 0.05; D. 0.084.



offer a plausible local model from disturbed graves or heirlooms, for at least one of its forms.

**54.** Bell-shaped doll with moveable legs.

Pl. 30.

Inv. 18112. H. including legs, as suspended, 0.12; H. of bell 0.092; max. D. 0.068; L. of legs 0.042; arc of scars left by arm-nubbins *ca.* 0.02. A few small bits lost, including the arms; no sure discoloration from heat; some rust stain. From Pyre B. Fragments from a second doll were found in the quarry rubble below.

Body and head in one piece, breasts and arm-nubbins applied separately. The body is a hollow bell; the neck and head solid, triangular in section, rounded toward the back, but pinched sharp in front to form the nasal ridge; the crown is lightly hollowed. A small hole running from inside the bell through the top of the head held a suspension cord; the legs, made separately, are pierced near their top and suspended from a horizontal cord passing through a pair of diametrically opposite holes *ca.* 0.014 above the hem of the bell.

Other dolls, all from Late Protogeometric contexts: *Ker.*, IV, pl. 31, Graves 33 and 48. Idols generally: *Ker.*, IV, p. 5; V, 1, p. 38, n. 85; bell-shaped dolls: see especially Balkan types, Milošič, *Arch. Anz.*, 1948-1949, pp. 29-34 (legless), and Late Geometric and Archaic pieces, F. R. Grace, *Archaic Boeotian Sculpture*, Cambridge, Mass., 1939, pp. 10-15; the precise relation of these to the Protogeometric dolls is not clear. None is exactly like **54**, but Kerameikos Inv. 2036, Gr. 48, the shapeliest and most carefully made, is closest; **54** may be from the same hand as the pyxides Kerameikos Inv. 1075 (IV, pl. 31, Gr. 37) and Agora P 6695 (Grave 41, Pl. 30).

**55.** Twenty-eight clay beads

Roughly spherical, lightly flattened top and bottom, pierced through the center. Pyre damaged; many rust-stained. Fragments from a few others as below. Some or all from Pyre B.

a) Inv. 18117. H. 0.018-0.028; D. 0.025.

Pl. 30.

Twenty-two beads in graduated sizes, roughly paired as if from a symmetrical necklace. On sides: stroke-serpentine, in the arcs impressed circles, single on the 10 smaller beads, doubled concentric on the 12 larger. Cf. whorls **56, a**.

b) Inv. 18116. H. *ca.* 0.03; D. *ca.* 0.035.

Pl. 30.

Five beads of about the same size. On sides: stroke-girdle top and bottom, a row of doubled impressed circles around the greatest diameter. Identical with some of the beads, Kerameikos Inv. 2118 (IV, pl. 32, Gr. 39). Cf. whorls **56, b**.

c) Inv. 18118.

One undecorated bead. Cf. whorl **56, d**.

Similar beads in quantity from Kerameikos Graves 39 (14 beads) and 48 (18 beads), IV, pl. 32; single beads from a few other Kerameikos graves, from Agora graves and disturbed Agora deposits containing cemetery rubbish. The earliest individual piece comes from Kerameikos Grave 5, (Inv. 764, I, pl. 74), Early Protogeometric. Its simple melon ribbing, found also on some of the later beads (e.g. Kerameikos Inv. 2117, IV, pl. 32, Gr. 39) recalls dried figs; it is not impossible that these cumbersome "necklaces" may have been inspired by or be imitations of strings of dried figs. Cf. real figs found in near-contemporary Agora graves 49 (*Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 262, pl. 66, 4; see also "whorl" MC 760, pl. 72, no. 24) and 48 (*Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 280).

**56.** Six spindle whorls.

Pl. 30.

Inv. 18119. H. 0.035-0.04; W. at base *ca.* 0.04; W. at top *ca.* 0.02. Nearly all discolored from pyre and rust-stained. Fragments from a few others, Inv. 18119 a, as below.

a) Three with stroke-girdle at top and bottom, stroke-serpentine on the vertical face with impressed circles in the arcs; one arc is enclosed above so that its circle is completely

hooped. Cf. beads 55, a, the hem-border of the doll 54, and hemispherical bowls, Kerameikos Invs. 2038, 2044 (IV, pl. 29, Gr. 48).

b) One wide stroke-girdle at top and bottom and a zone of impressed circles at mid height on vertical face. Cf. beads 55, b.

c) One with part of the shaft of an iron pin adhering; possibly from Urn 4. Stroke-girdle at top and bottom; on vertical face, three equidistant sets of tripled lines, stroke-edged ("branch-pattern") top to bottom; between the "branches" a single impressed circle at mid height. Cf. Kerameikos Inv. 2059 (IV, pl. 32, Gr. 48).

d) One undecorated. Cf. Kerameikos Inv. 2064 (IV, pl. 32, Gr. 48) and bead 55, c.

## METAL

57. Three iron pins with bronze globes; knob finial. Pl. 27.

a) Inv. 16363. P. L. 0.36; D. bronze globe 0.022; D. head 0.027; D. finial 0.010-0.015; L. shaft between globe and head 0.028; lowest D. of shaft 0.005. Probably from Urn 4.

b) Inv. 16363 A. P. L. 0.39; D. bronze globe 0.023; D. head 0.026; D. finial ca. 0.012; L. shaft between globe and head 0.04; lowest D. of shaft 0.004. Probably from Urn 4.

c) Inv. 16363 B. P. L. ca. 0.21; D. bronze globe 0.0195-0.022; D. head 0.024; L. shaft between globe and head 0.028; lowest D. of shaft 0.005. A lump on the top of the head suggests a finial, now melted. Perhaps from Urn 1.

Burned and badly corroded; none complete. The preserved members are a little lighter and the original length probably a little less than the longest Protogeometric pins (e.g. Agora IL 498 + 499, Grave 41, l. ca. 0.50).

Noted: *Protogeometric Pottery*, p. 309.

All are of the same type: iron shaft and head with knob finial; bronze globe fitted high on the

shaft; the shaft-section can no longer be determined.

Type, *Protogeometric Pottery*, pp. 309-310; P. Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins*, Oxford, 1956, pp. 2, 87. This combination of materials is regular in the Protogeometric period. Pins wholly of bronze, lost after the Submycenaean period, reappear in a few late Protogeometric graves and become usual in Early Geometric contexts; the knob finial comes in at about the same time and is regular in the Geometric period. Pins of the same form and materials as 57 from Late Protogeometric contexts: Kerameikos M 37 (IV, pl. 39, Gr. 26; also M 38, not illustrated); Agora IL 328 (Grave 38, Jacobsthal, *op. cit.*, p. 2, fig. 5). The latest are from an Early Geometric grave, Kerameikos M 106, M 107 (V, 1, p. 214, Gr. 7, not illustrated).

58. Bronze fibula. Pl. 27.

Inv. 16362. L. ca. 0.09; H. ca. 0.06. Surface in good condition; tip and about one-third of pin missing. Perhaps from Urn 4.

Bow fibula with stilted fore-end; bead between single narrow fillets at either end of thickened bow; double spring. Blinkenberg, Type II 19 (*Fibules grecques et orientales*, Copenhagen, 1926, fig. 61, p. 75). No traces of incised decoration.

Except for 59, this is the only type of fibula known in Attic Protogeometric contexts; it is commonly of iron, very rarely of bronze. See *Protogeometric Pottery*, pp. 308-309. Apart from Agora B 277 with incised decoration (\*Grave 23), this is the best preserved of the bronze examples; the others: Kerameikos Inv. M 22 (IV, pl. 39, Gr. 39; also M 23, not illustrated); Inv. M 11 (IV, p. 42, Gr. 40, not illustrated); Inv. M 3 (IV, p. 45, Gr. 48, not illustrated); Agora B 842-843 (\*Grave 49).

59. Iron fibula. Pl. 27.

Inv. 16362 A. L. 0.11; H. 0.062. Well-preserved but with surface corrosion and bits of bone and pyre debris adhering; most of pin and front of catch plate missing. Perhaps from Urn 4.

Flat leaf-shaped bow, apparently with small bead at either end (fillets uncertain); triple spring.

The form is unique in a Protogeometric or Early Geometric context. The only close parallels, a gold pair in Berlin (Antiquarium, Inv. 30553 a-b, Blinkenberg, Type II 23, *op. cit.*, fig. 65, pp. 77-78), are a little more developed (slightly broader catchplate) and may be a little later; they are said to have been found with

Geometric pottery in an Attic tomb. For the incised decoration on the Berlin pair, cf. a well preserved bronze pin from the Grave Mound at the Kerameikos, M 113 (IV, pl. 39), and an Early Geometric gold pin, Kerameikos, M 42 (V, 1, pl. 159, Geometric Grave 41); the fibulae, M 47, 48, from this grave are more developed in form and ambitious in decoration than the Berlin pair.

## APPENDIX A

### KERAMEIKOS SUBMYCENAEAN GRAVE 113

The pyxis, Kerameikos Inv. 2168, Grave S 113, is related in fabric to the handmade miniature 52 and in form to the Later Protogeometric Handmade Incised pyxis (e.g. Agora P 6695, Pl. 30), and through it may have some bearing on the source and inspiration of the latter fabric. It is one of three from Attic Submycenaean contexts:

a) Agora P 14873. Pl. 30. H. pyxis 0.062, lid 0.031; D. 0.072. Debris in well near Klepsydra (Well U 26: 4). Fabric quite different from the two pyxides below; it is plausibly Attic and undistinguishable from later Fine Handmade Incised Ware, except for its intentionally gray color. The incised patterns, broad zigzags and scoring (on top of knob) are not found in the later ware. No other vases of precisely this fabric from a contemporary Athenian context.

b) Kerameikos Inv. 491 (I, pl. 25, Gr. S 77). Undecorated. Body probably imported, Kraiker suggests from the Cyclades (*Ker.*,

I, p. 74); lid, a local replacement of common cooking fabric, covered with a black wash, now worn. The pierced ears of the lid curl down, cupping closely over the ears on the body. Cupped, pierced ear, cf. miniature handmade lid from Salamis (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXXV, 1910, p. 30, fig. 19); though not exactly like the fabric of any of these pyxides, it recalls Agora P 14873. Wide thought this lid much older than the other Salamis finds, but it need not be. Of the same local fabric as the lid, Inv. 491, black-washed and with traces of polish, are the pyxis Inv. 2168 below and the amphoriskos, Kerameikos Inv. 469 (I, pl. 20, Gr. S 108);<sup>21</sup> of the same base clay, polished but without the black wash, is the tall amphoriskos Inv. 2167 below.<sup>22</sup>

c) Kerameikos Inv. 2168, Gr. S 113, below. This piece comes from one of the richest Athenian Submycenaean graves, one of considerable topographical interest. Since it was

<sup>21</sup> The large trefoil-mouthed oinochoe, Salamis, Athens, N. M., Inv. 3666, as described in *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXV, 1910, p. 26, note 6, sounds like the same black-wash handmade fabric; I have not seen it.

<sup>22</sup> A resemblance to Daniel's Cypriote "Ware VII: Handmade Black Slip Incised" (*A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, pp. 72-75), probably contemporary and used mostly for miniature vessels, is not confirmed by the clay. But the broad zigzag designs of Agora P 14873 are common in this Cypriote fabric; cf. *ibid.*, p. 73, fig. 7.



found too late to be included with the Submycenaean burials in *Kerameikos*, I, it has remained unpublished. Dr. Kübler has kindly allowed it to appear here.

# KERAMEIKOS SUBMYCENAEAN GRAVE 113.<sup>23</sup>

*Kerameikos*, V, 1, Beilage 2 ("Spätsubmyk. Grab"); *Arch. Anz.*, 1942, p. 203.

Rectangular trench, L. 1.95; W. 0.75; D. 1.65. Lower part lined with schist slabs, three on each side, one at each end, the joints carefully fitted with smaller stones; inner dimensions of cist, L. ca. 1.90; W. 0.49; D. 0.50. Irregular cover slabs, tightly caulked with small stones. Skeleton outstretched on its back, head at south, right hand on pelvis, left hand beneath it. On left hand, three bronze rings; on either breast, a simple Submycenaean bronze fibula without nodes and the remains of an iron pin, one with spherical ivory head; on left breast remains also of a bronze pin. Seven amphoriskoi, empty, at foot of grave, mouths pointing inward; crushed beneath them an eighth and a steatite spindle whorl;<sup>24</sup> beside the right thigh a handmade pyxis, its lid alongside.

## Amphoriskos.

Pl. 31.

Inv. 2165. H. 0.11; D. 0.093. Intact.

Ring foot, deep beneath, slurred into body outside.

Decoration same front and back. Lower body and foot reserved.

Poorly smoothed. Hard deep pinkish buff clay, unslipped and unpolished. Dark brown to deep orange-tan glaze, with slight metallic luster. Not characteristic Attic.

Broad-mouthed with heavy tall ring foot, cf. Inv. 466 (I, pl. 18, Gr. S 108), less advanced. Decoration, cf. Inv. 2164 below, Inv. 485 (I, pl. 20, Gr. S 70).

<sup>23</sup> Temporary No. "Grave 26." My special thanks are due to Dr. K. Kübler for his generous notes on the circumstances of finding and his ready permission to publish this group; and to Dr. D. Ohly and Miss J. Perlzweig for many kindnesses. The photographs were taken by Dr. K. Fierneisel.

<sup>24</sup> The eighth amphoriskos, the steatite whorl and the jewelry were not available for examination in the summer of 1960.

## Amphoriskos.

Pl. 31.

Inv. 2166. H. 0.104; D. 0.083. Intact.

Foot rounding up to bottom with hanging boss beneath; unevenly turned.

Broad band of glaze inside, continuous with neck-glaze outside. Decoration same front and back. Pendant semicircles (4, once 5), hand-drawn. Thin line encircling join of foot with body.

Poorly smoothed. Hard light pinkish buff clay, unslipped and unpolished. Warm dark reddish brown glaze, slightly lustrous where fresh. Probably Attic.

Hanging circles are almost unknown on Attic Submycenaean and Protogeometric vases; *Ker.*, I, pl. 38, an isolated find, is one of the few from Attica. Dot-edging, found sporadically throughout Submycenaean and Early Protogeometric, is of no chronological assistance here; e.g. earlier, Inv. 497 (I, pl. 15, Gr. S 88), later, Inv. 531 (I, pl. 61, Gr. PG 1).

## Amphoriskos.

Pl. 31.

Inv. 2164. H. 0.105; D. 0.096. Intact.

Crisp ring foot, rough at join with body.

Neck glazed inside and out. Upper shoulder, bold loose zigzag, single line below. Handles barred, arcs alongside attachments. Belly front and back, pair of wiggly lines. Broad belt of glaze from just below handles to a little above foot; foot reserved.

Unsmoothed. Very hard dull pinkish buff clay, light buff on unglazed areas, deeper beneath peeled glaze. Dull dense black glaze, almost wholly lost.

Body glaze terminating above wholly reserved foot in the Granary tradition (e.g. oinochoe, *B.S.A.*, XXV, 1921-1923, p. 32, fig. 8 b; skyphoi, p. 33, fig. 9 b, e); cf. Inv. 470

(I, pl. 19, Gr. S 52). Decoration, cf. Inv. 2165 above.

Amphoriskos Pl. 31.

Inv. 2161. H. 0.10; D. 0.086. Intact.

Low foot beveling up to bottom beneath.

Most of inside of neck glazed. Decoration same front and back.

Poorly smoothed. Hard pinkish buff clay. Warm dark brown glaze thinning to walnut, in places lost, elsewhere quite lustrous.

Amphoriskos. Pl. 31.

Inv. 2162. H. 0.107; D. 0.083. Mouth and foot chipped.

Tall narrow ring foot.

Narrow band of glaze inside neck. Band at join of foot and body. Decoration same front and back.

Surface poorly smoothed. Compact, hard clay, in places rotted; brush marks on unglazed surfaces. Dark brown to chestnut glaze, dull.

Amphoriskos. Pl. 31.

Inv. 2163. H. 0.103; D. 0.083. Intact; neck rotted inside.

Decoration as Inv. 2162, but three bands on shoulder.

Compact, pinkish buff clay, softer than in the other pieces of this group; dull orange-tan glaze, peeled in places.

Handmade tall amphoriskos. Pl. 31.

Inv. 2167. H. 0.176; D. 0.137. Intact.

Lip flattened on top; crisp flat bottom.

Handmade from deep rose clay, very micaceous, with dark and light bits, some of fair size that look like marble. Slick surfacing, fairly thick and adherent; tool marks. Here and there a light polish survives. No traces of smoke.

Same fabric as the pyxis, Inv. 2168. The tall neck is unique.

Handmade pyxis with lid. Pl. 31.

Inv. 2168. H. 0.065-0.075, with lid, 0.098;

H. lid *ca.* 0.03. Mouth corroded on one side; one end of lid missing.

Narrow flat bottom; lightly flaring plain lip, pulled out at either side in a triangular ear, vertically pierced to match lid. Lid lentoid, flat beneath, pierced at either end; it rises on one side to compensate the lop-sided body, while its stem remains nearly vertical when the lid is set on the body.

Around top of body, row of impressed dots; close-set vertical grooves below. Lid, impressed dot on top of stem; four rows of impressed dots marking the quadrants are continued up the sides of the stem.

Handmade from the same dark red clay as Inv. 2167, but covered with a black wash, now mostly dull and worn, but with traces of a light polish where thickest.

See above pp. 169, 174.

Although the jewelry was not available for examination in 1960, Kübler's descriptions give a good idea of the types. The simple nodeless bronze fibulae are pure Submycenaean; others, e.g. Salamis, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXV, 1910, p. 30, fig. 15, and *Ker.*, I, pl. 27, Grave S 2, both from early Submycenaean contexts. The many fibulae of Kerameikos Grave S 108 are of more complex though not necessarily later types, but one already has the nodules that, fattened and translated into iron, will become the standard Protogeometric type. On these early types, see Furumark, *Chronology*, pp. 91-93. The presence of iron pins puts S 113 among the later Submycenaean graves; at the Kerameikos, only the latest inhumations in the region of Precinct XX, Graves PG 22 and PG 23, had them, as also Agora Grave 31 with offerings of about the same time. The spherical ivory head is exceptional; cf. bone pin with spherical head, Kerameikos Gr. PG 1-N (IV, p. 47), also late Submycenaean; another non-metal head (?), the paste cone found beneath the skull in Grave S 108 (I, pl. 28), probably not (because of the delicate material) a whorl. This quantity of jewelry is unusual in a Submycenaean burial;

this and the handmade pots suggest that the deceased was a wealthy woman.

Amphoriskoi are difficult to date; clumsy turning and cursory painting often give them a deceptively early look. This is an exceptional set, well above average Submycenaean work; the outlines are fairly graceful at best, the painting tolerably neat, the fabric mostly hard-fired, the finish as good as can be expected at this time. Inv. 2166 shows imagination and care, not common on any shape at this time, and otherwise unknown on this one, which, as commonly with those shapes that are about to be discontinued, commands only the most routine treatment. Kraiker (*Ker.*, I, p. 66) noted that good technique as well as topographical considerations placed Grave S 108 among the latest in the Pompeion Cemetery; the amphoriskoi in S 113 are more advanced in technique and shape and are probably still later; only Inv. 2165 recalls one of the vases in S 108. Invs. 2162 and 2163 are like Inv. 489 (I, pl. 16) from Grave S 76, again from the last period of the Pompeion Cemetery (*Ker.*, I, p. 65); the mouth of the lekythos from that grave (Inv. 490, I, pl. 14) is a deep flaring funnel, virtually the form that is found in the earliest Proto-geometric graves. The iron pins in S 113 are an additional indication of nearness to the Proto-geometric period.

But the drawing on Invs. 2164-2166 is old-fashioned and shows that some careful painters still continued to work in the "thin line style" that was characteristic of most of the better pieces of the early Submycenaean period. On these the brush was finer or at least manipulated more on its tip than later; the glaze was usually thinner and streaky and the drawing often mincing and unsubstantial. Characteristic examples: Kerameikos Inv. 498 (I, pl. 10, Gr. S 81), stirrup-jug; Inv. 450 (I, pl. 15, Gr. S 42), Inv. 497 (same, Gr. S 88), lekythoi; Inv. 466 (I, pl. 18, Gr. S 108) and Inv. 485 (I, pl. 20, Gr. S 70), amphoriskoi. This old style is a survival of one of the Late Mycenaean ways of drawing and is in marked contrast to the contemporary "broad brush style" that leads to and is characteristic of earliest Proto-geometric. The three pieces from S 113 are not extreme.

This new grave has passed the early stage of Submycenaean; it is old-fashioned, but may be almost as late as the inhumation graves in the Precinct XX cemetery; it is surely not earlier and may well be later than the first cremations in that lot (Graves 14 and 24). S 113 lay about 20 m. northeast of Grave PG 22 and supports other indications that new lots were at this time beginning to fill out the western section of the Kerameikos.

## APPENDIX B

To avoid repetition of lengthy references, Agora groups cited are listed below. (\*) denotes published groups; the others will be published in full in a volume of the *Athenian Agora* series. Desborough and others have referred to some of these groups by temporary designations; those given below will appear in the final volume.

- |                |  |
|----------------|--|
| Well A 20:5    | Ripe Proto-geometric. Almost all light ground vases; "firsts" of a number of types popular in Late Proto-geometric and Early Geometric contexts, e.g. banded amphorae, kantharoi, kalathoi, low based cups. Cf. Kerameikos Graves 18, 39. <b>26, 42, 43, 45, 53.</b> |
| Well C 18:5    | Ripe Proto-geometric. P. 164.  |
| Well H 16-17:1 | Latest of pure Proto-geometric wells. Dark ground and black pots; low cups and high-footed cups in about equal quantity. <b>26, 43, 44.</b>  |
| Well K 12:1    | Ripe-Late Proto-geometric. Light ground and dark ground pots in about equal quantity. <b>53.</b>   |



- Well K 12:2 Early Geometric II (low skyphos and broad-bottomed oinochoe), with much Late Protogeometric in dumped filling. **48**.
- Well L 11:1 Early Protogeometric. Cf. Kerameikos Graves 6, 15, 34. **53**, p. 169.
- Grave 11 Late Protogeometric or Early Geometric I. P. 152, note 12.
- \*Grave 20 *Hesperia*, V, 1936, P. 24, fig. 22. Ripe Protogeometric. **6, 25, 26**.
- Grave 21 Ripe Protogeometric. Cf. Kerameikos Graves 39, 40. **22**.
- Grave 22 Ripe Protogeometric. Cf. Kerameikos Grave 40. **8**.
- \*Grave 23 *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 365, fig. 30. Ripe Protogeometric. **53, 58**.
- \*Grave 24 *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pl. 27, c. Late Protogeometric. **49**, p. 171.
- \*Grave 26 *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 553, fig. 11. Early Geometric I. **6, 46**.
- Grave 38 Late Protogeometric. Cf. Kerameikos Grave 38. **37, 57**.
- Grave 41 Late Protogeometric. Cf. Kerameikos Grave 48. **12, 37, 54**, p. 171.
- Grave 45 Late Protogeometric or Early Geometric I. P. 151.
- Grave 47 Early Geometric I. **41**.
- \*Grave 48 *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 279-294. Early Geometric I. **55**.
- \*Grave 49 *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 275-297. Early Geometric I. **4, 13, 45, 55, 58**.
- Grave 54 Late Protogeometric. Cf. Kerameikos Graves 40, 48. **7, 26, 32**.
- Grave 60 Early Geometric I. **40**.

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## RHAMNOUNTINE FANTASIES

(PLATE 32)

THE temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous,<sup>1</sup> stylistically the latest known work of the "Theseum architect," showing strong influences from the Parthenon (dedicated in 438) but left unfinished at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War (in 431), was probably begun, in accordance with the astronomical and calendrical evidence for the intervening years, on the festival day of the Nemesieia (Genesia), Boedromion 5 = September 30, 436 B.C.<sup>2</sup> The architecture of the temple has been discussed only once in detail, in the old *Unedited Antiquities of Attica* (1817), and partially thereafter in several specialized publications.<sup>3</sup> In the present investigation we shall be concerned only with various problems relating to the entablature of the peristyle, never satisfactorily explained and hitherto subject to considerable misinterpretation.

### THE EPISTYLE

The hexastyle temple, with only twelve columns on the flanks, thus had five by eleven intervals in the peristyle, these necessarily spanned by thirty-two architrave blocks (each with its backing block), fitting the column spacing of only 1.904 m. on centers (equal to the column diameters of the Parthenon, and likewise to be interpreted as 5<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> Doric feet).<sup>4</sup> While the distances between the centers of the opposite colon-

<sup>1</sup> I here take advantage of the occasion afforded by a new examination of the Villa Albani relief, attributed by Langlotz to the temple at Rhamnous, to relieve my discussion of the temple (to be published in *Athenian Architecture of the Age of Pericles*) of this and other related errors.

<sup>2</sup> Dinsmoor, *Proc. Am. Phil. Soc.*, LXXX, 1939, pp. 132-133, 145, 152-153, 164; cf. *Athenian Archon List*, 1939, pp. 208-209.

<sup>3</sup> Gandy, *Unedited Antiquities of Attica*, 1817, ch. vi, pp. 41-49, pls. 1-13. Lethaby, *Greek Buildings Represented by Fragments in the British Museum*, 1908, pp. 88, 148-149, 176-178. Orlandos, *B.C.H.*, XLVIII, 1924, pp. 305-320, pls. VIII-XII. Zschietzschmann, *Arch. Anz.*, XLIV, 1929, pp. 441-451. Broneer, *A.J.A.*, XXXVI, 1932, pp. 397-400. Shoe, *Profiles of Greek Mouldings*, *passim* (cf. index on p. 187) and pl. LXXVII. Plommer, *B.S.A.*, XLV, 1950, pp. 94-112. Dinsmoor, *Architecture of Ancient Greece*, 1950, pp. 89, 148, 149, 181-183, 339.

<sup>4</sup> Where dimensions are cited, they are the results of my repeated measurements on numerous occasions since 1910, with a few pertinent measurements by others for comparison and identification. A lengthy series of measurements attributed by Plommer to Miss Shoe's pl. LXXVII ("I have drawn freely, except in a very few cases, upon her measurements; with Gandy and Orlandos, she has helped me most," *op. cit.*, p. 95), leaves me somewhat puzzled; her plate in question contains no measurements, nor are any given elsewhere in her discussions of the mouldings of Rhamnous, so that, instead of citing under her name Plommer's "measurements" which are not only fictitious but even rather inaccurate (presumably enlarged from her small drawing at the scale of 0.0675 = 1.000 m. or 1:14.82), I have omitted them as valueless encumbrances. I reckon the Doric foot at Rhamnous as 0.32640 m.

nades, as measured on the platform, are  $9.186 \times 20.610$  m. ( $28\frac{7}{48}$  by  $63\frac{7}{48}$  D.F.), we allow  $0.027$  m. ( $\frac{1}{12}$  D.F.) all around for the inward inclination of the column axes, making the dimensions between the centers of the column capitals  $9.132 \times 20.556$  m. ( $27\frac{4}{48} \times 62\frac{4}{48}$  D.F.), increased by the epistyle soffit of  $0.674$  m. ( $2\frac{1}{6}$  D.F.) to  $9.806 \times 21.230$  m. ( $30\frac{1}{24} \times 65\frac{1}{24}$  D.F.) on the epistyle face. Thus we must restore twenty-four normal epistyle lengths theoretically of  $1.904$  m. (three on each front and nine on each flank), while the corner blocks on each front would have been half of  $9.806 - (3 \times 1.904) = 4.094$  m., becoming  $2.047$  m. Actually, however, these dimensions were readjusted to fit a peculiarity of the triglyph spacing, as explained below. Thus the right-hand corner epistyle block of the east front, lying on the ground at this point, actually measures  $2.0785$  m. (an increase of  $0.0315$  m.), so that each of the three central blocks must have been correspondingly diminished to a third of  $9.806 - (2 \times 2.0785) = 5.649$  m., becoming  $1.883$  m. (a reduction of  $0.021$  m.).<sup>5</sup> Similarly on the flanks, where the endmost blocks were  $2.079$  m. diminished by the amount of the returns of the front corner blocks (the cornermost joints being as usual on the flanks), the nine intervening blocks must have averaged one ninth of  $21.230 - (2 \times 2.0785) = 17.073$  m., becoming  $1.897$  m. (a reduction of  $0.007$  m.).<sup>6</sup>

To explain these minor discrepancies, which will prove to be of importance for our purpose, we must turn for a moment to the frieze. Here, above the five by eleven column intervals, there were necessarily ten metopes on each front and twenty-two on each flank, the triglyph spacing on centers being theoretically  $0.952$  m. ( $21\frac{1}{12}$  D.F.). More than twenty triglyph-metope blocks now lie scattered around the temple, their height measured as  $22.64$  inches ( $= 0.575$  m.) by Gandy, as  $0.57$  m. by Orlandos, as  $0.574$  m. by Riemann, and as  $0.578$  m. by myself. The triglyph widths were measured as  $14.92/14.94$  inches ( $= 0.379/0.3795$  m.) by Gandy,<sup>7</sup> as  $0.378$  m. by Orlandos, and as  $0.375/0.380$  m. by myself, my average width being  $0.377$  m. ( $1\frac{5}{32}$  D.F.). Subtracting this from half of the column spacing, the metope width should have been  $0.575$  m. ( $1\frac{7}{16}$  D.F.). Actually, however, the metopes all seem to have been slightly narrower; though given as  $0.574$  m. by Riemann, I obtained only  $0.564/0.572$  m. by direct measurement. On the fronts, moreover, subtracting eleven triglyphs of  $0.377$  m., there would remain  $9.804 - (11 \times 0.377) = 5.657$  m. to be divided among ten metopes averaging slightly less than  $0.566$  m.; and closer analysis of the fallen pieces shows that on the fronts there were eight metopes of  $0.5645$  m. ( $1\frac{3}{48}$  D.F.) and two endmost metopes of  $0.5705$  m. ( $1\frac{3}{4}$  D.F.), with a negligible discrepancy of  $\frac{1}{16}$  D.F. Similarly on the flanks, subtracting twenty-three triglyphs of the same width,

<sup>5</sup> That is,  $2 \times 0.0315$  (increase)  $= 0.063 = 3 \times 0.021$  m. (reduction).

<sup>6</sup> That is,  $2 \times 0.0315$  (increase)  $= 0.063 = 9 \times 0.007$  m. (reduction).

<sup>7</sup> Another measurement given by Gandy,  $12.43$  inches ( $= 0.316$  m.), does not refer, as Orlandos assumed, to the width of the triglyphs, but rather to their erroneously estimated projection beyond the column axes.



there would remain  $21.228 - (23 \times 0.977) = 12.557$  m. to be divided among twenty-two metopes averaging slightly less than 0.571 m., approximating the endmost metope width on the fronts.<sup>8</sup>

The fact that the triglyph and metope widths, added together, do not quite make up the amount 0.952 m. required by half of the column spacing forces us to assume that the triglyphs were redistributed in order to counteract the corner distortion, the triglyphs being slightly off-centered from the column axes, as at Bassai and in the Parthenon, as well as in one of the western colonial temples, that at Segesta. Under normal circumstances, moreover, when the corner contraction of the column spacing was less than the corner distortion in the frieze (due to the necessity of placing a triglyph at the corner), slightly wider metopes were required toward the corners. In these normal temples, therefore, any attempt to equalize the metope widths would have resulted in a slight enlargement throughout, causing the triglyphs always to be centered slightly *outside* the column axes. The Parthenon is exceptional in having excessive corner contraction in the column spacing, greater than the frieze demanded, so that equalizing the metope widths would have resulted in a slight reduction throughout, causing the triglyphs always to be centered slightly *inside* the column axes.<sup>9</sup> This excessive corner contraction of the Parthenon was imitated at Rhamnous. Here,

<sup>8</sup> On the fronts,  $(11 \times 1\frac{5}{32}) + (8 \times 1\frac{3}{4}) + (2 \times 1\frac{3}{4}) = 12\frac{23}{32} + 13\frac{5}{6} + 3\frac{1}{2} = 30\frac{5}{96}$  D.F. as compared with  $30\frac{1}{24}$  D.F. on the epistyle, an excess of  $\frac{1}{96}$  D.F. On the flanks,  $(23 \times 1\frac{5}{32}) + (22 \times 1\frac{3}{4}) = 26\frac{19}{32} + 38\frac{1}{2} = 65\frac{3}{32}$  D.F. as compared with  $65\frac{1}{24}$  D.F. on the epistyle, an excess of  $\frac{5}{96}$  D.F. The measurements are obtained by combining results from the epistyle, frieze, and geison. For the fronts, the inscribed epistyle at the center of the east front (discussed below) has a central regula of 0.377 m. and an interval of 0.564 m. between two regulae, thus a regula (triglyph) spacing of 0.941 m. Also one of the two central geisa of the west front is 1.223 m. long; subtracting one mutule of 0.377 m., we have 0.846 m. for  $1\frac{1}{2}$  metopes of 0.564 m., or 0.941 m. for triglyph and metope together. But at the corners the geisa have mutules of 0.379 m. and viae of 0.096 m., requiring endmost metopes of about 0.571 m. Also the northeast corner epistyle of the east front has a slightly deficient regula of 0.374 m. at the corner, compensated by the adjoining interval of 0.576 m., so that the triglyph and metope above should have been 0.377 and 0.573 m.; the other regulae are broken off, but since the total length of the block is 2.079 m. the distribution of the frieze above seems to have been  $0.188 + 0.564 + 0.377 + 0.573 + 0.377 = 2.079$  m. And a corner block of the frieze gives 0.377 m. for the corner triglyph and 0.572 m. for the endmost metope on the flank. Thus the fronts were evidently  $(11 \times 0.377) + (8 \times 0.5645) + (2 \times 0.5715) = (8 \times 0.9415) + (2 \times 0.9485) + 0.377 = 9.806$  m., while the flanks would presumably have been  $(23 \times 0.377) + (16 \times 0.571) + (6 \times 0.5705) = (16 \times 0.948) + (6 \times 0.9475) + 0.377 = 21.230$  m.

<sup>9</sup> As a matter of fact, the metope widths of the Parthenon were readjusted to form a gradation from narrower at the corners to wider at the center—the exact opposite of the normal system—those on the east front varying from 1.226 m. ( $3\frac{3}{4}$  D.F.) to 1.331 m. ( $4\frac{1}{16}$  D.F.). Because of this gradation, and also because of minor errors in the locations both of the column and of the triglyph centers, the triglyph centers on the east front are actually located with reference to the six central column axes, in succession from left to right (south to north), *inside* by 0.075 and 0.023 m., *outside* by 0.0375 m., *inside* by 0.001 m., *outside* by 0.0155 m., and *inside* by 0.113 m.

in consequence, the "normal" metope width of  $\frac{3}{10}$  column spacing,  $\frac{3}{10} \times 5\frac{5}{8} = 1\frac{3}{4}$  D.F., was used only for the two endmost metopes on each front, though it approximated the average on the flanks. The normal spacing of the triglyphs on the fronts being  $0.377 + 0.5645 = 0.9415$  m. ( $1\frac{5}{32} + 1\frac{3}{48} = 2\frac{85}{96}$  D.F.), so that two spacings became 1.883 m. ( $5\frac{3}{48}$  D.F.) and thus 0.021 m. ( $\frac{1}{6}$  D.F.) less than the column spacing, the front triglyph centers were successively  $0.952 - 0.9415 = 0.0105$  m. ( $\frac{1}{32}$  D.F.) and  $(3 \times 0.952) - (3 \times 0.9415) = 0.0315$  m. ( $\frac{3}{32}$  D.F.) *inside* the column axes.

While there has never been any question as to the identity of the triglyph-metope blocks and of the geisa lying on the ground about the temple, the identification of the epistyles has been greatly confused in the course of modern studies. Gandy had measured their height as 22.64 inches ( $= 0.575$  m.), Orlandos as 0.57 m., while I obtained 0.571 m. The details assigned to the external epistyle were derived by Gandy from a series which has now almost entirely disappeared. For he gave the length of the regula as 16.75 inches ( $= 0.425$  m.), and so placed the triglyphs 0.84 inch ( $= 0.0215$  m.) behind the epistyle plane.<sup>10</sup> This unprecedented arrangement was accepted by Marquand as a peculiarity at Rhamnous, intended to diminish the weight of the entablature.<sup>11</sup> Orlandos, on the other hand, realizing that on the exterior the regulae must have had the length dictated by the triglyph width and that the triglyphs must have been in the plane of the epistyle face, attempted to correct this anomaly by arbitrarily shortening Gandy's regulae from 0.425 to 0.377 m. But Gandy's long regulae certainly at one time existed. For there remain at least two pieces, one a small fragment and the other a piece 0.68 m. long and of the full height 0.571 m. (the latter now north of the temple, Pl. 32, a), both showing the same heavy mouldings drawn by Gandy; the heights of the taenia, regulae, and guttae, given by him as  $2.28 + 2.22 + 1.12 = 5.62$  inches ( $= 0.058 + 0.0565 + 0.0285 = 0.1425$  m.), were measured by me on these pieces as  $0.056 + 0.057 + 0.027 = 0.140$  m. (Fig. 1, b); the guttae also are larger, 0.034 m. in diameter and spaced 0.077 m. on centers, implying a regulae length of  $(5 \times 0.077) + 0.034 + (2 \times 0.003) = 0.425$  m. This regula length so completely disagrees with the triglyphs of the external frieze and the mutules of the geisa that it must be assigned to the inner porches. Additional corroboration comes from the fact that, while in the larger piece (Pl. 32, a) the joint is 0.207 m. left of the right end of a regula (and so not far from the middle), in the smaller fragment the joint lies 0.145 m. left of the right end of a regula, between the fourth and fifth guttae, unsuitable for an epistyle of the peristyle; it apparently adjoined a corner block resting on the northwest anta of the opisthodomus (the pronaos having had a continuous epistyle reaching to the flanks as in the Hephaisteion and at Sounion, and therefore no corners).

<sup>10</sup> More strictly, Gandy's measurements would have given  $\frac{1}{2}$  ( $16.75 - 14.93$ )  $= 0.91$  inch, that is,  $\frac{1}{2}$  ( $0.425 - 0.379$ )  $= 0.023$  m.

<sup>11</sup> Marquand, *Greek Architecture*, 1909, p. 266.

The attribution of the epistyle with Gandy's long regulae to the inner porches, however, seemingly encounters the obstacle that these positions are currently occupied by another type of epistyle, that drawn by Gandy in the pronaos and opisthodomus, of which he showed very few details. Yet it is this inadequately illustrated type of epistyle that is represented by the great majority of the pieces now on the ground, including three corner blocks and one which must have adjoined a corner block since it ends at the left joint with a portion of regula only 0.044 m. long with one gutta, complementing the five-sixths of the regula on the return of a corner block. With at least three corners preserved, these could not possibly be assigned to the inner porches,

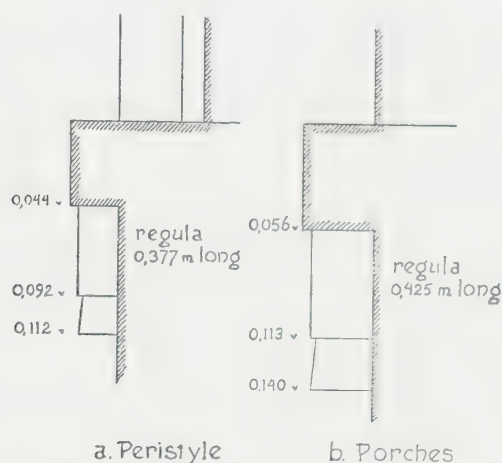


FIG. 1. Details of Epistyle Mouldings

which provided only two corners, those of the opisthodomus. This fact, and the identity of the regulae and interregula spaces of 0.377 m. (so also Orlandos) and 0.564/0.572 m. with the triglyphs and metopes of the external frieze, shows that we are concerned with the external peristyle. The total height of this external epistyle, because of its continuity with that of the pronaos (as in the Hephaisteion and at Sounion), is the same 0.571 m. as given by the other type. But Gandy gives for the taenia, regula, and guttae  $1.72 + 1.68 + 0.80 = 4.20$  inches ( $= 0.0435 + 0.0425 + 0.0205 = 0.1065$  m.), the guttae 1.2 inches ( $= 0.0305$  m.) in diameter.<sup>12</sup> Orlandos measured the height of the taenia and regula together as 0.088 m., while for all three members I measured  $0.044 + 0.048 + 0.020 = 0.112$  m. (Fig. 1, a), the small guttae being only 0.021 m. in diameter and spaced 0.072 m. on centers. In assigning this

<sup>12</sup> Gandy (pl. 9) shows it with these dimensions as it returns over the opisthodomus antae, the length of the regula being here given as abnormally short, 14.4 inches (0.366 m.) though with six guttae. This length may possibly have been derived from the other type, that with the heavier mouldings, which would properly have fitted this position.



type to the inner porches, Gandy had apparently based the distinction merely on his subjective opinion, which has caused so many difficulties, that heavier mouldings should appear on an exterior, lighter in the inner porches.<sup>12a</sup> That the exact contrary might be the case is shown by a phenomenon characteristic of a group of early Peloponnesian temples (those of Aphaia at Aigina, of Zeus at Olympia, of Apollo at Bassai, and of Poseidon at Isthmia),<sup>13</sup> of which we here compare the heights of the epistyle taenia, regula, and guttae, both in the peristyles and in the inner porches, with those at Rhamnous:

|          | Peristyle                          | Porches                            |
|----------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Aigina   | $0.081 + 0.07 + 0.032 = 0.183$ m.  | $0.099 + 0.076 + 0.025 = 0.200$ m. |
| Olympia  | $0.150 + 0.150 + 0.052 = 0.352$ m. | $0.170 + 0.170 + 0.065 = 0.405$ m. |
| Isthmia  | $0.138 + 0.127 + 0.039 = 0.304$ m. | $0.178 + ? + ? = ?$ m.             |
| Bassai   | $0.066 + 0.066 + 0.025 = 0.157$ m. | $0.085 + 0.058 + 0.021 = 0.164$ m. |
| Rhamnous | $0.044 + 0.048 + 0.020 = 0.112$ m. | $0.056 + 0.057 + 0.027 = 0.140$ m. |

Thus the taenia height, for instance, is 0.040 m. greater for the inner porches at Isthmia, 0.020 m. greater at Olympia, 0.019 m. greater at Bassai, 0.018 m. greater at Aigina, and 0.012 m. greater at Rhamnous. Perhaps at Rhamnous this departure from the Attic norm was induced, not so much by imitation of the early Peloponnesian method, as by the desire to make the porch epistyle (necessarily of the same height as in the peristyle) look smaller by enlargement of the Doric mouldings.<sup>14</sup> A similar idea underlies the same architect's previous use of a heavier group of Ionic mouldings for the porch epistyles of the Hephaisteion and the temple at Sounion.

The most important of the epistyle blocks with the lighter mouldings is an intermediate block now lying below the east front of the temple, of special interest because it bears a symmetrically arranged inscription in six lines, evidently coming from a central position (Fig. 2). Following Gandy's attribution of the lighter mouldings to the inner porches, Orlandos assigned this inscribed block to the central position on the pronaos (accepted by Broneer and Pouilloux). Broneer, moreover, cited as additional evidence in favor of Gandy and Orlandos the fact that on the bottom of this epistyle block are weathered traces of an edge of a capital only 0.327 m. (my 0.325 m.)

<sup>12a</sup> Similarly at Bassai the porch epistyle, only 0.765 m. high, was erroneously assigned by Blouet (*Expéd. Morée*, II, 1833) to the outer peristyle, despite the fact that most of the outer epistyle remains in place with a height of 0.836 m.; the reason again was the larger taenia of the porch epistyle.

<sup>13</sup> For these, particularly at Isthmia, see my article entitled "A Greek Sculptured Metope in Rome," *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, pp. 304-315.

<sup>14</sup> Miss Shoe calls my attention to the similar phenomenon of the remarkably protrusive and archaizing hawksbeak mouldings of the epikranitis both outside and inside the porches at Rhamnous (*Profiles of Greek Mouldings*, pp. 126-127, pl. LX, 12, 14).

from the right end joint, inferring that the width of the abacus could have been only  $2 \times 0.327 = 0.654$  m. as contrasted with 0.754 m. in the peristyle. This reasoning is fallacious, however, since the hypothetical abacus of 0.654 m. would have demanded a lower column diameter of about 0.618 m. (following the proportion of 0.754 : 0.714 m. in the peristyle), whereas there were no columns of such small size in the temple. Those of the porches were identical in lower diameter (0.714 m.) with those of the peristyle, so that the capitals also were doubtless identical. There is, however, another and more reasonable explanation of the weathered line. The peristyle capitals 0.754 m. wide show a raised bed, 0.042 m. inside the edge of the abacus, to relieve its edges from the weight of the epistyle, the width across the raised bed thus being 0.670 m.; and the weathered line was undoubtedly caused by leakage of moisture between the abacus and epistyle as far as the raised bed. Similar traces are visible in other temples. For instance, at Sounion, the abacus width of 1.111 m. corresponds to weathered traces on the soffits of the epistyle blocks, but the latter also have slight relieving margins closer to the end joints; on an example from the north flank these margins are 0.463 m. (left) and 0.441 m. (right) from the joints, the combined width of 0.904 m. corresponding to raised beds 0.897 to 0.904 m. wide on the tops of various capitals. So also at Rhamnous the inscribed epistyle undoubtedly rested on capitals 0.754 m. wide, whether these were of the front of the temple or of the pronaos.

The decision may be made without possibility of doubt. As in the Peloponnesian examples cited above, the porch epistyle must have had the heavier mouldings  $0.056 + 0.057 + 0.027 = 0.140$  m. high, with regulae 0.425 m. long and guttae 0.034 m. in diameter, spaced 0.077 m. on centers, quite unrelated to the peristyle to which Gandy wrongly attributed them. Conversely, the epistyle of the peristyle must have been that with the lighter mouldings  $0.044 + 0.048 + 0.020 = 0.112$  m. high, with regulae 0.377 m. long and guttae 0.021 m. in diameter, hitherto wrongly attributed to the porches; for these alone agree with the triglyph and mutule widths of 0.377 m. In addition to the corroboration already mentioned, the existence of at least three external corner blocks of this epistyle with the lighter mouldings (exceeding the limit of two for the inner porches), the dimensions also are conclusive: for the inscribed central epistyle measured only  $2 \times 0.9415 = 1.883$  m. as contrasted with the central axial spacing of 1.940 m. in the porches;<sup>15</sup> and a complete corner epistyle (now at the northeast corner) measures 2.079 m. as contrasted with 2.225 m. from the corner of the anta to the column center. Thus, if employed in the porches (even admitting that the above-mentioned corner epistyle might have slipped from the southwest corner to the northeast corner), the combined length of three epistyle blocks would have been  $2.079 + 1.183 + 2.079 = 6.041$  m. as contrasted with 6.386 m. measured at the

<sup>15</sup> Plommer (*op. cit.*, pp. 108, 111) wrongly states that the central spacing in the pronaos is identical with that on the east front.

bottoms of the antae and 6.270 m. at the bottoms of the wall planes; inward inclinations as great as 0.1145 m. for each wall would be inconceivable.<sup>16</sup>

A final detail will demonstrate that the inscribed epistyle belongs at the center of the main east front. It was, as noted above, 1.883 m. in length, and so 0.021 m. less than the axial spacing of the columns. On either side, therefore, it would have failed by 0.0105 m. to reach the column axes. This agrees with the fact that the weathered trace on the soffit is 0.325 m. from the right end; as adjusted to the raised bed of 0.670 m. on the peristyle capitals, it would have fallen short of the center of the capital by about 0.010 m. The discrepancy is explained by the above-mentioned redistribution of the triglyph spacings on the front, causing the triglyph centers to fall 0.0105 m. ( $\frac{1}{32}$  D.F.) *inside* the axes of the two central columns.

So far, therefore, we have found that Gandy's heavier mouldings and regulae 0.425 m. in length are authentic, though belonging to the inner porches and thus obviating the discrepancy with the external triglyphs, making unnecessary both Marquand's unconvincing explanation and the arbitrary correction by Orlandos. Conversely, we have found that the inscribed epistyle and the similar blocks with lighter mouldings and regulae 0.377 m. in length belong to the peristyle and not, as currently assigned chiefly under Gandy's influence, to the inner porches.

#### THE DEDICATORY INSCRIPTION ON THE EAST EPISTYLE

We turn now to the inscription on what we have found to be the central epistyle of the east front, in six lines of carelessly cut letters 0.04/0.057 m. in height (Fig. 2). The block is incomplete, broken off at the left end, the remainder being composed of four fragments which apparently were first put together by one of the Greek scholars (Stais ?)<sup>17</sup> who refrained from publishing it; my own copy was made as early as 1915. The inscription was first published, however, by Orlandos in 1924, omitting the first line, and in complete form in 1932 by Broneer, then again by Kirchner in 1935 as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3242, and finally in 1954 by Pouilloux,<sup>18</sup> always with the missing archon's name restored as Aiolion in accordance with Broneer, on the argument that the father Antipatros must have been the known archon of A.D. 45/6 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1945, 1969, 1970; Phlegon of Tralles, *Περὶ Θαυμασίων*),<sup>19</sup> and that the only known son of this Antipatros

<sup>16</sup> The actual total inclination from toichobate to interior cornice seems to have been 0.055 m. for each wall, as shown by the length of the ceiling beams of the flank peristyles.

<sup>17</sup> For the excavations of Stais in 1890-1893 see *Πρακτικά*, 1890, pp. 27-30; 1891, pp. 13-18; 1892, pp. 29-31; *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1891, pp. 45-62.

<sup>18</sup> Orlandos, *B.C.H.*, XLVIII, 1924, p. 319; Broneer, *A.J.A.*, XXXVI, 1932, p. 397 (facsimile); Kirchner, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3242; Pouilloux, *La Forteresse de Rhannonte*, 1954, p. 156, no. 46. Orlandos omitted the clearly visible first line, and also many of the fairly illegible letters toward the left; Broneer omitted the first omicron in the restored name *Αἰολίωνος* by a typographical error.

<sup>19</sup> Antipatros appears as one of a series of ten archons dated by Phlegon of Tralles (*Περὶ*



was named Aiolion (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1973),<sup>20</sup> who is also known to have been an archon (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1998).<sup>21</sup> But Oliver noted that the archon Antipatros of 45/6 might himself have been the son of an earlier Antipatros; hence the name of the father surviving in the Rhamnous inscription would be that of this archon's father, and the name to be



FIG. 2. Inscription Honoring Livia at Center of East Epistyle  
(Modified from *A.J.A.*, XXXVI, 1932, p. 397)

restored is that of the actually known archon Antipatros, to whom the epithet Neoterios would thus be most fittingly applied,<sup>22</sup> and of whose final letter upsilon (rather than the final sigma of Αἰολίωνος) a bit of one stroke survives. Therefore we may adopt Oliver's restoration as follows:<sup>23</sup>

Θαυμασίων, *F. Gr. Hist.*, II B, no. 257, 36) in terms of Roman consulships, one in 125 B.C. and the nine others between A.D. 45 and 116, thereby permitting the choice of either of the two Athenian years astride each Julian year. While Jason is definitely placed in the later of the two available years 125/4 by the secretary cycle (cf. Dinsmoor, *Archons*, pp. 225-228; *Archon List*, pp. 174-175, 198), Graindor left the year equivocal in the case of Antipatros and six others (*Chronologie*, pp. 79-81, 116-122, nos. 49, 51, 57-58, 61, 64), and placed Hadrian and Macrinus in the earlier of the available years in each case (*ibid.*, pp. 122-123, nos. 79, 82). But Kolbe (*Ath. Mitt.*, XLVI, 1921, pp. 118, 122) demonstrated that Hadrian's archonship must have been in 112/3, and consequently that the entire series must be dated consistently in the later of the two available years in each case; this was accepted by Kirchner (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2, pp. 790-792) and by Oliver (*Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 83-84), as well as by Graindor himself (*Athènes sous Hadrien*, 1934, pp. 28-29) and by Notopoulos (*Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 25, with respect to Deinophilos and Dionysodoros in 49/50 and 53/54). Thus the archonship of this Antipatros is certainly to be placed in 45/6. In the inscriptions of his year Antipatros is always distinguished as Neoterios, but he was certainly the same as Phlegon's archon; see also pp. 189-190 (Antipatros 4).

<sup>20</sup> In *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1973 Antipatros the father of Aiolion is not specifically designated Neoterios, but there can be no doubt that he was identical with Antipatros 4.

<sup>21</sup> In *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1998 Aiolion appears without patronymic or demotic, but it is universally agreed that he was the same Aiolion who appeared as ephebe in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1973; see also p. 190 (Aiolion 5).

<sup>22</sup> As the archon Antipatros is consistently designated in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1945, 1969, and 1970 as well as in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3242.

<sup>23</sup> Oliver, *The Athenian Expounders of the Sacred and Ancestral Law*, 1950, p. 85 note 18 (already foreshadowed by Oliver in *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 83 note 23a). He omits the preserved

Ὁ δῆμος  
 Θεᾶι Λειβία(ι). Στρατηγούντος  
 [ἐπὶ] τοὺς ὅπλε[ι]τας τοῦ καὶ ἱερέως Θεᾶς  
 [Ῥώμη]ς κ[α]ὶ Σεβασ[τ]οῦ Καίσαρος [Δημ]οστράτου  
 [Διονυ]σίου Παλληνέως· ἀρχ[οντ]ος δὲ  
 [Ἀντιπάτρο]υ τοῦ Ἀν<τι> πάτρον Φλυέ[ως Ν]εωτέρου

The inscription had been assigned by Orlandos to the fourth or third century B.C., but Broneer's more complete reading showed that it is of the Roman imperial period. Not only has it characteristic Roman lettering (alpha, theta, sigma), but the dedication to the deified empress Livia, the mention of the priest of the goddess Roma and of Augustus Caesar, and the name of the archon [Antipatros] the Younger, son of Antipatros of Phlya, all show that it is of the first century after Christ. The date *post quem* is furnished by the fact that Livia the wife of Augustus, dying in A.D. 29, was deified by Claudius in A.D. 42 and officially received into the cult of the Domus Augusti.<sup>24</sup>

Before contrasting the results of Oliver's restoration of the archon's name as Antipatros with the consequences arising from the earlier restoration of the name as Aiolion, it seems desirable to clarify as far as possible the careers of these two individuals with reference to the genealogy and the distribution of the sixteen inscriptions now definitely known to relate to seven members of this family,<sup>25</sup> belonging to eight generations, seven of which cover a minimum period of about 206 years and so with generations averaging  $34\frac{1}{2}$  years.<sup>26</sup> If we were to suppress the third (Antipatros 3) and the seventh (unknown), we should have not only the preposterous average of at least  $51\frac{1}{2}$  years for four generations, but also intervals of about 60 years for one generation (Antipatros 2 to 4) and of at least 63 years for another (Salloustianos 6 to Aiolion 8). The interval of about 84 years in any case between the archonships of Antipatros 4 and Salloustianos 6, his grandson, yields two generations averaging 42 years, long but not impossible within this limited period. Thus we may reconstitute the genealogy as follows:

epsilon of ὅπλε[ι]τας in line 3; on the other hand, because of lack of space, we should probably omit the [τοῦ] restored at the beginning of line 5.

<sup>24</sup> Ollendorff, *R.E.*, s.v. Livia, XIII, cols. 922-923; Taylor and West, *A.J.A.*, XXX, 1926, p. 395, note 3; Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, 1927, pp. 53-54, 155-157, 196 note 1, and *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, 1931, pp. 3-5, 81 note 7, 113-114, 175-176. Her name appears on a seat of the theater at Athens (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5096): "priestess of Hestia on the Acropolis and of Livia and Julia."

<sup>25</sup> A summary by Graindor (*Musée Belge*, XXVII, 1923, p. 265) discusses only six of these inscriptions.

<sup>26</sup> That is, from Antipatros 2 as hoplite general for the seventh time ca. 15 B.C. to Aiolion 8 as general (for the first or only time) probably in A.D. 192/3. But if we compare the first generalship of Antipatros 2 (ca. 40-30 B.C.) with that of Aiolion 8 the interval would be ca. 226 years and so with six generations averaging  $37\frac{1}{2}$  years.

- (1) Antipatros (mentioned as father of Antipatros 2 in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1059 = 1758 and 2467—in these two indicated only by lunate symbols—and in Agora I 807, 5925, and also in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1071 as restored by Graindor and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3539 as restored by Meritt).
- (2) Antipatros (mentioned as son of Antipatros 1 in all the foregoing), hoplite general seven times *ca.* 40-15 B.C.: *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1059 = 1758 = *Prytaneis* no. 105, evidently the first generalship, *ca.* 40-30 B.C.; <sup>27</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2467 = *Prytaneis* no. 110, third generalship *ca.* 29/8-22/1 B.C.; <sup>28</sup> Agora I 807 = *Prytaneis* no. 116, fifth generalship in the archonship of Demeas of Azenia whom Dow dates *ca.* 20 B.C.; Agora I 5925 = *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, no. 29, seventh generalship dated by Meritt *ca.* 15 B.C. Probably the fourth or sixth generalship fell in the archonship of Apolexis, 21/0 B.C. (Agora I 4913, as restored by Stamires, *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 246-260); the restoration [στρατηγο]ῦντος seems more probable than [πανηγυριαρχο]ῦντος proposed by Oliver (*Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, p. 42, note 8). The seventh generalship hitherto assigned to Aiolion 5 on the basis of Dittenberger's restoration [Αιολίωνα Ἀντιπ]άτρον Φλυέα in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3539 was tentatively assigned by Meritt to the same Antipatros 2 with the restoration [Ἀντίπατρον Ἀντιπ]άτρον Φλυέα (*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 41); this was not accepted by Sarikakis, who followed Dittenberger; but Meritt now writes to me, "I find that I really do believe *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3539 to be dated in the first century B.C." Antipatros 2 was also the proposer of a decree honoring Augustus at about 21 B.C., *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1071 as restored by Graindor (*Musée Belge*, XXVII, 1923, p. 265; *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 26; cf. Dow, *Prytaneis*, p. 190) and Stamires (*Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 260-265, with two additional fragments). For these see also Sarikakis, *The Hoplite General in Athens*, 1951, p. 41.
- (3) Antipatros (father of Antipatros 4 according to Oliver's restoration of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3242), hardly identical with Antipatros 2 because the interval between Antipatros 2 and 4 was about 60 years, assuming that Antipatros 2 was general for the seventh time at an age comparable to that of Antipatros 4 as archon. Antipatros 3 may have been either a son or a nephew of Antipatros 2.
- (4) Antipatros Neoteris (son of Antipatros 3 according to *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3242 as restored by Oliver, and mentioned as father of Aiolion 5 in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1973), archon in A.D. 45/6 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1945, 1969, 1970, 3242, Phlegon of Tralles, *Περὶ Θαυμασίων*). In *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1945, 1969, 1970, and 3242 the epithet is given as Νεώτερος or Νε; but the three first of these omit the patronymic and demotic, while *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1973 omits the epithet, and Phlegon gives nothing but the name. Yet there can be no doubt that all six references are to the same man, Phlegon giving the exact date, and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1969, 1970, and 1973 being ephebe lists likewise of the reign of Claudius whose name appears at the head of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1969 and 1973. The assumed generalships of Antipatros 4 for the first time (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1758, 1759, 1760, 1761, 1762, 1763, 1764, 1765, 1766, 1767, 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, 1773, 1774, 1775, 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783, 1784, 1785, 1786, 1787, 1788, 1789, 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794, 1795, 1796, 1797, 1798, 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806, 1807, 1808, 1809, 1810, 1811, 1812, 1813, 1814, 1815, 1816, 1817, 1818, 1819, 1820, 1821, 1822, 1823, 1824, 1825, 1826, 1827, 1828, 1829, 1830, 1831, 1832, 1833, 1834, 1835, 1836, 1837, 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843, 1844, 1845, 1846, 1847, 1848, 1849, 1850, 1851, 1852, 1853, 1854, 1855, 1856, 1857, 1858, 1859, 1860, 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864, 1865, 1866, 1867, 1868, 1869, 1870, 1871, 1872, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878, 1879, 1880, 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 2680, 2681, 2682, 2683, 2684, 2685, 2686, 2687, 2688, 2689, 2690, 2691, 2692, 2693, 2694, 2695, 2696, 2697, 2698, 2699, 2700, 2701, 2702, 2703, 2704, 2705, 2706, 2707, 2708, 2709, 2710, 2711, 2712, 2713, 2714, 2715, 2716, 2717, 2718, 2719, 2720, 2721, 2722, 2723, 2724, 2725, 2726, 2727, 2728, 2729, 2730, 2731, 2732, 2733, 2734, 2735, 2736, 2737, 2738, 2739, 2740, 2741, 2742, 2743, 2744, 2745, 2746, 2747, 2748, 2749, 2750, 2751, 2752, 2753, 2754, 2755, 2756, 2757, 2758, 2759, 2760, 2761, 2762, 2763, 2764, 2765, 2766, 2767, 2768, 2769, 2770, 2771, 2772, 2773, 2774, 2775, 2776, 2777, 2778, 2779, 2780, 2781, 2782, 2783, 2784, 2785, 2786, 2787, 2788, 2789, 2790, 2791, 2792, 2793, 2794, 2795, 2796, 2797, 2798, 2799, 2800, 2801, 2802, 2803, 2804, 2805, 2806, 2807, 2808, 2809, 2810, 2811, 2812, 2813, 2814, 2815, 2816, 2817, 2818, 2819, 2820, 2821, 2822, 2823, 2824, 2825, 2826, 2827, 2828, 2829, 2830, 2831, 2832, 2833, 2834, 2835, 2836, 2837, 2838, 2839, 2840, 2841, 2842, 2843, 2844, 2845, 2846, 2847, 2848, 2849, 2850, 2851, 2852, 2853, 2854, 2855, 2856, 2857, 2858, 2859, 2860, 2861, 2862, 2863, 2864, 2865, 2866, 2867, 2868, 2869, 2870, 2871, 2872, 2873, 2874, 2875, 2876, 2877, 2878, 2879, 2880, 2881, 2882, 2883, 2884, 2885, 2886, 2887, 2888, 2889, 2890, 2891, 2892, 2893, 2894, 2895, 2896, 2897, 2898, 2899, 2900, 2901, 2902, 2903, 2904, 2905, 2906, 2907, 2908, 2909, 2910, 2911, 2912, 2913, 2914, 2915, 2916, 2917, 2918, 2919, 2920, 2921, 2922, 2923, 2924, 2925, 2926, 2927, 2928, 2929, 2930, 2931, 2932, 2933, 2934, 2935, 2936, 2937, 2938, 2939, 2940, 2941, 2942, 2943, 2944, 2945, 2946, 2947, 2948, 2949, 2950, 2951, 2952, 2953, 2954, 2955, 2956, 2957, 2958, 2959, 2960, 2961, 2962, 2963, 2964, 2965, 2966, 2967, 2968, 2969, 2970, 2971, 2972, 2973, 2974, 2975, 2976, 2977, 2978, 2979, 2980, 2981, 2982, 2983, 2984, 2985, 2986, 2987, 2988, 2989, 2990, 2991, 2992, 2993, 2994, 2995, 2996, 2997, 2998, 2999, 3000, 3001, 3002, 3003, 3004, 3005, 3006, 3007, 3008, 3009, 3010, 3011, 3012, 3013, 3014, 3015, 3016, 3017, 3018, 3019, 3020, 3021, 3022, 3023, 3024, 3025, 3026, 3027, 3028, 3029, 3030, 3031, 3032, 3033, 3034, 3035, 3036, 3037, 3038, 3039, 3040, 3041, 3042, 3043, 3044, 3045, 3046, 3047, 3048, 3049, 3050, 3051, 3052, 3053, 3054, 3055, 3056, 3057, 3058, 3059, 3060, 3061, 3062, 3063, 3064, 3065, 3066, 3067, 3068, 3069, 3070, 3071, 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the seventh time (Sarikakis, *op. cit.*, p. 76), are to be expunged from the record since the first two refer to Antipatros 2 (see above) and the last presumably to Tiberius Claudius Novius in A.D. 60/1 (see note 29). Thus we have no evidence that Antipatros 4 was ever a hoplite general.

- (5) Aiolion (mentioned as son of Antipatros 4 in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1973, and as father of Salloustianos 6 in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1763), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 50 in an ephebe list (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1973) headed by the name of the emperor Claudius (41-54) in the archonship of Metrodoros,<sup>30</sup> Aiolion's name particularly prominent as one of three in wreaths; thus Aiolion was an ephebe very close to the archonship of his father Antipatros Neoteris (45/6). Aiolion was archon toward the end of the century, probably about 87/8 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1998), mentioned without patronymic or demotic but undoubtedly the same person.<sup>31</sup> Broneer's restoration of Aiolion's name as archon in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3242 is now to be eliminated because of Oliver's substitution of the name Antipatros. The restorations of the name of Aiolion as general for the seventh

*aquarum* in A.D. 38), the inscription itself not before the time of Nero according to Graindor (*Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, p. 38 note 20), while Kirchner read it as Μάρκος Γόργιος Μ — —. The date is in any case appropriate for Novius, general for the seventh time in 60/1. Sarikakis (*op. cit.*, p. 76) suggested that the name to be restored might be either Antipatros or Novius; but only the latter seems to have held the generalship so many times at this period.

<sup>30</sup> Metrodoros (mentioned as archon in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1735, 1973) dated early in the reign of Claudius, 40/1-53/4 or preferably *ca.* 43/4-44/5, by Graindor (*Chronologie*, pp. 79-82) because of the great similarity of the ephebe list *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1973 to those of the archonship of Antipatros in 45/6 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1969, 1970). Metrodoros dated middle of first century by Kirchner (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2, p. 791) and Oliver (*Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 84), but toward the end of the reign of Claudius, in 50/1-52/3, by Notopoulos (*Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 25-26, 51, 53). It may be pointed out that while this later date may well be correct, the argument of Notopoulos, based on the fact that another ephebe in this list (his name also in a wreath), Theogenes of Kephisia, was later prytanis in the archonship of Philopappos and Lailianos (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1759), is open to some doubt. For Notopoulos dates this later archonship exactly in 96/7 on the assumption that the secretary cycles, of which he established the existence between 138/9, 167/8-169/70, and 209/10 (*op. cit.*, pp. 2-3), should be rotated backward from another base in 117/8 through the entire first century without a break, a very tenuous theory in view of the fact that the only known secretary in the entire first century is the undated one of this archonship; he might well have been earlier or later, with or without cyclical rotation of the secretaries. On our present evidence we can only say that Metrodoros, and with him Aiolion as ephebe, might be assigned to any of the unoccupied years 40/1-44/5, 46/7-48/9, or 50/1-52/3.

<sup>31</sup> As noted by Graindor (*Chronologie*, p. 104), it is by error that Wilhelm (*R.E.*, I, col. 1034, no. 4) called him "vermuthlich Αἰολίων Ἀριστάρχου Φλευνός." Aiolion's archonship dated *ca.* 70-80 (Neubauer, *Commentationes epigraphicae*, 1869, p. 149), *ca.* 75 (Dumont, *Essai sur la chronologie des archontes athéniens*, 1870, p. 70), in second half of the century (Graindor, *Tibère*, p. 208), in last third of the century (Graindor, *Chronologie*, pp. 103-104, 134; *Tibère*, p. 78 note), *ca.* 90 (Dittenberger, *I.G.*, III, 1089; Wilhelm, *R.E.*, I, col. 1034; Von Schoffer, *R.E.*, II, col. 594), or end of the century (Kirchner, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1998, p. 791; Oliver, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 84; Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 25). The archonship of Aiolion (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1998) should be one generation later than that of his father Antipatros, and presumably at least 36 years after Aiolion had been ephebe, and so *ca.* 79/80 or *ca.* 76/7-88/9 according to these two methods of counting. Or, placing his archonship midway between those of his father and son, Antipatros (45/6) and Salloustianos (probably 129/30), it could be *ca.* 87/8, one of several years in this vicinity not otherwise definitely assigned.

time in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3182 (by Graindor)<sup>32</sup> and 3539 (by Dittenberger)<sup>33</sup> are both now to be eliminated since the former refers to Tiberius Claudius Novius and the latter to Antipatros 2. Thus the service of Aiolion as hoplite general must be expunged from the record.

- (6) Salloustianos (mentioned as son of Aiolion 5 in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1763), archon in the reign of Hadrian (117-138) but later than the creation of the tribe Hadrianis (127/8) according to *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1763, and so, with respect to otherwise unoccupied years, in 129/30-130/1 or 132/3-137/8. The specific mention of the new Council of Five Hundred suggests that it be dated as early as possible after its constitution (on the analogy of similar specific allusions in 307/6 and 220/19 B.C. after reforms of the Council) and so preferably in 129/30.<sup>34</sup> Evidently the same Salloustianos (mentioned without patronymic), together with Demostatos of Phlya, was the dedicator of a statue (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3314).
- (7) Unknown, but interpolated because the interval between Salloustianos 6 and Aiolion 8 was 63 years, perhaps more if we allow that Aiolion was young at the time of his first and only known generalship. This unknown might have been either a son or a nephew of Salloustianos 6.

<sup>32</sup> Here Dittenberger (*I.G.*, III, 158) had restored the name of Tiberius Claudius Novius, who was general for the eighth time in 61/2 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1990, archon Thrasyllus), so that the work on the theater would have been done in the preceding year 60/1. Graindor argued that this was too early for the theater, that the work should date rather from the time of Nero's visit in A.D. 66 and particularly from the time of his proclamation of freedom to the Greeks in November of that year, as implied by a play on words in the theater inscription (Ἐλευθεριεῖ); cf. Graindor, *Chronologie*, p. 103 note 2; *Tibère*, pp. 3-14, 39, 78 note, 114. This theory was accepted by Kirchner (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3182), Notopoulos (*Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 26), and with some distrust by Sarikakis (*op. cit.*, pp. 37, 75) though he accepted for *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3539 the date *ca.* 66 for which Graindor's theory was the sole evidence. But Bulle (in Fiechter, *Das Dionysos-theater in Athen*, III, 1936, pp. 60-66) pointed out that not only was the theater at Lisbon dedicated to Nero in A.D. 57 (*C.I.L.*, II, 183) without the benefit of a visit from him, but also that there exist additional frieze fragments with actual remains of the name [T]ι Κλ[αυδίου] and probably Νονίου, so that Dittenberger's restoration is correct as far as it goes. While further corroboration is not necessary, it may be added that the close connection of Novius with Nero in 61/2 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1990), where Novius was high priest of Nero and his house (not of Claudius as Graindor had said, *Tibère*, p. 142), Nero being equated with Zeus Eleutherios (erased) in a manner recalling the theater inscription (Oliver, *Expounders*, p. 94; Sarikakis, *op. cit.*, p. 76), makes Novius the only plausible candidate.

<sup>33</sup> The restoration [Αἰολίωνος Ἀντιπ]άτρον Φλυέα as general for the seventh time in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3539 had been made by Dittenberger (*I.G.*, III, 653), and was accepted by Graindor (*Chronologie*, p. 103; *Tibère*, p. 14), Kirchner (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1758, 1998, 3182, 3539), and Sarikakis (*op. cit.*, pp. 29, 37). Graindor had assigned this generalship to the last third of the first century A.D., while Kirchner and Sarikakis, stating that he was identical with the ephebe and archon Aiolion, adopted the date *ca.* 66 required by Graindor's theory regarding *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3182. The restoration [Ἀντίπατρον Ἀντιπ]άτρον Φλυέα was proposed by Meritt (*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 41), with the date *ca.* 15 B.C. and the attribution to Antipatros 2 (see p. 189).

<sup>34</sup> The archonship of Salloustianos had been placed in the reign of Hadrian after 124/5 according to Graindor (*Chronologie*, pp. 103-104, 133-134, 194; *Tibère*, p. 78 note), *ca.* 132/3-134/5 according to Kirchner (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1998, p. 792) and Oliver (*Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 85), and *ca.* 132 by Notopoulos (*Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 25-28) and Sarikakis (*op. cit.*, p. 37). The date *post quem* has now been supplied by Notopoulos, through rotation of the secretary cycles of the second century back to 127/8, the year when Hadrianis (VII) first officiated (Notopoulos, *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.*, LXXVII, 1946, pp. 53-56; *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 2-3, 5). The inscription of

- (8) Aiolion, cited without father's name as hoplite general toward or at the end of the reign of Commodus (180-192), whose name appears in the decree (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1792 = *A.J.P.*, LXXI, 1950, p. 174), apparently in 192/3.<sup>85</sup> This may have been his only generalship and so could have been attained at an earlier age than that of Salloustianos 6 as archon, a fact which would increase the length of these two generations beyond the 63 years indicated by their terms of office. While Aiolion 8 has been assumed to be the son of Salloustianos 6 and grandson of Aiolion 5 by Graindor (*Chronologie*, pp. 104, 194), Kirchner (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1763, 1792, 3314), and Sarikakis (*op. cit.*, p. 37), this seems impossible because of the above-mentioned great interval.

In view of the complication of the foregoing arguments the genealogy of the family is here summarized as follows:

- fl.* 65 B.C. 1. Antipatros (as patronymic in all the following)
- fl.* 30 B.C. 2. Antipatros (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1059 = 1758 = *Pryt.* no. 105; II<sup>2</sup>, 1071 = *Hesp.* XXVI, no. 98; II<sup>2</sup>, 2467 = *Pryt.* no. 110; II<sup>2</sup>, 3539; Agora I 807 = *Pryt.* no. 116; Agora I 4913 = *Hesp.* XXVI, no. 97; Agora I 5925 = *Hesp.*, XVII, no. 29)
- fl.* 5 A.D. 3. Antipatros (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3242 = Oliver, *Expounders*, p. 85)
- fl.* 40 A.D. 4. Antipatros Neoteris (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1945, 1969, 1970, 1973, 3242 = Oliver, *Expounders*, p. 85; Phlegon of Tralles)
- fl.* 75 A.D. 5. Aiolion (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1763, 1973, 1998)
- fl.* 110 A.D. 6. Salloustianos (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1763, 3314)
- fl.* 145 A.D. 7. unknown
- fl.* 180 A.D. 8. Aiolion (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1792 = *A.J.P.*, LXXI, p. 174)

So long as the restoration of Aiolion's name as archon had seemed acceptable in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3242, with his name restored also as hoplite general for the seventh time in

Salloustianos mentions the Council of Five Hundred, as reformed simultaneously with the creation of Hadrianis.

<sup>85</sup> For *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1792 Graindor gave the date as 180/1-191/2 or probably 184/5 (*Chronologie*, pp. 194-195), Kirchner as *ca.* 180/1 or a little after (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1763, 1792, and p. 794 under — — — *χρς Βησαυεύς*). It has been shown by Oliver (*Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 58-61, 82) that the so-called archon name — — — *χρς Βησαυεύς* of this year (*Chronologie*, pp. 104, 194, no. 145; Kirchner, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2, p. 794) was in reality part of the name of Commodus; this correction merely rids us of an archon but does not define the date. Raubitschek (*Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, 1949, p. 284 note 9) argued that the year 188/9 must in any case be excluded and proposed 187/8, which was adopted by Notopoulos (*Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 52 and table opposite p. 22) and Sarikakis (*op. cit.*, pp. 32, 37). Oliver has more recently proposed 192/3 (*A.J.P.*, LXXI, 1950, pp. 174-176), which would be possible because the inscription is dated in Boedromion, earlier than the death of Commodus on December 31, 192.



two other inscriptions, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3182 and 3539, the question of the date of the Rhamnous inscription was greatly complicated. For Aiolion had been an ephebe as late as the archonship of Metrodoros, some year within the reign of Claudius, 40/1-53/4 or rather, since 53/4 was occupied by the archon Dionysodoros, 40/1-52/3 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1973). We have estimated that the archonship of Aiolion (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1998) ought to have been about 87/8, the mean year between the archonships of his father Antipatros Neoteris (45/6) and of his son Salloustianos (probably 129/30), though it might have been a few years earlier or later. Complications arose from the generally adopted restoration of the name of Aiolion as general for the seventh time in the undated *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3539, and particularly from Graindor's restoration of his name likewise as general for the seventh time in the inscription on Nero's theater, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3182, with the implication that the exact date was 66/7. For Aiolion would probably have been rather young in 66/7 to have held the office of hoplite general for six earlier terms. The demonstration that Graindor's restoration is controverted by the evidence relieves the improbable compression by removing Aiolion's name from *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3182; and the remaining possibility that he was general for the seventh time in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3539 at an unknown date is now eliminated by Meritt's substitution of the name of his great-grandfather Antipatros (2) in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3539, thus leaving Aiolion without any known term as general.

Similarly with regard to Aiolion's archonship as restored in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3242, Broneer had calculated that he would have been too young for such an office during the reigns of Claudius (41-54) or Nero (54-68), and that, even if the latter part of Nero's reign could be considered on such grounds, it is unlikely that during this reign a temple would have been dedicated to Livia. In short, Broneer suggested that there was only one occasion later than Claudius on which such an honor as that represented by the Rhamnous inscription would have been appropriate, namely, during the brief reign of Galba, who became emperor on June 9, 68, and was slain on January 15, 69. For Galba had not only assumed the name Livius, but he owed much to the influence and benefactions of Livia and showed her great honor (Plutarch, *Galba*, 3; Suetonius, *Galba*, 5).<sup>36</sup> This argument for dating Aiolion's archonship in 68/9 might have been quite satisfactory but for the chronological discrepancies, making him archon 23 years after his father Antipatros but 61 years before his son Salloustianos, the latter hardly possible. On the same assumption that the restoration of Aiolion's name in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3242 was correct, I considered another possibility, the short reign of Nerva, who came to the throne on September 18, 96, and died on January 25, 98. For it happens that Nerva had particularly close relations with a notable resident of this area, Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes (father of Herodes Atticus) of Marathon, in contrast to Domitian who had confiscated the property of his father Hipparchos and perhaps even

<sup>36</sup> Broneer, *A.J.A.*, XXXVI, 1932, pp. 399-400.

condemned him to death. Tiberius Claudius Atticus, on the other hand, was confirmed by Nerva in his wealth and enrolled in the Roman tribe Quirina with praetorian rank, serving as high priest of the Domus Augusti and twice as consul. It seemed possible to conclude that through the interest of this Atticus the temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous, afterwards dear to his son Herodes Atticus,<sup>87</sup> was dedicated to Livia as a member of the Domus Augusti, with Aiolion as archon. On such grounds, we might have assigned the archonship of Aiolion to 97/8, following that of his father Antipatros by 52 years and preceding that of his son Salloustianos by 32 years. While the intervals would thereby have been slightly more reasonable, it has now become evident through Oliver's restoration of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3242 that all such speculations as to Aiolion's archonship are unnecessary, and that the rededication of the temple to Livia is actually to be dated under his father Antipatros Neoteris in 45/6.

Thus the rededication of the temple at Rhamnous to Livia by Claudius occurred only three years after her deification, a most appropriate moment. By a coincidence, furthermore, two pieces of a great pedestal of a statue honoring Claudius himself for some benefaction lie in front of the temple of Nemesis;<sup>88</sup> and it is tempting to associate this pedestal with the rededication of the temple. And, as Broneer has pointed out,<sup>89</sup> the hoplite general and priest of Roma and Augustus Caesar on this occasion, [Dem]ostratos son of [Diony]sios of Pallene as mentioned in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3242, is to be associated with a father and son, Dionysios son of Demostratos and Demostratos son of Dionysios, both of Pallene, the former *keryx* of the goddesses at Eleusis and the latter numbered among the *hymnagogoi*, in an Eleusinian inscription of which the date is probably 20/19 B.C.<sup>40</sup> It would seem that the general Demostratos of 45/6 A.D. was the grandson of the young Demostratos mentioned 65 years earlier.

<sup>87</sup> For these connections see Graindor, *Hérode Atticus et sa famille*, 1930, pp. 12-17 (Domitian's confiscation of the property of the grandfather Hipparchus), 20-24 (Nerva's confirmation of T. Claudius Herodes in possession of his new-found wealth), 25-26 (Roman citizenship in the tribe Quirina, conferring of the *ornamenta praetoria* by the Roman senate, and other offices; cf. Dean, *A.J.A.*, XXIII, 1919, pp. 173-174, no. 16 = West, *Corinth*, VIII, ii, *Latin Inscriptions*, pp. 40-42, no. 58); 94-98 (temple of Nemesis and Athena erected by the wife of Herodes Atticus, Regilla, on her property on the Via Appia outside Rome; cf. Cagnat, *I.G.R.*, 193-194; Dittenberger, *S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup>, 858); 117-118 (dedication of statue to his cousin Polydeukeion in front of temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3969 = Pouilloux, *op. cit.*, p. 159, no. 50; cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13208 = Pouilloux, p. 160, no. 51).

<sup>88</sup> Pouilloux, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-158, no. 47; the lower part is *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3275, which is mentioned by Meriwether Stuart (*The Portraiture of Claudius*, 1938, p. 13 note 93, pp. 17, 29) as the pedestal of a portrait statue of Claudius.

<sup>89</sup> Broneer, *op. cit.*, p. 399.

<sup>40</sup> Threpsiades, *Eleusiniaka* A', 1932, pp. 225, 228, 230, dating from the archonship of Apolexis. This archon, mentioned also in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1040, is dated 47/6-43/2 by Kolbe and Kirchner, 25/4-18/7 by Graindor (*Chronologie*, p. 57); *Athènes sous Auguste*, pp. 101-102), 20/19 by Dinsmoor (*Archons*, p. 293), followed by Threpsiades and by Daux (*Chronologie delphique*, p. 75). Noto-poulos substitutes 21/0 (*Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 12, 48, 51, 57) on the basis of tribal rotation

## THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE FRIEZE

In returning to the subject of the frieze, of which we have already considered the dimensions, our present purpose is to study its construction, from which we may hope to obtain information as to the occasion of the dedicatory inscription.

For this purpose it would have been desirable to make a complete inventory of the triglyph-metope blocks scattered around the temple; but this is now difficult because many of them are hidden beneath brush and, furthermore, the process would have required more time than has been available during my numerous visits to Rhamnous. However, the following most characteristic blocks may be distinguished:

- (A) Corner block, M + T + M + T (triglyph also on right return), length *ca.* 1.89 m., lying southeast of southeast corner (where it belongs).
- (B) Corner block, M + T + M + T (triglyph also on right return), length *ca.* 1.89 m., half lying near southwest corner and half opposite northwest corner (where it belongs, diagonally opposite A).

These two corner blocks had their longer faces on the flanks, their short returns on the fronts, properly breaking joints with the epistyle. Seven blocks now lying along the north flank, and presumably belonging to this side, are the following (the numbers refer to their possible positions):

- (C) Complete block, M + T + M + T, length *ca.* 1.89 m. (position 3)
- (D) Broken off at right, M + T + M + ?, length *ca.* 1.53 m., good joint at left, the right-hand break extending about 0.01 m. beyond the end of the metope (9)
- (E) Broken off at left, ? + M + T, length *ca.* 1.11 m. (2, 6, 8, 12 ?)
- (F) Broken off at left, ? + T + M, length *ca.* 1.09 m. (1, 4, 5, 7, 10, 11 ?)
- (G) Broken off at right, M + T + ?, length *ca.* 0.97 m. (4, 7, 10 ?)
- (H) Broken off at right, T + M + ?, length *ca.* 0.78 m. (2, 5, 6, 8, 11, 12 ?)
- (I) Broken off at left, ? + M + T, length *ca.* 0.66 m. (2, 6, 8, 12 ?).

While C-D were certainly four-unit blocks, it is impossible to ascertain whether E-I were three-unit or four-unit blocks, though all were certainly longer than two units. Since the entire flank contained forty-five units (twenty-three triglyphs and twenty-two metopes, Fig. 3), and none of the north flank blocks, at least, was as short as two units, it is evident that there might be two reasonable distributions, either with eleven

of the secretaries, a rotation which, however, does not seem to have been in operation at this time if we may judge from the only two dated secretaries of this period, in 52/1 and 49/8 B.C.



blocks in all—ten of double length (four units) and a central transitional block of five units—or with thirteen blocks in all—six of double length (four units) and seven of three units alternating except at the center where three of the shorter blocks would come together. The fact that the long block C, which according to the first scheme would necessarily belong to the west half of the flank, now lies near the east end and so might preferably fit the second scheme (as block 3) suggests that the latter should

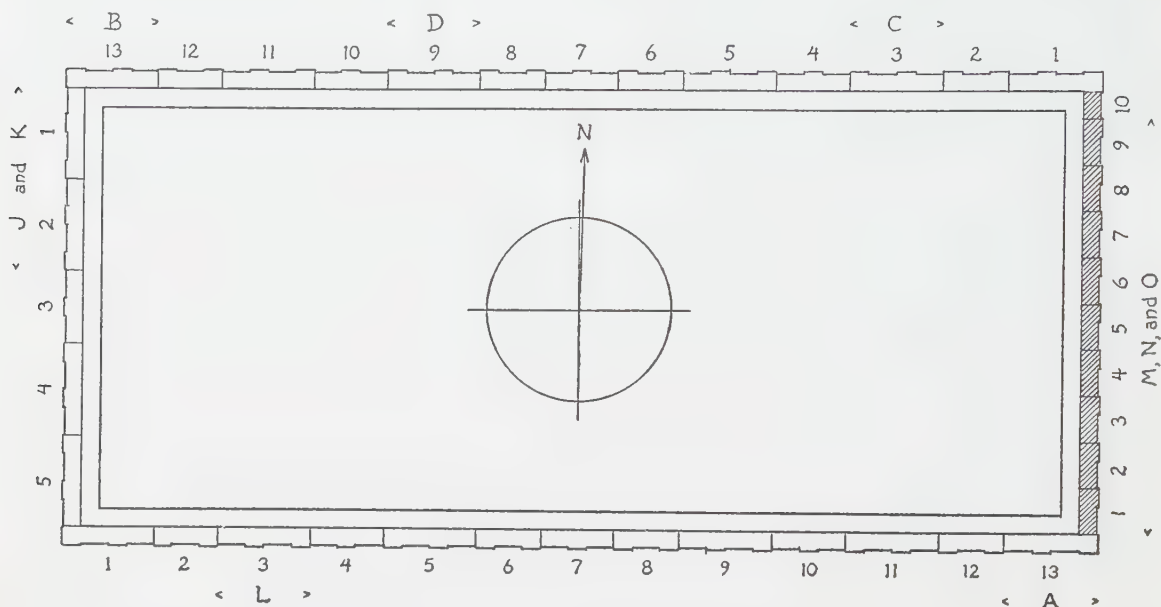


FIG. 3. Jointing Plan of Triglyph-Metope Blocks  
(East Blocks M, N, O in Roman Technique)

be adopted and that there were six varieties of blocks distributed as follows (from east to west on the north flank, reversed on the south flank):

- |               |                       |                                |
|---------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| (1)           | corner, T + M + T + M | (block F ?)                    |
| (2, 6, 8, 12) | T + M + T             | (Blocks E ?, H ?, I ?)         |
| (3, 9)        | M + T + M + T         | (block C as no. 3, D as no. 9) |
| (4, 7, 10)    | M + T + M             | (blocks F ?, G ?)              |
| (5, 11)       | T + M + T + M         | (blocks F ?, H ?)              |
| (13)          | M + T + M + T, corner | (block B)                      |

On the west front, with twenty-one units (eleven triglyphs and ten metopes), the corner blocks showing only a single triglyph (B at the northwest corner), the intervening portion seems to have been occupied by five blocks, two with M + T + M + T toward the north and two with T + M + T + M toward the south, with a

central transitional block M + T + M. Two long blocks lying northwest of the north-west corner, excluded from the north flank because blocks C and D there occupy the only positions available for this type, must have been the two blocks of double length toward the north:

(J) Complete block, M + T + M + T, length *ca.* 1.89 m.

(K) Broken off at right, M + T + M + ?, length *ca.* 1.55 m., the right-hand break extending about 0.03 m. beyond the end of the metope.

Another block of identical type, now lying below the west front, but excluded both from the north flank and the west front where all positions available for this type are occupied, may have been the third block from the west on the south flank:

(L) Complete block, M + T + M + T, length *ca.* 1.89 m., broken in halves diagonally.

The east front, which one would expect to have been like that at the west, was on the contrary composed of short blocks, apparently ten between the corner blocks, nine being M + T blocks with the triglyph always at the right, and one transitional block consisting merely of a metope adjoining the northeast corner triglyph (Fig. 3). This is suggested by the following three blocks now lying below the east front:

(M, N, O) Three complete blocks, all M + T, length *ca.* 0.94 m. (Pl. 32, b).

Not only is the jointing system different, but the blocks themselves are of quite different origin. They seem to be in a softer and more badly weathered marble and to be more carelessly worked; the double-T clamp cuttings are more shallow and coarser; and at the middle of the top of each (though absent from the blocks on the other sides of the temple) is a great lewis hole, about 0.13 m. long and 0.04 m. wide, the depth up to 0.165 m., and the ends sloping in both directions to give greater length at the bottom. The great width of the lewis holes and the sloping of *both* ends (rather than one end only) are characteristically Roman, or possibly late Hellenistic. Added to these technical peculiarities is the fact that the top fascia of the metopes is 0.087 m. high (rather than 0.0545 m. as elsewhere in the temple), and that this same fascia is carried uniformly (though with less projection) across the tops of the triglyphs (Fig. 4); on the three other sides of the temple the height of the fascia on the triglyphs is increased from 0.0545 to 0.074 m. in normal Greek fashion. It seems impossible to escape the conclusion that at some late period, between the reigns of Augustus and Hadrian (when Greek double-T clamps were frequently though coarsely imitated in Roman construction near Athens), the entablature of the east front was rebuilt with the substitution of the shorter and more carelessly executed frieze blocks.

With this arrangement we may contrast that suggested by Plommer,<sup>41</sup> dictated primarily by his failure to observe the difference of technique, and by his assumption that a sculptured metope erroneously assigned to the temple by Langlotz (as discussed below) was one of a series of ten decorating the east front throughout ancient times, so that, consequently, all extant metopes without sculpture must be excluded from the east front. "On the three other sides each block as a rule would contain one triglyph and one metope [which we have found to be true only on the east front, as in M, N, O] . . . so also, I believe, the corner blocks" [contra, see above]. He agrees, however, that "one finds among the frieze blocks some of double length," also "two centre-blocks survive on the site, each with one triglyph between two metopes . . . from the [opposite] long sides" [though I actually found no complete example]. As a consequence of this arrangement, "a joint should have existed on the long sides between the corner

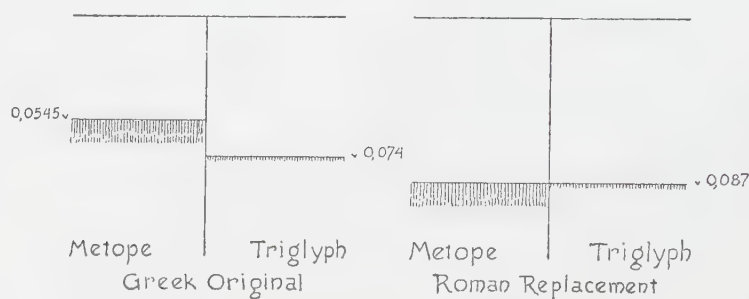


FIG. 4. Details of Triglyph and Metope Fascias

triglyph and the first metope. Strange as this may seem—for the first joint will be almost over [that] in the epistyle—I believe that it follows from the evidence." The jointing dilemma resulting from this analysis, however, is shown to be needless by the fact that the corner frieze blocks presented on the flanks, as we have seen, four units rather than a single triglyph. Furthermore, Plommer's arrangement would only lead to a new contradiction in that block A now lying at the southeast corner would have to be transferred either to the northeast or to the southwest corner in order to present a single triglyph on the flank, just as the diagonally opposite block B, now lying at the west front, would have to be transferred either to the southwest or to the northeast corner, a transference which, in the case of block A in any case, would be most improbable in itself. And the consequence that one or the other of the two diagonally opposite blocks A and B, as so located, would thus inevitably place two unsculptured metopes of the original workmanship on the east front, would contradict Plommer's basic assumption, upon which his entire arrangement is predicated, that all the east metopes contained sculpture throughout antiquity. As we have seen,

<sup>41</sup> Plommer, *op. cit.*, p. 94 note 83, pp. 99-100.



the short blocks combining only one metope with a triglyph are limited to the east front, these east metopes being without sculpture but dating from Roman times.

The alteration of the frieze construction on the east front, combined with the dedicatory inscription, makes it evident that Claudius exacted a toll for his benefaction, the restoration of the temple, if such it was. The southeast corner block (A) of the frieze, which obviously remained undisturbed, is in the original technique, as shown by the good cutting—though the crowning fascias are broken away—and by the original Greek geison dowel and the T clamp to fasten the adjoining east frieze block. At the joint meeting this adjoining east frieze block appears, not a slot for a thin sculptured metope slab, but merely an anathyrosis for a thick metope block. This implies that on the east front, as on the west, there were originally five long triglyph-metope blocks, each with two metopes and all except one with two triglyphs. The process of extracting these five blocks, leaving the corner triglyphs in position, and replacing them by ten blocks, each with one metope and all except one combined with a triglyph at the right, must have required wholesale dismantling from the top of the pediment to the top of the epistyle, followed by complete rebuilding. This is demonstrated by the presence of lewis holes and particularly of double-T clamp cuttings on the tops of the Roman blocks, implying that their tops were exposed at the time of the rebuilding, in other words, that they were not merely inserted from the front by the process of shoring up the geison and pediment. There seem to be no recognizable pieces of the geison and pediment from the east front, which might have been expected to show cuttings for the appliances used during the Roman alterations. But there can be little doubt that the sole purpose of this elaborate reconstruction was to remove the five blocks in their entirety, in order to cut out sculptured metopes, two on each, thus destroying the triglyphs carved on the same blocks, so that the ten metopes and nine triglyphs between the corner triglyphs had to be replaced in new material. We may conclude that on the occasion of the rededication of the temple to Livia in 45/6 the ten original sculptured metopes were carried off by Claudius to Rome,<sup>42</sup> where they have remained undiscovered.

#### A METOPE IN THE VILLA ALBANI AT ROME

A small Greek relief (Pl. 32, d) apparently of Pentelic marble,<sup>43</sup> now in the Villa Albani at Rome, had played only a minor part in archaeological literature<sup>44</sup> until

<sup>42</sup> As I formerly suggested on the basis of the Langlotz identification (*Architecture of Ancient Greece*, 1950, pp. 182, 183 note 1). Plommer now rejects my interpretation of the evidence for Roman alterations (*Ancient and Classical Architecture*, 1956, p. 138 note 2).

<sup>43</sup> Helbig calls it Parian marble, Langlotz "Attischer Marm." The latter seems to me the more suitable.

<sup>44</sup> Villa Albani 178 (in the third ground-floor room at the right of the external portico). Braun, *Ruinen und Museen Roms*, p. 686 note 75; Stark, *Niobe*, p. 175, 1; Roscher, *Lexikon*, s.v. Leto,

Langlotz attempted to identify it as a metope from the temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous, an identification which has since been generally accepted.<sup>45</sup> The interpretation as a metope seems in any case to be assured; along the top runs a characteristic projecting broad fascia.<sup>46</sup> The material, the late fifth-century style, and the subject would all be appropriate for a Rhamnountine origin, so that the demonstration must rest in the final analysis upon the dimensions and the explanation of the manner in which the relief might have been transported to Rome.

The subject of the relief, as has been recognized, is an episode of the slaughter of the Niobids. The youthful figure of Artemis stands at the left, moving rapidly forward with her head slightly turned toward the right, her left hand at the waist clenched on a bow which was of bronze (evidenced by a vertical hole through the hand with greenish stains above and below), and her right arm raised with the hand drawing an arrow from the quiver at her back.<sup>47</sup> At the right stands a more majestic figure, generally interpreted as Leto, facing forward with her left arm hanging down, her right raised to adjust the drapery on her right shoulder.<sup>48</sup> Since the front of the temple at Rhamnous had ten metopes, Langlotz restores two figures in each, twenty in all, these being Apollo and Niobe, the children of Niobe and their pedagogue, and the existing Artemis and Leto. As Schrader points out, there is here a mathematical error since Niobe had only fourteen children, so that he would have Apollo and Leto in one metope, Niobe and a child in the second, twelve more children, then the pedagogue with one child, and finally Artemis with the matronly figure interpreted as Nemesis. The last pages of the Langlotz article discuss these Niobid reliefs at Rhamnous as symbolic of the philosophy and politics of Pericles.

Two holes in the relief demand more detailed notice. One is at the point where, Langlotz says, "the right hand of Artemis is bored through for the metal bow."<sup>49</sup> This of course would be a physical impossibility, since with her right hand she is draw-

p. 1978, and *s.v.* Niobe, p. 405; Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, 3rd ed. 1912-13, II, pp. 437-438, no. 1889; Arndt-Amelung, *Einzelaufnahmen*, no. 3582.

<sup>45</sup> Langlotz, in *Scritti in onore di Bartolomeo Nogara*, 1937, pp. 225-230, pl. XXI. Picard, *Sculpture grecque*, II, 1939, pp. 541-542 (apparently with some doubt). Schrader, *Jahresh.*, XXXII, 1940, pp. 188-191, fig. 88. Kähler, *Das griechische Metopenbild*, 1949, pp. 69, 110-111, pl. 94. Dinsmoor, *Architecture of Ancient Greece*, 1950, p. 182. Plommer, *B.S.A.*, XLV, 1950, pp. 94 note 83, 95, 99-100. Schefold, *Robert Boehringer Festschrift*, 1957, pp. 554-559.

<sup>46</sup> Restored, a large triangle at the center of the top, and a smaller triangle at the upper left corner; but the original fascia is well preserved from just to the left of Leto's head to the right edge, and a little of the lower edge remains just to the left of the head of Artemis.

<sup>47</sup> Restored, the right foot (Langlotz calls it the left foot) of Artemis and a little of the drapery at the right of it; the nose broken off.

<sup>48</sup> Restored, the hanging left forearm of Leto from the elbow down, also her right foot; the nose broken off.

<sup>49</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 225 note 1.

ing an arrow from the quiver; as Helbig had said, the hole is in the left hand, and the stains as noted above show that the bow was of bronze.

The other hole appears just above the raised right hand of the figure presumably to be called Leto, and is centered 0.155 m. from the right edge of the marble (0.18 m. within the modern plaster moulded frame) and 0.08 m. below the top of the marble (0.03 m. below the fascia). This hole is not mentioned by Langlotz, though Helbig had said, "above it [the hand] a hole is bored in the background; its meaning remains unclear." Since in the photographs the hole seems rather prominent, I had inferred that it might have been bored through the background to receive a rope passed through the slab when it was lifted into place, on the analogy of the pairs of such holes in the sculptured frieze slabs from Bassae,<sup>50</sup> and the single holes in the sculptured metopes from the Argive Heraion and from a larger temple probably at Isthmia.<sup>61</sup> Being so far to the right, however, the hole in the Albani relief could not have been so employed unless there were a corresponding hole toward the left (as in the Bassae frieze slabs); but examination showed that there never was another hole toward the left, e.g. on one or the other side of the head of Artemis where enough of the original background is preserved to demonstrate its absence. Furthermore, examination after cleaning showed that the hole is not only too small for such a purpose (only 0.007 m. in diameter), but also that it penetrates the marble only to a depth of 0.005 m. instead of passing entirely through. It now appears that the upper edge of Leto's right hand was a separate patch of marble, set into a slightly concave cutting of which the upper edge is distinct against the background, and hooked on by a metal pin at the top, thus disposing of the rope-lifting possibility.

The method by which the slab reached the Villa Albani is assumed by Langlotz to have been the same as that which brought fragments of the Parthenon sculptures to the Vatican, that is, presumably through souvenir hunters of the eighteenth century or later.<sup>52</sup> This may well have been the case, if the slab did not come from Rhamnous. But on the assumption that the Rhamnountine identification was acceptable, there seemed to be a possibility that this metope was one of the ten hewn out from the original thick triglyph-metope blocks of the east front and carried off to Rome in the

<sup>50</sup> Dinsmoor, *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, IV, 1933, pp. 217-218, figs. 11-12, 16-17; *A.J.A.*, LX, 1956, p. 419, figs. 14-16. Cf. Kenner, *Der Fries des Tempels von Bassae-Phigalia*, 1946, pls. 1-23 (but repeating the old erroneous interpretation of the bored holes as "Klammerlöcher" intended for bolting the slabs to the background, p. 22).

<sup>51</sup> See *A.J.A.*, LX, 1956, p. 419 note 68, and also my article "A Greek Sculptured Metope in Rome," *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, pp. 304-315.

<sup>52</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 228. The Parthenon fragments in the Vatican, now in the room of the Apollo Belvedere, are the following: no. 1013, head from metope (Kaschnitz-Weinberg, *Sculture del Magazzino del Museo Vaticano*, no. 398, pl. LXXIII); no. 1014, from slab V of north frieze (*ibid.*, no. 399, pl. LXXIV); no. 1016, horse head from west pediment (*A.J.A.*, LII, 1948, p. 501, pl. XLVIII; Lullies, *Griechische Bildwerke in Rom*, 2nd ed., 1955, fig. 18)



reign of Claudius.<sup>53</sup> The thickness and condition of the back of the slab in the Villa Albani are unknown; at present it seems to be a comparatively thin slab, but this in itself, unless future examination should reveal Greek tooling rather than Roman chipping or sawing on the back, would not militate against a Rhamnountine origin.

The decision as to the sculptured metope must rest, however, upon the visible dimensions. These are given at one point by Langlotz as 0.56 m. in height and 0.66 m. in width<sup>54</sup> (agreeing with my measurements to the external edges of the moulded modern frame of plaster, surrounding the relief on all four edges, the mouldings averaging 0.043 m. in width), and elsewhere are calculated from a photograph as 0.55/0.56 m. in height and 0.58 m. in width for the marble relief itself. He concludes, "Kann es nun Zufall sein, dass diese Masze mit denen der Metopen des Nemesis-tempels in Rhamnus (H. und Br. 57, 4 cm.) übereinstimmen, wenn man annimmt, das beiderseits 1 cm zum Einfalzen unter die Triglyphen notwendig war? Kaum."<sup>55</sup> Unfortunately, however, the actual height of the marble slab within the plaster frame is only 0.473 m.; and, although the width within the plaster frame is 0.58 m., we must subtract a band of modern plaster 0.05 m. wide at the left and another band 0.025 m. wide at the right (the original edges of the marble being perceptible toward the bottom at these distances from the frame), so that the actual width of the slab is only 0.505 m. If it was a metope, moreover, we should allow also for the overlaps of the triglyphs on either side (perhaps 0.016 m.), the exposed surface thus being about 0.473 m. square. In other words, with reference to Riemann's dimensions for the metopes at Rhamnous, 0.574 m. in height and width (with which mine of 0.578 and 0.564/0.572 m. closely agree), the metope of the Villa Albani is 0.101 m. too small in either direction. It may be added that the top fascia in the Villa Albani relief is 0.051 m. high and 0.004 m. in projection, as contrasted with 0.0545 and 0.0125 m., respectively, in the perfectly finished examples at Rhamnous,<sup>56</sup> the projection in particular showing an impossible discrepancy. Such are the dangers of calculation from photographs.<sup>57</sup>

Because of the rejection of the Villa Albani metope there now remains no problem of reconciliation with the architecture of the temple. The original metopes actually brought from Rhamnous, 0.564/0.572 m. wide and 0.578 m. high, presumably lie still undiscovered beneath the streets or gardens of Rome. And the smaller building

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Dinsmoor, *Architecture of Ancient Greece*, p. 182.

<sup>54</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 225 note 1 (apparently derived from *Einzelaufnahmen* 3582, "Breite mit Rand 0.665 m., Höhe mit Rand 0.565 m.").

<sup>55</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 228 (the metope dimensions at Rhamnous measured for Langlotz by Riemann).

<sup>56</sup> This applies to the well finished examples on the flanks and west front, as contrasted with those on the east front with the fascia of 0.087 m. as described above.

<sup>57</sup> It is evident from Langlotz's calculations (*op. cit.*, p. 228 note 2) that he mistook the external dimensions of the plaster frame for the internal dimensions ("also ohne den Gipsrahmen"), the proportional enlargement of the marble relief, measuring 0.105 m. in width and 0.10 m. in height on *Einzelaufnahmen* 3582, thus being exaggerated.

from which came the Villa Albani metope, only 0.473 m. square, still awaits identification.

### MEMBRA REJECTA

After having laid so many ghostly phantoms at Rhamnous, it is fitting to speak of an unwanted ghost which is actually present. In other words, the quadrangular temple had a fifth corner geison block. This block now lies at a low level near the northeast corner, the lower bed being properly 0.692 m. square and the lateral joints prepared with anathyrosis bands except in the overhanging portions, where the joints are smooth without the roughly depressed inner surface. The bottom has no dowel holes, and the top is rough, the nosing of the crowning hawksbeak moulding being carried upward for 0.05 m. more than the proper height (0.257 rather than 0.207 m. above the bottom), showing that it was never set in place; part of the back still shows the rough surface with the slots for wooden wedges by which it was split off in the quarry. This unused geison block falls into a class which may be designated, on the analogy of Beazley's *membra disjecta* (pottery fragments scattered over the world),<sup>58</sup> as *membra rejecta* (architectural blocks buried below the earth or otherwise utilized to avoid embarrassment).

A precisely analogous case is the fifth corner anta capital at Bassae, which now lies prominently on the ground below the north façade of the temple (Pl. 32, c), slightly different in profile and with an unfinished top 0.06 m. above the proper crowning mouldings,<sup>59</sup> not employed during the modern reconstruction of the temple because all four of the actual anta capitals could be identified and restored to their places. Also at Bassae is the white limestone Ionic capital, excavated in fragments north of the temple in 1908 and at that time regarded as having been found and reburied by *The Society* in 1812 to avoid embarrassment;<sup>60</sup> it was presumably, in fact, buried in antiquity for a similar reason, being an abandoned preliminary version of the marble Ionic capitals, of appropriate dimensions but differing in material and design, never set in place and never finished on the top to support an epistyle. Likewise the well known complete Corinthian capital of the Tholos at Epidauros, unfinished on the face and top of the abacus in contrast to the fragmentary examples, appears to have been a superfluous preliminary model.<sup>61</sup> Superfluous marble Doric capitals, left unfinished, were incorporated in the foundations of the Hephaisteion at Athens, as well as extra step blocks.<sup>62</sup> A raking geison block of the Hekatompedon on the

<sup>58</sup> Beazley, *J.H.S.*, LI, 1931, pp. 39-56.

<sup>59</sup> Shoe, *Profiles of Greek Mouldings*, p. 121, pl. LVIII, 11.

<sup>60</sup> Rhomaïos, 'Αρχ. Έφ., 1914, pp. 58, 65-68, figs. 9-10, 12.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. the complete model capital (e.g. Defrasse and Lechat, *Épidaure*, 1895, p. 115) with one of the capitals restored from fragments (e.g. Robinson, *Hellenic History*, 4th ed. 1956, pl. 84).

<sup>62</sup> Dinsmoor, *Observations on the Hephaisteion*, pp. 122-125, figs. 53-55.

Athenian Acropolis lacks the customary ornament of lotus flower or flying bird on the soffit, the absence of ornament being explained by the architect's own handwriting at this very point, ΑΠΑΛΟΡΕ ΥΟ ("I forbid") twice repeated.<sup>63</sup> The block, in conformity with this injunction, was not only undecorated but was never used, and was recut for some later purpose; the lateral joint lacks the usual hollowing to diminish the weight characteristic of these geisa, and the inscription was scratched from the face inward parallel to the left joint, in a position which would have been inaccessible if it had been done after the block had been set in place. And again on the Acropolis, but no longer identifiable, were seven extra wall blocks prepared for the Erechtheion, as attested by the inventory of 409 B.C. in which it is stated that eleven regular four-foot wall blocks are lying on the ground, completely finished and ready for erection on the southwest corner of the temple, where only four were actually required.<sup>64</sup> Probably these seven wall blocks were subsequently cut up for other purposes, since they are no longer to be seen. In short, we may infer that in addition to preliminary models or trial pieces, the contractors frequently supplied extra blocks by error, usually left unfinished, and disposed of them by the process of burial or by incorporating them in foundations.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Acr. Mus. 4567; Wiegand, *Archaische Poros-Architektur*, p. 112, fig. 116; Heberdey, *Altattische Porosskulptur*, pp. 135, 142-143, fig. 152 (the inscription not included in *I.G.*). Heberdey had suggested that the block was actually used, located near one extremity of a pediment and at no great height above the horizontal geison, so that the absence of decoration would be concealed above the pediment sculpture. But other pieces show that the incised and painted patterns on the geison soffit were continued to the outermost extremities.

<sup>64</sup> Caskey, in Paton and Stevens, *The Erechtheum*, p. 286 (II col. i, lines 10-12), p. 290 (II col. i, lines 95-98), pp. 303 (fig. 180), 308.

<sup>65</sup> During reading of the proof at the temple site, it was noteworthy that clearing of the area by the Greek authorities in 1960 had removed the heavy brush which had hampered earlier studies, and that great progress had been made in cementing together the fragments of column drums, epistyles, etc. A third but small piece of the epistyle of the porches, with the heavier mouldings, appeared north of the temple. The fragmentary inscribed central epistyle (Fig. 2) has now been cemented together; but a small sliver with *is*, *σio*, and *vr* near the left ends of the last three lines is still missing. A fourth Roman triglyph-metope block (P) of the east front, with the characteristic great lewis hole in the top and again with the triglyph at the right, helping to demonstrate the uniform jointing of these pieces, has appeared near the southeast corner of the temple. When the original Greek southeast corner frieze block (A = 13, Fig. 3) was adjoined by the Roman block (1) of the east front, the Greek T-clamp 0.195 m. behind the face of the east corner triglyph was presumably reused.

RHAMNOUS, May 14, 1961.





I 1



R 1



K 2



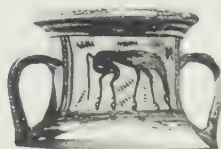
I 2



P 21800 under I 2



P 2



M 2



P 3



L 1



Q 1



L 6



O 3



O 4



N 1



M 3



N 2



N 3



R 3



M 1



P 1



R 2



O 2

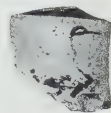
O 1



L 2



K 1



L 3



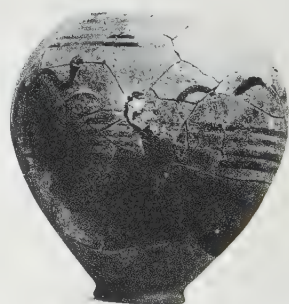
I 4



N 6



L 8



L 9



P 5



I 8



I 7



J 2



L 10



from L 3



L 7



I 6



Q 4



P 10



Q 7

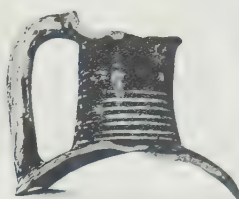




O 7



N 8



N 9



L 11



Q 3



P 6



P 7



N 7



from P 7



P 8



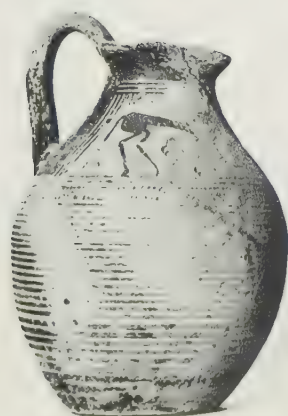
K 3



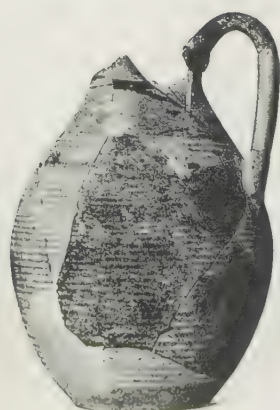
K 4



I 9



R 5



M 4

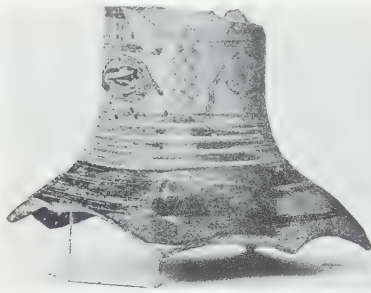


N 12

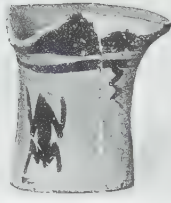


L 12

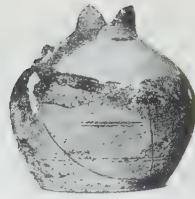




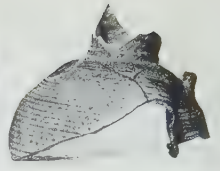
I 11



I 12



L 15



M 5



Q 5



O 8



L 13



L 14



J 3



R 8



N 13



N 11



I 10



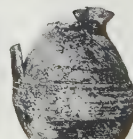
R 7



Q 6



R 6



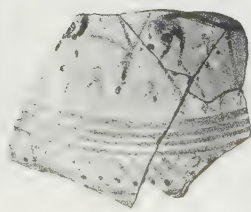
M 6



O 9



I 13



L 16



L 20



P 9



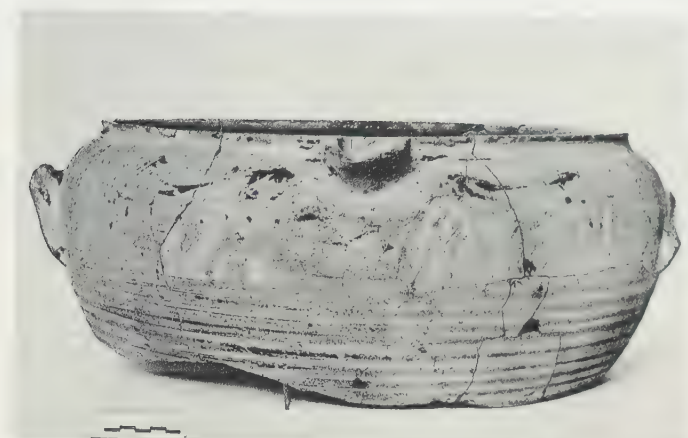
I 17



I 18

P 16

O 16



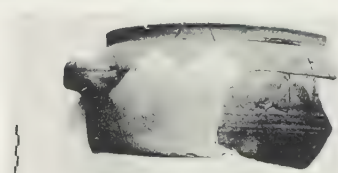
M 7



K 5



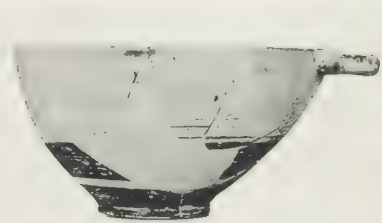
P 12



I 21



L 23



P 15

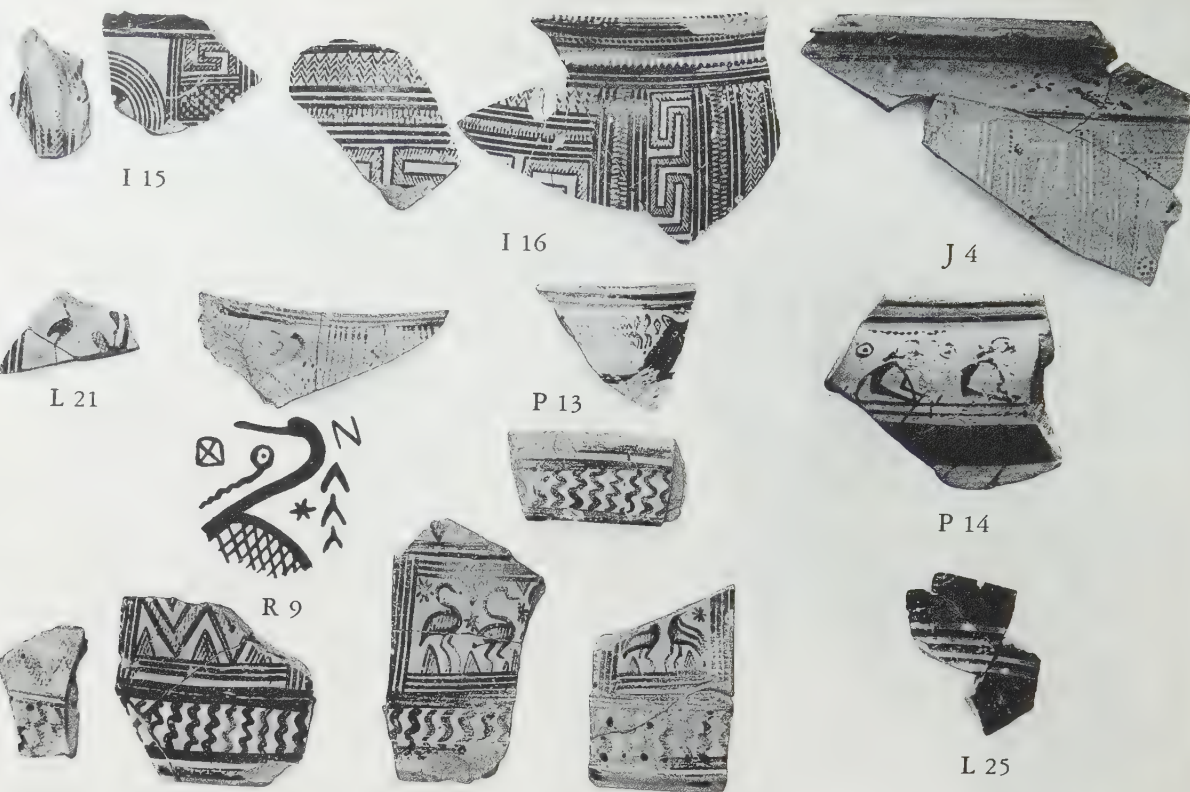


I 20

I 19

O 11





O 10



I 22



I 46



I 24



L 22



Q 8



L 24



O 12



O 14





I 26



I 27



I 28



I 29



O 17



O 18



I 32



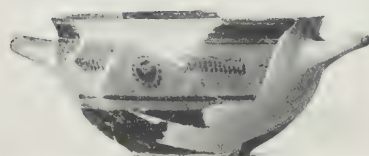
I 33



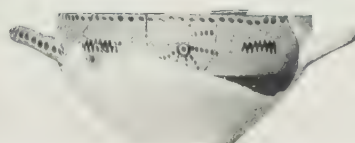
I 35



I 36



I 38



I 39



I 40



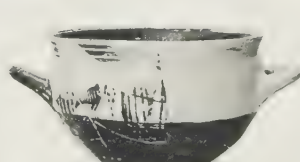
I 41



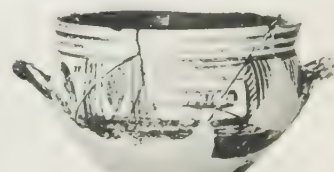
O 19



O 20



O 21



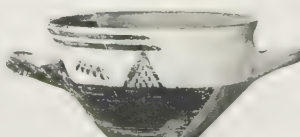
O 22



I 42



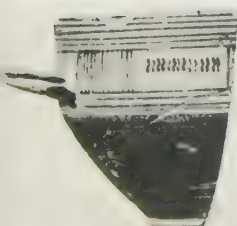
L 26



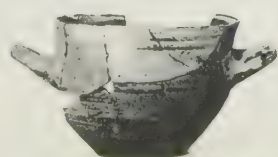
L 27



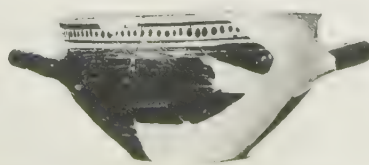
O 23



R 12



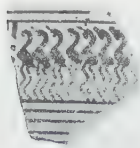
M 9



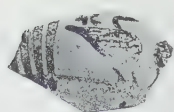
O 24



O 25



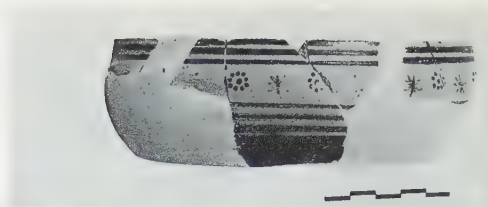
P 17



L 32



I 45



I 43



L 33



L 34



L 34 outside



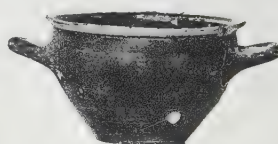
I 44



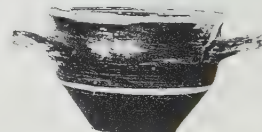
L 28



O 26



L 29



M 8



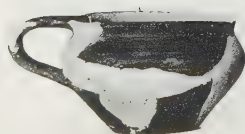
I 49



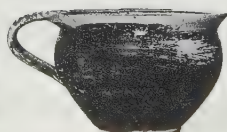
O 28



I 50



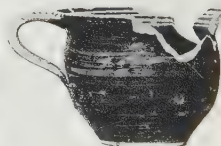
I 51



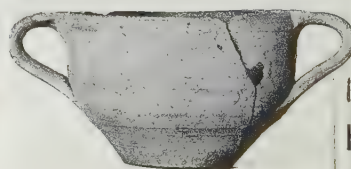
M 11



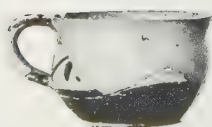
O 29



N 16



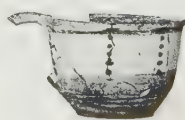
M 10



O 30



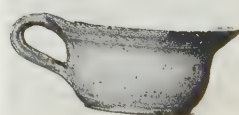
O 32



R 14

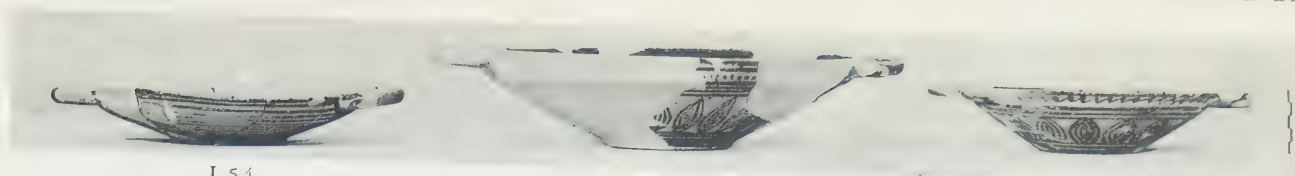


R 15



R 16





I 54

O 33

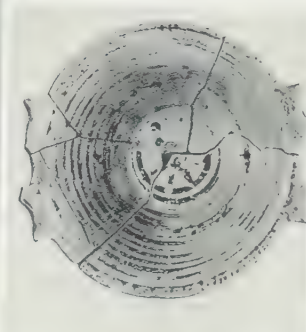
O 34



I 56



O 33

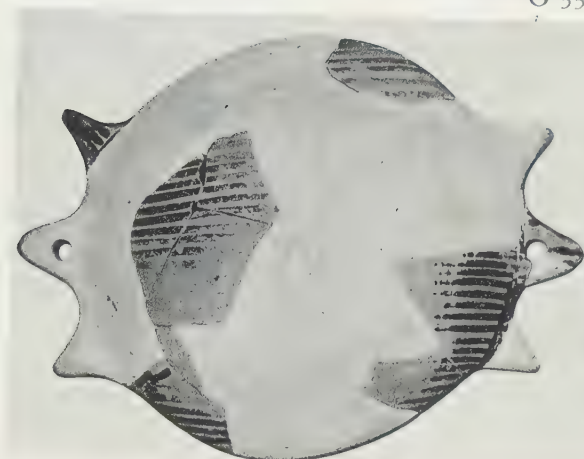


R 18

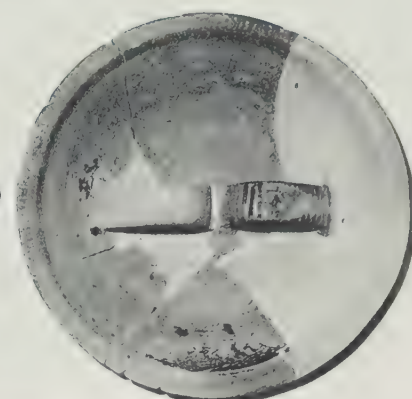


P 20

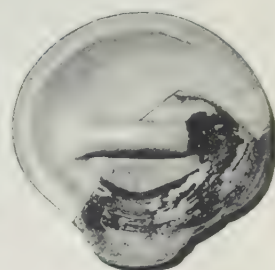
L 40



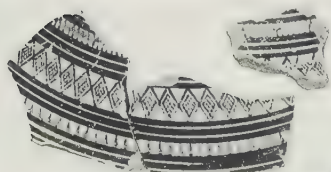
I 57



I 65



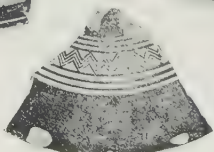
O 36



I 63



O 37



I 58



I 62



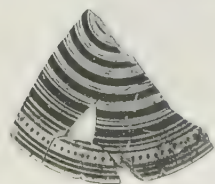
I 60



I 61



I 59



L 41

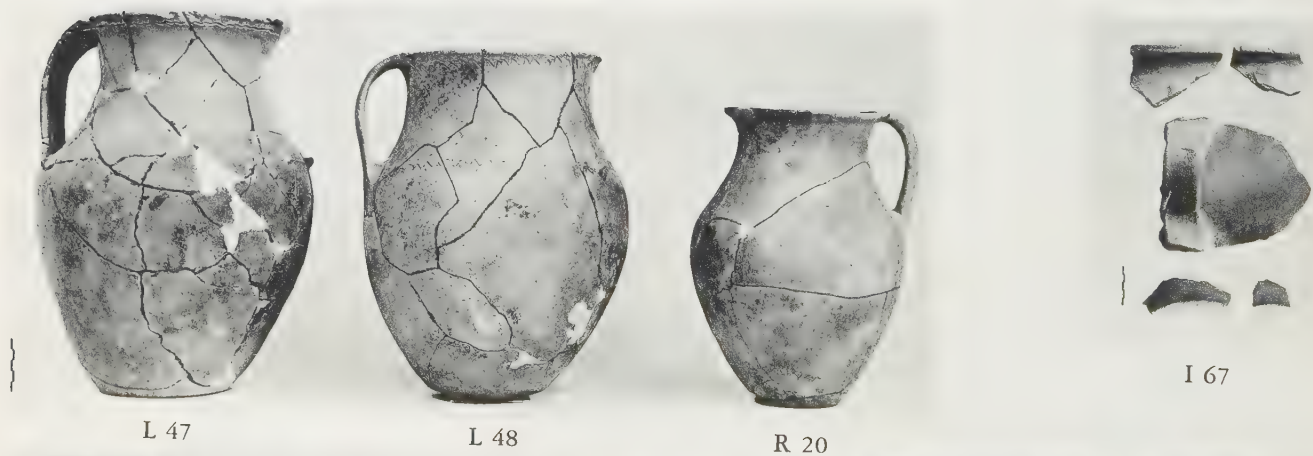
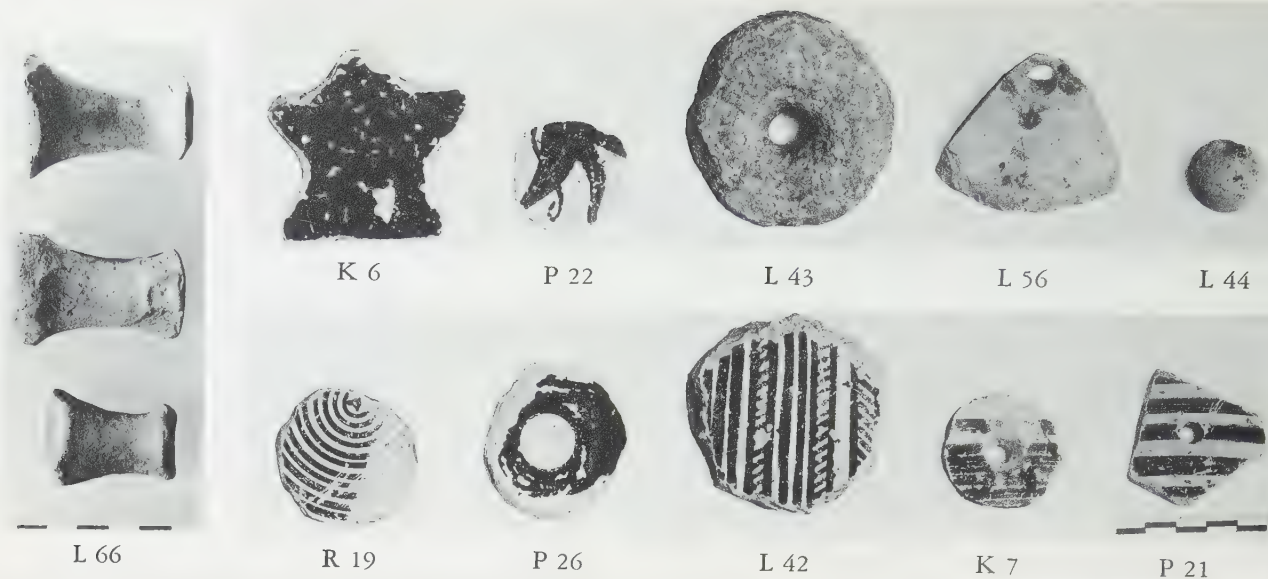


I 66



I 64



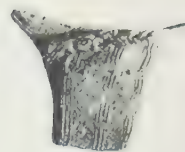




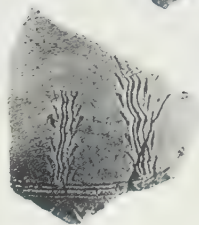
I 55



O 39



L 54



L 53



P 27



L 49



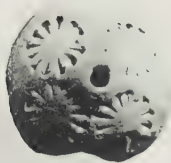
J 6



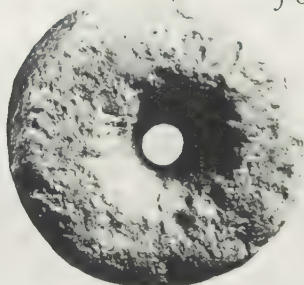
R 23



I 74



L 61



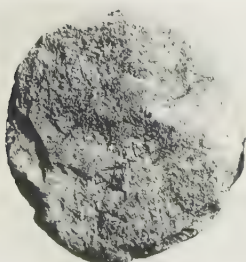
L 65



L 57



P 34



P 32



I 75



R 24



P 28 K 10



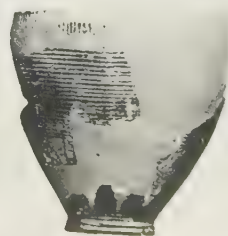
R 22



P 35



P 36



R 26



R 22 (bottom)





1



4



3



34



5





6

8

7

11



9



23



17



19



16

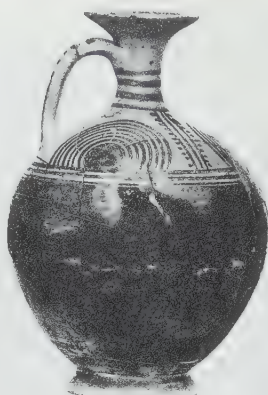
14

13

15



30



26



32



12 Scale 2:5



22

Scale 2:5



33



25 Scale 2:5



38



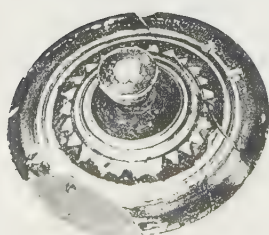
39



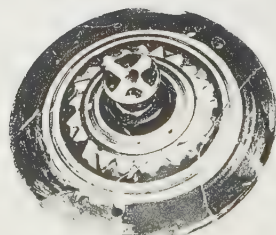
40



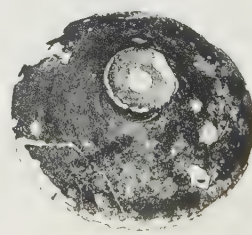
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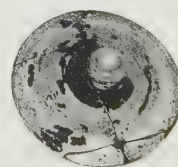
38



39

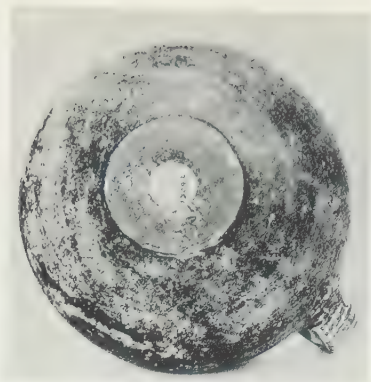


40



37





43 Scale 3:10



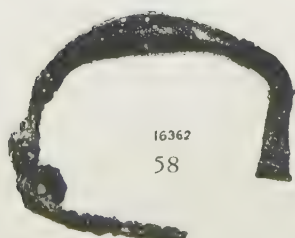
45



46



Kerameikos Inv. 609, T 26



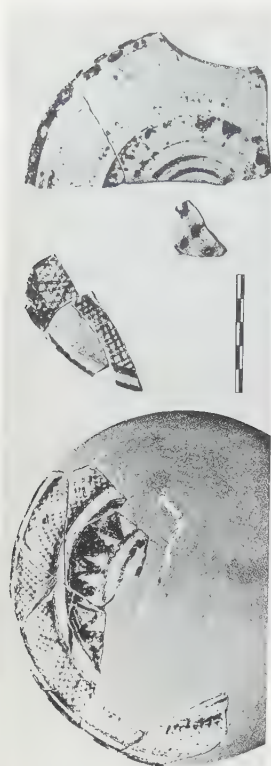
16362  
58



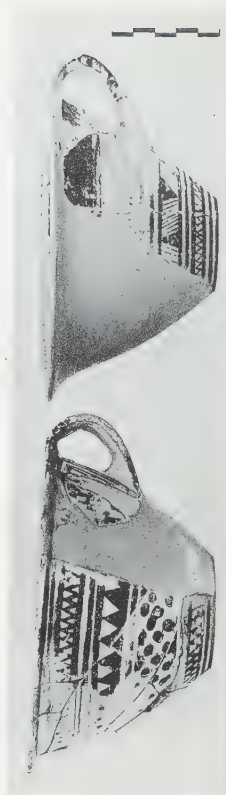
16362.  
59

Scale 2:5





36



49

50



49

50

Bottoms



51



35

35, Side



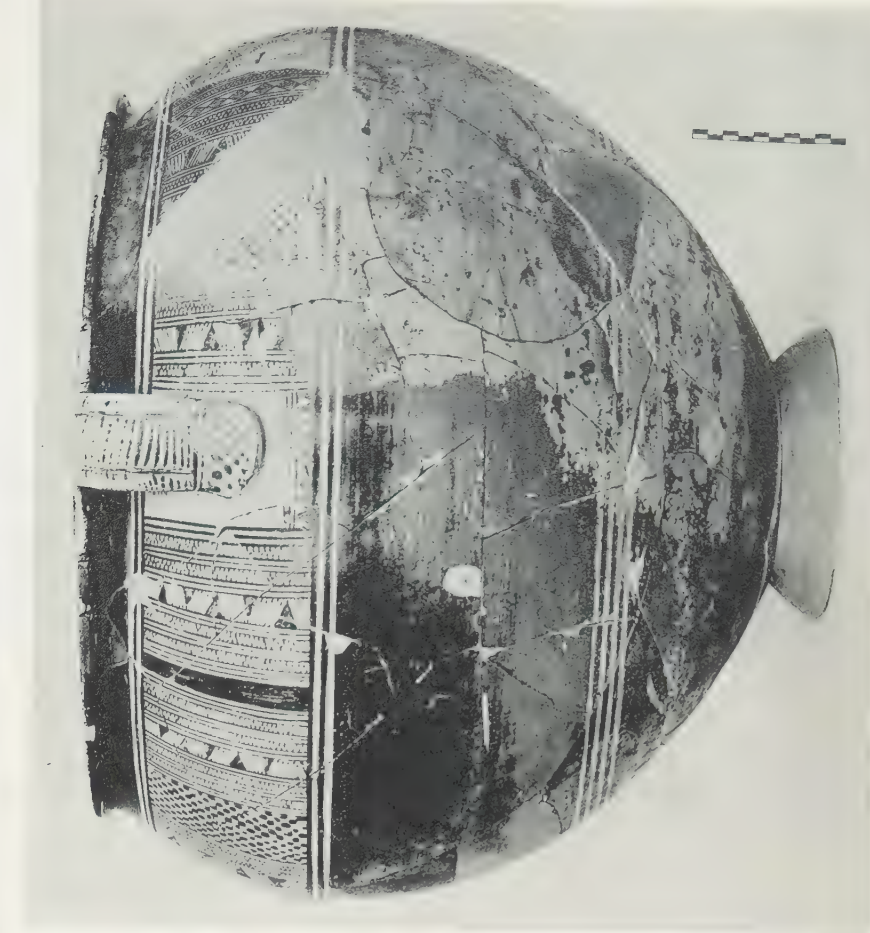
42

42, End





48, Face B



48, Side



48, Face A

EVELYN LORD SMITHSON: THE PROTOGEOMETRIC CEMETERY AT NEA IONIA, 1949





a 18117

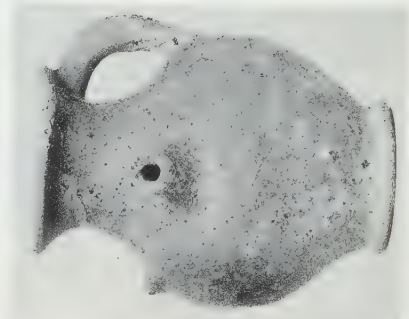
b

18173

55 Scale 1:2



52 Scale 1:2



53 Scale 1:2



Agora P 6695. Scale 1:2

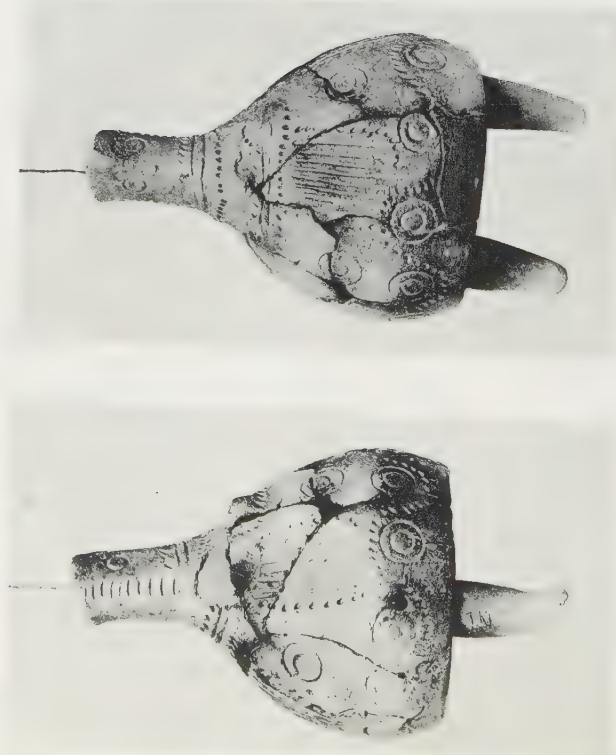


56, a

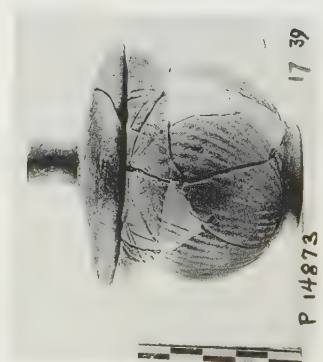
56, b

56, c

56, d



54 Scale 1:2



17 39

P 14873

Agora P 14873, Submycenaean





Inv. 2165



Inv. 2163



Inv. 2164



Inv. 2166



Inv. 2162



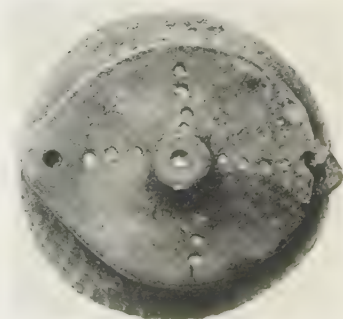
Inv. 2161



Inv. 2167 Scale 2:5



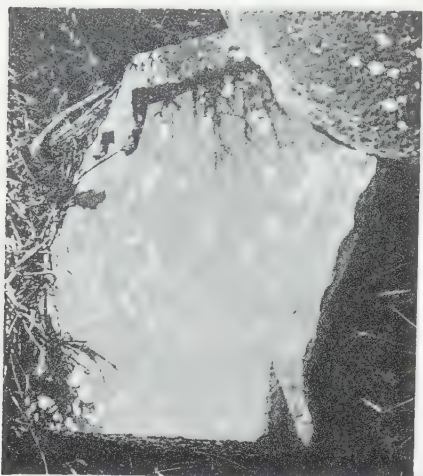
Inv. 2168 Scale 1:2



Kerameikos Submycenaean Grave 113

EVELYN LORD SMITHSON: THE PROTOGEOMETRIC CEMETERY AT NEA IONIA, 1949





a. Epistyle Block of Pronaos with Larger Mouldings.



b. Roman Triglyph-Metope Block of East Front.



c. Rejected Fifth Anta Capital of the Temple at Bassai.



d. Sculptured Greek Metope in the Villa Albani.

## GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

(PLATES 33-61)

EARLIER this year there were published (above, pp. 8-29, 58-91) several special studies of inscriptions found in the Agora of Athens. This report carries on the systematic exploration of the epigraphical inventory, after the fashion of last year's report (*Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, pp. 1-86) and offers a preliminary publication of further new material.

1 (Plates 33-34). Part of a large column of Hymettian marble, found on October 30, 1935, standing in the east end of the Church of Παναγία Βλασσαροῦ (K 11), where the altar rested upon it.

Height, 1.49 m.; diameter at the top, 0.47 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m. (A), 0.032 m. (B) in line 1 and 0.022 m.—0.026 m. in lines 2-3.

Inv. No. I 3205.

This monument has been most recently published as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6153. On Face A there is a much battered relief showing a youth standing between two columns which support a pediment. In the pediment are still some of the letters (most have been broken away) of the inscription now published as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6153A. Those preserved are here underlined :

### FACE A

*saec.* III *p.*

τόπος

Αὐρ Στράτωνος Εὐπυρίδου παραδόξου

Αὐρ Στράτων κείται ἐτῶν δύο

On the other side of the column is the text of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6153B.

### FACE B

*saec.* III *p.*

Μαρ Αὐρ Στράτωνος

τοῦ Μενέσθεως Εὐ

πυρίδου παραδόξου

These inscriptions have been known to earlier editors from the notes of Fourmont



and Fauvel, though Boeckh (*C.I.G.*, 632) also had a transcript of Face A from Bekker. The monument has suffered since these early days, for the drawings show also a representation of a youth reclining on a couch at a funeral banquet. This representation was on the same side of the column with the inscription of Face A, and above it; and at the very top was shown the usual ring which is characteristic of a columnar grave monument. The complete picture is given in Fourmont's drawing now preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, which I reproduce here in Plate 33.<sup>1</sup> The question arises of how much of this drawing we are to believe. A. Conze, with a feeling that the inscription on each face should have had its sculptural accompaniment, wished to attribute the standing boy to Face B and the scene with the funeral couch to Face A.<sup>2</sup>

With the rediscovered stone now before us, we see without question the association of the standing boy with Face A. On the stone as preserved there is no trace whatever of the relief with the funeral couch, either on Face A or on Face B. Nor does there seem ever to have been room for it.

The stone is much larger than a normal columella and shows signs of having been once part of a column. The upper edge of the drum, if such it was, is broken away all around (see the photographs, Plate 33), so that the bearing surface at the outside which may once have carried an upper drum is lost; but the top surface within the circumference is preserved, rough-picked, in the style of typical anathyrosis. In the center of the top, where an empolion, perhaps, was once inserted, is now a hole 0.125 m. deep and 0.14 m. across, not quite equidistant from the sides of the column. It is rough-picked, as would be natural if an empolion had been chiseled out. There was never a ring around the top of this stone as now preserved, as in a columella, for even the inside of the frame around the text of Face B comes within 0.065 m. of the top, leaving insufficient room for any adornment of this kind. And the sunken panels on both faces are complete on the column as it stands. So, unless Fourmont derived the scene with the couch from some other marble, it must have been above that part which is now preserved. I assume this to have been the case and believe the better representation to have been in Fourmont's original drawing, also preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, which I reproduce here on Plate 34.<sup>3</sup> This has the more nearly correct delineation, and it gives certain details: "Chez anargyros Zeugari sur une

<sup>1</sup> Ms. Suppl. Gr. 854, fol. 341 verso. The reproduction is made by the kind permission of the authorities of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

<sup>2</sup> He was led to suggest this partly because Fauvel's drawings seem to associate the standing boy more closely with the text of B than of A (Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Suppl. Gr., 560, fol. 16, and Cabinet des Médailles, GB 15c, petit folio, fol. 10), though Fauvel described them in his notes as on opposite sides of the column (cf. A. Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, No. 1829). It is to be noted that Fauvel had perfect copies of both inscriptions.

<sup>3</sup> Ms. Suppl. Gr. 854, fol. 38 verso. The reproduction is made with the kind permission of the authorities of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

grande colonne," and then the single word "Enfant" above the figure on the couch. At the bottom of the page is the note: "de l'autre costé est une Inscription de la même colonne," and in fact overleaf Fourmont records the text of Face B.

It is of interest in this "original" sketch that the column above the infant on the couch is shown as irregularly broken. There is no ring, and no original top; these were added refinements which Fourmont apparently introduced into his later drawing to make it look like a columella. The extent to which misrepresentation could go is shown by the imaginative drawing published by the Comte de Caylus, *Recueil d'Antiquités*, VI, Paris, 1764, plate LIX, fig. II. Conze says that he searched in vain among Fourmont's papers for the prototype of de Caylus's drawing. In my judgment, the prototype is Fourmont's second embellished drawing.

Kirchner (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6153) identified Straton, son of Menestheus of Eupyridai, as the ephebos of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2199, line 87: Στράτων Μενέσθεως (Λεωντίδος), a text which J. A. Notopoulos now dates in A.D. 207/8.<sup>4</sup> The sculptured reliefs were for his son, who died at the age of two. For παράδοξος as a title given to distinguished athletes, musicians, and artists generally, see Liddell-Scott, *Lexicon*, s.v.

It is not known when the lower part of the column came to be used as support for the altar in the Church of Παναγία Βλασσαροῦ. It furnished all the height that was needed and the upper part was not used. This presupposes that the upper surface of the present piece is not ancient, in spite of the seeming evidence for anathyrosis and for an empolion. If the sketch as made by Fourmont belongs all on one shaft of a marble column, broken at the top, then the top surface of the present monument is not the top of a column drum; it represents modern cutting, and the loss of the outer edge at the top all the way around is to be attributed to the cutting of the column shaft in two in order to make the lower part of it of the right height for use in the church. As a result of this cutting down of the original shaft the scene with the boy on the funeral couch has been lost.

2 (Plate 35). Part of a stele of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, but with the rough-picked back preserved, found in the wall of a modern cellar west of the Panathenaic Way and west of the Eleusinion (Q 19) on February 28, 1938.

Height, 0.192 m.; width, 0.181 m.; thickness, 0.125 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 5272.

<sup>4</sup> *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 53.

## AN EMBASSY FROM MACEDONIA

a. 359/8 a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 22-26

[-----] ΟΙΞ[-----]  
 [----- εὖν]οιαν· [ἐπαινέσαι]  
 [δὲ καὶ τοῦ]ς π[ρέ]σβε[ις αὐτοῦ]  
 [καὶ στε]φανῶσαι θαλ[λοῦ στεφά]  
 5 [νωι ἐπει]δὴ καὶ κοινεῖ [καὶ ἰδία]  
 [ἀποφαίνουσ]ιν τῇ[ν] εὖ[νοιαν τῇν]  
 [τοῦ βασιλέως τ]ῶν Μακ[εδόνων . .]  
 [-----ca. 16-----] Ε[-----]

The connection with Macedonia depends on the supplement to be made in line 7, where the letters **MAK** almost certainly belong to an ethnic. Since ambassadors are named in line 3, the inference is that the decree praises an embassy from Macedonia. Yet this praise of the embassy is secondary to the main purpose of the decree, which must have been expressed above line 2. That party from whom the embassy had come was first praised, at least for goodwill (line 2) toward the Athenians. Surely this was Philip, king of the Macedonians, and I restore, in consequence, *αὐτοῦ* rather than *αὐτῶν* (i. e., Macedonians generally) in line 3 and hold that the delivery of the message of his goodwill was the occasion for the additional praise of the embassy (lines 6-7).

The writing of the inscription is very much like that of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 110 (363/2 B.C.), and this may serve as an approximate guide to the date. An appropriate occasion might well be sought during the early months after the accession of Philip II in 359 B.C., when he acknowledged the title of Athens to Amphipolis and is known to have sent just such an embassy to Athens,<sup>5</sup> before the era of strained relations which soon developed. The principal references to the embassy are in Demosthenes, *Against Aristokrates* (121): *πέμψας δὲ γράμματ' ἐπηγγέλλετο ἔτοιμος εἶναι συμμαχίαν ποιέεισθαι καὶ τὴν πατρικὴν φιλίαν ἀνανεοῦσθαι*, and in Diodoros, XVI, 4, 1: *ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησιν Εὐχαρίστον* (359/8) — — — *ὁ Φίλιππος πρέσβεις ἐκπέμψας εἰς Ἀθήνας ἔπεισε τὸν δῆμον εἰρήνην πρὸς αὐτὸν συνθέσθαι* — —.

3 (Plate 35). Two joining fragments of a stele of Pentelic marble, with the right side and possibly the back preserved, found in the latest repair of the Late Roman Fortification Wall (T 27), opposite the western passage to Klepsydra, on May 23, 1938.

<sup>5</sup> See A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *Demosthenes*, 1914, pp. 154-155; G. Glotz and R. Cohen, *Histoire Grecque*, III, 1936, pp. 228-229; Paul Cloché, *Un fondateur d'empire: Philippe II, roi de Macédoine*, 1955, p. 50.



Height, 0.29 m.; width, 0.155 m.; thickness, 0.039 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.-0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 5464.

The writing is stoichedon, with a square checker pattern in which the units measure 0.013 m.

*post med. saec. IV a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 27

[ . . . . .<sup>10</sup> . . . . . τοὺς προέδρους ] οἱ ἄ[ ν ]  
 [ εἰς τὴν πρώτην προεδρεύωσ ]ιν ἐκκ  
 [ λησίαν προσαγαγεῖν . . . . ]μαχον π  
 [ ρὸς τὸν δῆμον καὶ χρηματί ]σαι, γνῶ  
 5 [ μην δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι τῆς ] βουλῆς ε  
 [ ἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι δοκεῖ τ ]εῖ βουλευῖ  
 [ εἶναι . . . . μαχον . . . . κ ]ράτους Ἄλ  
 [ . . . . . πρόξενον τοῦ δή ]μου τοῦ Ἀθ  
 [ ηναίων καὶ αὐτόν τε καὶ ὑ ]οὺς, καὶ [ ἐ ]  
 10 [ πιμελεῖσθαι αὐτῶν τοὺς σ ]τ[ ρατηγ ]  
 [ οὺς καὶ τὴν βουλὴν τὴν αἰ ]β[ ουλε ]ύ  
 [ ουσαν ὅπως ἂν μηδ' ὑφ' ἐνὸς ἄ ]δικῶν[ τ ]  
 [ αὐ' ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψή ]φισμα [ ἐ ]  
 [ ν στήλει λιθίνει τὸν γρα ]μματεία  
 15 [ τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν κα ]ὶ στήσαι [ ἐ ]  
 [ ν ἀκροπόλει· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἄ ]ναγραφὴν[ ν ]  
 [ τῆς στήλης δοῦναι τὸν τ ]αμίαν [ τοῦ ]  
 [ δήμου ΔΔΔ ἐκ τῶν κατὰ ψη ]φίσ[ ματα ἄ ]  
 [ ναλISCOμένων τῶι δήμῳ vacat ]

For the spelling [γρα]μματεία (instead of [γρα]μματέα) in line 14, see Meisterhans-Schwyzler, *Grammatik*<sup>3</sup>, p. 45. The same spelling was used in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 226, line 19, where, however, the iota was, with indifferent success, later erased. In the same inscription εἰάν (line 10) was apparently written instead of εἰάν; here the iota was later erased with better success.

In line 2 the letters at the end of the line are quite clear; one cannot, without assuming an error, restore the normal phraseology οἱ ἄ[ ν προεδρεύωσιν εἰς τὴν πρώτ] <η>ν ἐκκ[ λησίαν]. In line 9 the normal formula calls for [αὐτόν καὶ ἐκγόν]ους, which is too short by one letter for the space available. In line 18 the numeral has been restored to fill the available space, but numerals frequently are set off in violation of the stoichedon order, and the correct restoration may be with twenty, rather than with thirty, drachmai.

The name of the man honored in this decree is only partly preserved (lines 3

and 7-8). And in lines 7-8 it is not clear whether the patronymic ended in *-ou* or in *-ous* with the ethnic beginning, in consequence, in *Σαλ-* or *Αλ-*. In either case it is difficult to find a thoroughly convincing supplement. Diodoros (XVIII, 11) names the *Ἀλνζαῖοι* among the adherents to the alliance formed by Athens against Macedonia and Antipater in 323 B.C., and it may be that the ethnic *Ἀλ[νζαῖον]* should be restored.

4 (Plate 35). Fragment of Pentelic marble, with the right side (much battered) and the rough-picked back preserved, found in the wall of a late cistern on the north slope of the Acropolis (T 24) on May 30, 1938.

Height, 0.154 m.; width, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.091 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.-0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 5488.

*fin. saec. IV a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 35(?)

[-----] ΣΙΚΕ [..]  
 [-----]ι ἐν τῶι [.]  
 [-----]νεις ἀνει  
 [-----]ΟΕΝΤ[....]  
 5 [-----]ἐπαι]νέσαι Ο[..  
 [-----]ίονα Μενο  
 [-----<sup>18</sup>-----]καὶ στεφανῶ]σαι χρυσ  
 [ὦι στεφάνωι ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν ἀπὸ χιλίων δ]ραχμῶν κατὰ τ[ὸ]ν  
 [νόμον· ἀναγράφαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς]τήλην λ  
 10 [ιθίνην καὶ στῆσαι ἐν ἀκροπόλει· εἰς δὲ] τὴν ἀ  
 [ναγραφὴν -----]

In lines 8-9 the words ἀπὸ χιλίων δραχμῶν κατὰ τὸν νόμον were much crowded, and (so far as preserved) were written in an erasure.

5 (Plate 35). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found in a modern context west of the Panathenaic Way and west of the Eleusinion (R 18) on February 3, 1938.

Height, 0.104 m.; width, 0.101 m.; thickness, 0.041 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 5174.

*fin. saec. IV a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 44

[-----]γράφασθαι φυλῆς καὶ δῆ]  
 [μον καὶ φρατρίας ἥς] ἀν β[ούληται πλὴν ὧν οἱ νόμοι ἀπαγο]  
 [ρεύουσιν· εἶναι δὲ] καὶ πρ[οεδρίαν αὐτῶι ἐν ᾧπασιν τοῖς]

[ἀγῶσιν οὗς ἂν ἡ πόλις] τιθ[έει· καὶ τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα τὸν ἀε]  
 5 [ἰ καθιστάμενον κατ] ανέμ[ειν αὐτῶι τὴν θέαν οὗ ἂν ----]  
 [.....<sup>17</sup>.....] ! [-----]

For the restorations, see, for example, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, Part IV, 1, pp. 55-56, ss. *vv.* πολιτεία, προεδρία.

**6** (Plate 35). Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble, with the original rough-picked back preserved but broken on all sides, found in a context of Roman date on the north slope of the Acropolis on March 14, 1939.

Height, 0.21 m.; width, 0.185 m.; thickness, 0.095 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.-0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 5723.

ca. a. 285/4-283/2 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[----- . . .<sup>5</sup> . . .] επι[-----]  
 |----- . . .] ωι λαμ|-----|  
 [----- . . .] το τῶι [-----]  
 [----- . . .] εμει[ . . .] μο[-----]  
 5 [----- . . .] τὸν Πει[ρ]αιᾶ α[-----]  
 [----- κ]ομίσσεται ὁ δῆ[μος] -----  
 [----- τ]άσας τὰς εὐε[ργεσίας] -----  
 [----- . ἔ]ποίησατο ὁ δῆ[μος] -----

The writing is stoichedon with a square checker pattern in which the units measure ca. 0.012 m.

Lines 5-6 should be read in the light of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 657, a decree in praise of the poet Philippides which was passed in the archonship of Euthios (283/2).<sup>6</sup> Part of the zeal which Philippides displayed toward the Athenians was directed to the recovery of the Peiraeus (lines 34-36): ὅπως ἂν διαμένει ὁ δῆμος ἐλεύθερος ὦν καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ κομίσσεται καὶ τὰ φρούρια τὴν ταχίστην. King Audoleon of the Paionians had promised two years earlier that he would exert his influence to the same end (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 654, lines 30-35): ἐπ[α]νγέλλεται δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν[ν] παρέξεσθαι χρείας συνεργῶν [ε]ἴς τε τὴν τοῦ Πειραιέως κομίδ[η]ν καὶ τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἐλευθερί[α]ν.

The city had been liberated from Macedonia before the seventh prytany of the archonship of Diotimos (285/4).<sup>7</sup> The siege of Athens in the following year was raised by the intervention of Pyrrhos, with whom the Macedonians came to terms.

<sup>6</sup> For the date see Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 314.

<sup>7</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 653, lines 20-24.



But the Peiraeus, for a brief time Eleusis, and the forts of Phyle and Panakton remained in Macedonian hands.<sup>8</sup>

7 (Plate 36). Part of a stele of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found during the demolition of houses at the north foot of the Areopagus on February 20, 1939.

Height, 0.17 m.; width, 0.39 m.; thickness, 0.17 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 5657.

*init. saec. III a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 107(?)

- [.....<sup>22</sup>.....] προβ[ού]λευμα [-----]  
 [.. χρηματίσαι πε]ρὶ τούτων, γνώμην δὲ ξυμβάλλ[εσθαι τῆς  
 βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι δοκεῖ τῇ βουλῇ  
 Ἀθηναῖον εἶναι .....<sup>ca. 10</sup>...ισθέν]  
 [ου Σικυνώνιον κα]ὶ γράψασθ[αι] φυλῆς [κ]αὶ δῆμον κα[ὶ  
 φρατρίας ἧς ἂν βούληται -----]  
 [.....<sup>18</sup>.....] ΑΙ [.....<sup>5</sup>...] ΣΙ [.....<sup>6</sup>... π]ρυτανε[-----]  
 5 [.....]ς [ἐν τῷ ψη]φίσματι αἰ[-----]  
 ----- τοὺς δὲ θεσμοθέτας εἰσαγαγ]  
 [εἶν] αὐτῷ τῇ[ν] δ[ο]κιμ[ασί]αν [τῆς δωρε]ᾶς κατὰ τὸ[ν  
 νόμον -----]  
 [.....<sup>5</sup>...] μὲν δωρεᾶς <sup>v</sup> τὸν γραμματέ[α τ]ο[ῦ] δ[ήμ]ου ἀν[αγράψαι  
 τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ στήσαι ἐν ἀκροπόλει  
 τὸ δὲ γενόμενον ἀν]  
 [άλωμα] εἰς τὴν στήλῃν καὶ τὴν ἀναγ[ρα]φὴν μερί[σαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ  
 διοικήσει ----- εἶπεν· περὶ μὲν τῆς δωρεᾶς ἧς .....<sup>6</sup>...]  
 [.....]ισθένου Σικυνώνιος αἰτεῖ [δεδοχθαι τῷ δήμῳ πάντα τὰ ἄλλα  
 πράττειν -----]  
 10 [.....]ον τοῦ τε πάππου καὶ τοῦ π[ατ]ρὸς ΗΜΩ[-----]  
 [.....<sup>5</sup>...] α τῶν αἰρουμένων <sup>v</sup> [-----]  
 [.....<sup>8</sup>...] αντας ὁμοίως τοῖς τ[-----]  
 [.....<sup>12</sup>.....]ίκαια [.]νει[-----]

The name of the Sikyonian honored in this inscription is not preserved; only part of his patronymic appears with the ethnic in line 9. There is no reasonable identification, so far as I can see, with any known Sikyonian given in Skalet's prosopography.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> See W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 144-150; J. Kirchner, commentary on *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 653. The dates are determined by the inscriptions cited. But the history of these years must be again studied in the light of our new knowledge of the chronology of the epigraphical texts.

<sup>9</sup> Charles H. Skalet, *Ancient Sicyon with a Prosopographia Sicyonia*, Baltimore, 1928.

The stele was unusually wide, for the restorations in lines 2 and 7 indicate a line of approximately 107 letters. The writing was stoichedon, with a checker pattern in which the units measure 0.01 m. horizontally by 0.0116 m. vertically. For the restoration of line 6, see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 654, line 53; the restoration of the amendment in lines 8-9 has been suggested by *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 682, lines 92-95.

8 (Plate 36). Fragment from the upper left corner of a stele of Pentelic marble, with mouldings above the inscribed face but broken at the back, found on October 17, 1938, in the wall of a modern house southeast of the Market Square (S 21).

Height, 0.156 m.; width, 0.19 m.; thickness, 0.10 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 5592.

a. 269/8 a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[ἐπ]ὶ Φιλίνου ἄρχοντος [-----]  
 [. . . εἰ]πεν· ἐπειδὴ [-----κατα]  
 [στα]θ[έν]τες ἐν [-----]  
 [-----]ι[-----]

The archon Philinos has been most recently dated in 210/09 B.C.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, this date, or a date somewhere in the latter part of the third century, may well be called traditional. But the only evidence has been the style of writing and the shapes of the letters in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1304*b* (Addenda), a text which names the archon Philinos, and which Philinos, in his initial publication, attributed to the years “περὶ τὸ τέλος τοῦ 3<sup>ου</sup> π. X. αἰῶνος.”<sup>11</sup> The lettering has been better described by Kirchner (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1304*b*) as “Litt. volg. s. III.” This judgment carries great weight, not only because Kirchner had the benefit of a squeeze, but because of his unrivaled knowledge of the letter-forms of Attic inscriptions.

Now we have the additional evidence of the new Agora text, in which the character of the writing is definitely mid-century. Comparison of the letter phi, in particular, with the letter phi in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 772, shows a date near the middle of the century, or earlier. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 772, is illustrated in Kirchner's *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum*<sup>2</sup>, Plate 35, No. 82, and Kirchner in his commentary describes the phi as “eckig, kastenförmig (Z. 3; so Mitte des 3. Jahrh., vgl. n. 85. 87. 88).” The date of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 772, is in the archonship of Diogeiton (268/7).<sup>12</sup> The other inscriptions to

<sup>10</sup> W. B. Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 316.

<sup>11</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, XIX, 1894, p. 177.

<sup>12</sup> According to Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. xix, the year was 270/69; Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 314, proposed 258/7; my own suggestion is now 268/7.

which Kirchner refers (Nos. 85, 87, 88) are *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 677, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1283 (263/2), and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 780 (252/1).<sup>13</sup>

The archon Philinos, therefore, must be moved back from the last years of the century, and assigned to the only date available for him (269/8) about fifty years earlier. There is no difficulty about moving the career of Sosikrates, Treasurer of the Military Funds honored in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1304*b*, to this earlier date, for this text is the only evidence for him.

9 (Plate 37). Fragment from the top of a stele of Hymettian marble, with the flat top dressed with a toothed chisel, but otherwise broken, found on February 20, 1939, during the demolition of houses at the north foot of the Areopagus.

Height, 0.20 m.; width, 0.255 m.; thickness, 0.105 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 5653.

*a.* 253/2 *a.*

|    |                                      |
|----|--------------------------------------|
|    | [-----] Ἀν[τίγονος [.] ε[-----]      |
|    | [-----] οἰς κα[τ]ὰ πόλεμον ἐπ[-----] |
|    | [-----] Ἑλληνῶ[ν] ἐλευθερία[-----]   |
|    | [-----] αἰ εἰς [χ]ρημάτων[ν-----]    |
| 5  | [-----] εὐεργ[ε-----]                |
|    | [-----] πρὸς οὐθ[έν] σε[-----]       |
|    | [-----] τοῦ [δ]ήμου[ν-----]          |
|    | [-----] ΤΕΑΓΩΜ[-----]                |
|    | [-----] ΙΣΜ[-----]                   |
| 10 | [-----] Ο[-----]                     |

The lettering of this text is characteristic of the third century. It is not stoichedon, and the letters are widely spaced; but in particular the omega (horseshoe with high horizontals, horseshoe with low wing strokes, or normal omega with low horizontals) is of a type known from the middle of the century.<sup>14</sup> The Antigonos named in line 1 is therefore Antigonos Gonatas, and the war which he waged (with Athens as his ally) is best interpreted as that war against Alexander, son of Krateros, in which Athens and Argos were on the side of Antigonos, and which is mentioned in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 774, of approximately this same date.

<sup>13</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 677, is roughly mid third century; for *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 780 (Kallimedes) see Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 314-315; for the date of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1283 (Polystratos) see Meritt, *The Athenian Year*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1961, p. 233.

<sup>14</sup> See especially, P. M. Fraser and T. Rönne, *Boeotian and West Greek Tombstones*, 1957, p. 83, note 6, who cite Athenian examples from *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 680 and 774. Of these texts, the former is dated in 249/8 and the latter in 253/2 (cf. Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. xxi).



The decree of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 774, praises the Argive tyrant Aristomachos, who was zealous for the freedom of Athens ([ἐ]λευ[θ]ερίας in lines 12-13; cf. the present text, line 3), and who had made contributions of money (τάλαντα πέ[ντε] in line 19; cf. the present text, line 4). Reference to the war itself occurs in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 774, line 14; cf. the present text, line 2.

Not enough of the context is preserved to show how the praises evidently expressed in this decree were related to Antigonos, but his name in line 1 is none the less important for determining the date. Athens had officially renewed her friendship with him in 254/3.<sup>15</sup> The similarity in tone between the provisions of this text and those of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 774, which the writing of the new text (in its physical appearance also) very much resembles, suggests a date in 253/2. It is ironical, but not out of character, that the Athenian decree speaks of the "freedom of the Greeks" (which Athens shared) though the last Athenian bid for real freedom had only within the decade been crushed in the disastrous outcome of the Chremonidean War.

**10** (Plate 37). Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble, with the right side preserved, found on June 2, 1938, in filling behind the parapet wall of Klepsydra (T 27:1) in a context of the mid-first century B.C. (cf. *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 240-241). A smooth band runs along the front edge of the right side, which otherwise is dressed with strokes of the chisel.

Height, 0.078 m.; width, 0.055 m.; thickness, 0.039 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.-0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 5495.

The writing is stoichedon, with a checker pattern which measures (for each unit) 0.0083 m. horizontally by 0.011 m. vertically

*med. saec.* III *a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 40

[.....<sup>14</sup>..... ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφι]σμα τὸ  
[ν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς ἐστήληι λιθίνῃ κα]ὶ στήσ  
[αι ἐν ἀκροπόλει· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς σ]τήλης μ  
[ερίσαι τὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν τὸ γε]νόμενο  
5 [ν ἀνάλωμα                      *vacat*                      ] *vacat*

The stoichedon order argues a date probably earlier than *ca.* 225 B.C., and the place of finding makes it probable that the inscription was originally set up on the Acropolis. The date here suggested is earlier than that of most texts paid for by

<sup>15</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 477. Cf. *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 141-142; Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. 98. But see the objection of J. Pouilloux, *B.C.H.*, LXX, 1946, p. 489, note 3, to the concept of restoration of full democracy.

the Treasurer of the Military Funds,<sup>16</sup> but this title is demonstrable in the first half of the century, as well as later, and offers no serious problem.<sup>17</sup>

The secretary *κατὰ πρυτανείαν* cannot be restored in line 2 without violation of the stoichedon order. I suggest an abbreviated form of the title *τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου*; this officer, for example, was charged with inscribing the decree *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 652, which must be dated later than the archonship of Diokles (286/5 B.C.).<sup>18</sup>

**11** (Plate 37). Fragment of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found in a disturbed context of late Roman date east of the Tholos (H 11) on June 5, 1937.

Height, 0.065 m.; width, 0.09 m.; thickness, 0.065 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 4929.

*paullo ante a. 230/29 a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ *ca.* 51

[----- ἐπειδὴ οἱ πρῦν]  
[τάνεις τῆς ----- ἀπο]φαί[νουσιν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν]  
[δῆμον τὸν ταμίαν ὃν εἵλοντο ἐξ] ἐαυτ[ῶν .....<sup>19</sup>..... τ]  
[εθυκέναι τὰς θυσίας τὰς καθηκο]ύσας ἀπά[σας ἐν τεῖ πρυτανείαι]  
5 [ὑπὲρ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τ]οῦ βασι[λέως Δημητρίου καὶ <sup>v</sup>]  
[τῆς βασιλίσσης Φθίας καὶ τῶν ἐγγόνων]· αὐτ[ῶν ἀγαθὴ τύχει δεδό]  
[χθαι τεῖ βουλῇ ἐπαινέσαι -----]

The fact that the text is stoichedon argues a date probably earlier than *ca.* 225 B.C.<sup>19</sup> The disjointed style of some of the letters, notably alpha, points toward the latter part of the third century, but the letters have not that characteristic disjointedness which is found in the last two decades and which has been described by Adolf Wilhelm<sup>20</sup> and Sterling Dow.<sup>21</sup> The phi is of a characteristic fourth-century shape, which makes its appearance again toward the latter part of the third century,<sup>22</sup> and which is found in another prytany-decree dated in 235/4.<sup>23</sup> I have restored the lines which refer to the Macedonian royal house according to the suggestions which have been made for this comparable text.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>16</sup> See Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, 1937, pp. 11-12.

<sup>17</sup> Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. 43, note 41.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 314, for the date.

<sup>19</sup> R. P. Austin, *Stoichedon Style*, p. 124.

<sup>20</sup> *Urkunden dramatischer Aufführungen*, p. 63.

<sup>21</sup> *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 426.

<sup>22</sup> See J. Kirchner, *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum*,<sup>2</sup> p. 19, No. 48, and p. 26, No. 96.

<sup>23</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 790; see the photograph in *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 67 (line 19).

<sup>24</sup> See S. Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 66.

**12** (Plate 37). Fragment of a columnar monument of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found in the wall of a modern house (O 14) on February 14, 1935.

Height, 0.135 m.; width, 0.265 m.; thickness, 0.126 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 2437.

*saec.* III *a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ

| I                 | II   |
|-------------------|--|
| [-----]           | [Παιανιεύς]                                |
| [-----]οκλει[---] | [Νέαν]δρος Χαρικλε[---]                    |
| <i>vacat</i>      | [Δη]μέας Δημοστράτο[υ]                     |
| <i>vacat</i>      | [--- <sup>ca. 8</sup> ---]τος Ἀμφιτέλ[ους] |
| <i>vacat</i>      | [--- <sup>ca. 13</sup> ---]   μ[-----]     |

Demeas, son of Demonstratos, was probably of the well known family from Paiania (cf. *P.A.*, 3319-3323, 3627); <sup>25</sup> the margin of the column determined by his name in line 3 indicates the probability that the name in line 2 should be [Νέαν]δρος, known also from Paiania in an earlier generation (cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1926, line 51).

The character of the text is uncertain, but it may be a roster of prytaneis of Pandionis, grouped by name and patronymic according to demes.

**13** (Plate 38). Fragment of Pentelic marble, with the rough-picked back and right side preserved, found in the wall of a modern house west of the Panathenaic Way and southwest of the Eleusinion (S 21) on February 25, 1939.

Height, 0.28 m.; width, 0.17 m.; thickness, 0.08 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 5651.

*fn. saec.* III *a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. 38-46

[----- τοὺς δὲ θεο]μο[θέ]  
[τας ὅταν πληρῶσι δικαστήρια εἰς ἓνα κα]ὶ πεντακοσίο[υς]  
[δικαστὰς εἰσάγειν αὐτῷ τὴν δοκιμα]σίαν καὶ γράψα  
[σθαι φυλῆς καὶ δήμου καὶ φρατρίας ἧ]ς ἂν βούληται· ἃ  
5 [ναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γρ]αμματέα τὸν  
[κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ σ]τήσαι ἐν ἀκροπό  
[λει· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν καὶ τὴν ἀνάθεσι]ν τῆς στήλης με  
[ρίσαι τὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν τὸ γ]ενόμενον ἀνάλωμα

*vacat*

*vacat*

<sup>25</sup> It is possible that the father Demonstratos should be identified with the taxiarch of 272/1 B.C. (*Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 289, No. 182, line 42).



The text is from a decree granting citizenship. For the restorations, see, for example, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 855.

**14** (Plate 41). Fragment of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides but with the rough-picked back preserved, found on November 4, 1938, in the wall of a modern house southeast of the Market Square and west of the Panathenaic Way (R 22).

Height, 0.10 m.; width, 0.232 m.; thickness, 0.085 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 5601.

*fin. saec. III a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca.* 48

[---<sup>ca. 11</sup>--- τοῦ] δήμου καὶ [-----]  
 [---<sup>ca. 9</sup>--- ἡ βο]υλὴ καὶ ὁ δήμος ![-----]  
 [---<sup>ca. 7</sup>--- ἀγ]αθὴ τύχει δεδόχθαι [τεῖ βουλευὶ τοὺς προέδρους]  
 [οἱ ἄν λάρχουσιν εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἐκκ[λησίαν χρηματίσαι περὶ]  
 5 [τούτων, γνώμη]ν δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι τῆς [βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι]  
 [δοκεῖ τεῖ βουλευεῖ<sup>v</sup> ἐπα[ινέσα]ι τοὺς ἐφ[ήβους τοὺς -----]

The lettering gives the best clue to the date. Alphas and deltas with open apex indicate the latter years of the third century B.C. The decree honors epheboi of an unknown archonship (line 6). In lines 3-4 the restoration has been made on the analogy of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 889, line 11.

**15** (Plate 39). Stele of Hymettian marble, broken above, below, and at the left, but with the rough-picked back preserved, found on April 29, 1949, in a late Roman wall (O 8) east of the Panathenaic Way.

Height, 0.23 m.; width, 0.34 m.; thickness, 0.125 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 6163.

ERECHTHEIS

*fin. saec. III a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca.* 41-43

[----- σ]τεφανῶσαι ἕκαστον αὐτ[ῶν θαλ]  
 [λοῦ στεφάνωι· ἀναγράψ]αι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γρα[μ]  
 [ματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτ]ανείαν ἐν στήλει λιθίνει καὶ στῆ  
 [σαι ἐν τῷ πρυτανικ]ῶι· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στῆ  
 5 [λῆς μερίσαι τὸν ἐπὶ] τεῖ διοικήσει τὸ γενόμενον ἀνά  
 [λωμα vacat ] vacat

| I      | II            | III              | IV                     | V              |
|--------|---------------|------------------|------------------------|----------------|
| (lost) | [Λα]μπτρέϊς   | Συβρίδαι         | Διονύσιος              | Κίλλης         |
|        | [Ἀμ]φίμαχος   | Λυκῖνος          | Ἑρμιππος               | Διονύσιος      |
|        | Διονύσιος     | Φηγούσιοι        | Εὐωνυμεῖς              | 45 Ποσειδιππος |
| 10     | [Κ]αλλισθένης | Ἡδύλος           | 35 Χαρίας              | Ἀγρυλεῖς       |
|        | [Ε]ὐκράτης    | 25 Ἀγαγυράσι(οι) | Κάλλιππος              | Ἀπολλώνιος     |
|        | [Μ]οσχίων     | Ἀρχέβιος         | Φιλοκῆδης              | Ἀριστόδημος    |
|        | [...]σίας     | Ἡρακλείδης       | Πύρρος                 | Ἀπολλόθεμις    |
|        | [...]ανδρος   | Μήδε<ι>ος        | <Κ>λέων                | <i>vacat</i>   |
| 15     | [Σ]ώπατρος    | Τίμων            | 40 Χαρίας Ὀνήτ<ο>ρ[ος] |                |
|        | [...]κλειτος  | 30 Εὐφαντος      | Ἀνδροκύδης             |                |
|        | [...]χίας     | Χ[α]<ρι>κλείδης  | Σωκλῆς                 |                |
|        | [Πα]νβωτάδαι  | <i>vacat</i>     | <i>vacat</i>           |                |
|        | [...]ὀδοτος   |                  |                        |                |
| 20     | [...]ύλος     |                  |                        |                |
|        | <i>vacat</i>  |                  |                        |                |

Line 28 ΜΗΔΕΚΟΣ; line 31 Χ. ΙΡΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ; line 39 ΛΛΕΩΝ

The text belongs to the well-known series of prytany decrees, and preserves the end of the so-called "second" decree and most of the register of prytaneis of the phyle Erechtheis. Missing demes are Kephisia, Kedoi, and Pergase, councillors from which must have been listed in Col. I. The representation is almost the same as that in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 913, of approximately the same date.<sup>26</sup> The appearance of the name Κίλλης in line 43, where there is no doubt about the reading, confirms the restoration [Κ]ίλλης which has been made in another text from the Agora, though of a different deme.<sup>27</sup>

**16** (Plate 46). Part of a stele of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found in the wall of a modern cesspool west of the Panathenaic Way and southwest of the Eleusinion (Q 21) on June 7, 1939.

Height, 0.13 m.; width, 0.18 m.; thickness, 0.12 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.-0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 5871.

ca. a. 200 a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. 44-48

[-----]ι εἰς [τὸν δῆμον· εἶναι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπ]  
 [αύξοντι τὴν εὖ]νοϊαν καθότι ἂν [δύνηται καὶ ἄλλαις μείζουσι]  
 [τιμαῖς τιμηθῇ]ναι καταξίως τῷ[ν εὐεργεσιῶν· τῆς δὲ ποιήσεως]  
 [τοῦ στεφάνου κ]αὶ τῆς ἀναγορεύσ[εως ἐπιμεληθῆναι τοὺς]

<sup>26</sup> See S. Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, 1937, p. 85.

<sup>27</sup> *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 77, no. 11, line 11.

- 5 [στρατηγούς· ἀ]ναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τ[ὸ ψήφισμα ἐν στήλῃ λι]  
 [θίνῃ τὸν γραμ]ματέα τὸν κατὰ πρ[υτανείαν καὶ στήσαι ἐν]  
 [ἀκροπόλει· τὸ δὲ] γενόμενον [ἀνάλωμα μερίσαι τὸν ταμίαν]  
 [τῶν στρατιωτικῶν]

The disjointed style of lettering in this honorary decree is characteristic of the very late third century and early second century. Restorations have been made after the pattern of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 844 (lines 27-28) and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 851 (lines 17-25).

**17** (Plate 39). Part of a stele of Hymettian marble, with the rough-picked back and right side preserved, but otherwise broken, found in January of 1950 among marbles collected from the Late Roman Fortification Wall east of the Panathenaic Way.

Height, 0.345 m.; width, 0.295 m.; thickness, 0.115 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 6256.

### KEKROPIS

*paullo post a. 200 a.*

(text of decrees and upper citations lost)

| I   | II  | III  | IV                                   | V   |
|---|---|--|--------------------------------------|---|
|   |   | [-----]  | [-----]                              | 25 [Αἰξωνεῖς]                                 |
|   |   | [-----]  | [-----]                              | [-----]                                       |
| (lost)  | (lost)  | [-----]  | 15 Εὐνοστίδης                        | ΛΙ [-----]                                    |
|   |   | [-----]  | Πιθεῖς                               | Δημέας  |
|   | 5   | [-----]  | Δημήτριος Βρομ(ίου)                  | Ἑφαιστόδωρος                                  |
|   |   | [-----]  | Ἰάσων                                | 30 Τιμοκλῆς                                   |
|   |   | [-----]  | Ἐργόφιλος Μοσ(--)                    | Χαιρέστρατος                                  |
|   |   | [---]εος   | 20 Ὀλυμπος                           | Ποσειδίππος                                   |
|   |   | [--- <sup>ca. 5</sup> ---]λῆς  | Διονύσιος                            | Διονύσιος                                     |
|   | 10  | [--- <sup>ca. 4</sup> ---]ρο[ς]  | Τρινεμεεῖς                           | Καλλίας                                       |
|   |   | [-----]ωρ  | Ταραντῖνος                           | 35 Πολέμων                                    |
|   |   | [-----]  | Σιμάριστος                           | Θεοχάρης                                      |
| <i>citation<br/>for the<br/>priest<br/>lost</i> | <i>citation<br/>for the<br/>secretary<br/>of Council<br/>and Demos<br/>lost</i> | <i>citation<br/>for the<br/>undersecretary<br/>of Council<br/>and Demos<br/>lost</i> | ἡ βουλή<br>Εὐκλῆν<br>Βερενι<br>κίδην | ἡ βουλ[ή]<br>Νεοκλ[ῆν]<br>Βερεν[ικ]<br>ἡ ἰδην |



The names in Col. V probably belong to the deme Aixone, from which the *nomina* Δημέας and Τιμοκλῆς (as well as Διονύσιος and Καλλίας) are known.<sup>28</sup> Dow reckoned that at about this time Aixone furnished about eleven councillors.<sup>29</sup> If our attribution is correct the number was exactly eleven, with the demotic restored in line 25. Since there were ten demes belonging to Kekropis in the early second century,<sup>30</sup> the fifty councillors with their ten demotics required sixty lines of text. The arrangement above gives exactly twelve lines in each of the five columns. The non-syllabic division in the last citation is notable, and quite exceptional.

Aside from the lettering, the approximate date of the inscription is determined by the mention of Eukles of Berenikidai (the herald) and Neokles of Berenikidai (the flutist).<sup>31</sup> Citations for the treasurer of the prytaneis and for the secretary of the prytaneis must have appeared between the lost decrees above. The citations for the priest, for the secretary of the Council and Demos, and for the undersecretary of the Council and Demos must have appeared under the first three columns of the register. The arrangement of the register in five columns is confirmed by the citations for the herald and the flutist under columns IV and V respectively.<sup>32</sup>

18 (Plate 37). Fragment of a stele of Hymettian marble, with part of the right side preserved but otherwise broken, found on May 24, 1951, among collected marbles southwest of the Odeion.

Height, 0.124 m.; width, 0.129 m.; thickness, 0.129 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.005 m.-0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 6372.

*init. saec. II a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca.* 61

[-----] τ[οὺς]  
 [δὲ θεσμοθέτας, ὅταν πληρῶσιν δικαστήριον εἰς ἓνα καὶ πεντακοσίου]ς δικαστ[ά]  
 [ς, εἰσαγαγεῖν αὐτοῖς τὴν δοκιμασίαν κατὰ τὸν νόμον] εἶναι δὲ αὐτοῖς δοκιμ  
 [ασθεῖσι γράψασθαι φυλῆς καὶ δήμου καὶ φρατρίας ἧς ἂν βού]λωνται ἀναγράψα  
 5 [ι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα τόδε τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν] εἰς στήλην λιθίνην  
 [καὶ στήσαι ἐν ἀκροπόλει -----]ν εἰκόνας· τὸ δὲ γεν

<sup>28</sup> The alternative is to attribute them to Melite, the other large deme of Kekropis.

<sup>29</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, 1937, p. 118.

<sup>30</sup> Dow, *loc. cit.*, counted nine, but one must have been overlooked. The ten demotics, as they would appear in this inscription, are: Ἀθμονεῖς, Αἰξωνεῖς, Ἀλαιεῖς, Δαιδαλίδαι, Ἐπικεικίδαι, Μελιτεῖς, Ξυπεταῖονες, Πιθεῖς, Συπαλήττιοι, and Τρινεμεῖς. Phlya had been transferred to Ptolemais when that phyle was created in 223 B.C. (cf. W. K. Pritchett, *The Five Attic Tribes after Kleisthenes*, Diss. Baltimore, 1943, pp. 13-32), and no part of Kikynna ever belonged to Kekropis (cf. W. B. Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, pp. 445, 449, and S. Dow, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 188).

<sup>31</sup> See Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, 1937, pp. 17-18.

<sup>32</sup> I am indebted to Dow for verifying in Athens the difficult readings of lines 8-11.



[σ]θαι καὶ τιμὰς τούτοις ε[-----]  
 σι τοῖς τὰ χρήματα σ[-----]  
 ησάσθων παραχρ[-----]  
 15 αν ἡ δανε[ίζειν -----]  
 [. ]ομε[-----]

The inscription is remarkable for the appearance in it of Doric dialect. Some interpretation will probably be gained by further study, but the photograph and transcript are given here, including the doubtful readings in lines 3 and 10, for the sake of the record.

20 (Plate 39). Stele of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides but with the rough-picked back preserved (much worn), found on April 28, 1950, in the wall of a pithos in the area north of the Odeion. Parts of the pediment and of the mouldings below it are preserved above the letters.

Height, 0.255 m.; width, 0.155 m.; thickness, 0.08 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 6275.

a. 121/0 a. (?)

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 54

[ἐπὶ Φωκίῳ]νος ἄρχον[τος ἐπὶ τῆς ----- πρυτανείας ἦι]  
 [Ἀσωποκλ]ῆς Ἀσωποκ[λέους Ἀγρυλῆθεν ἐγραμμάτευεν ----- ὦνος ὄγ]  
 [δόγι ἰσταμ]ένου, [----- τῆς πρυτανείας -----]  
*traces*

The date here assigned depends on the identification of the secretary with some member of the prominent family from Agryle (*P.A.*, 2673), and on the further attribution of this deme either to Attalis or Erechtheis and the combination of the phyle thus established with a known archon whose name can be restored in line 1. Within the range of dates probable for the lettering the possible archons are Ξένων of 133/2 and Φωκίων of 121/0, for neither of whom is a secretary as yet known but both of whom would require a secretary from Erechtheis.

Noting that the spacing of line 1 is slightly closer than that of line 2 I have chosen to suggest the name of the archon Φωκίων which is longer by the breadth of the letter iota than Ξένων. The lettering itself could fit either date. In particular the alpha with broken bar and the pi with its extended horizontal are characteristic. For the pi, see, for example, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 971, of 140/39 (Kirchner, *Imagines*<sup>2</sup>, no. 106) and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1029, of 96/5 (Kirchner, *op. cit.*, no. 111).<sup>84</sup> The text contributes at least the patronymic from the name of a secretary hitherto unknown from the late second century.

<sup>84</sup> For the date see B. D. Meritt, *The Athenian Year*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1961, p. 238.



**21** (Plate 40). Fragment from a pedimental stele of Pentelic marble, broken at both sides and at the bottom, but with mouldings above the inscription and part of the pediment preserved, found in January or February of 1949 during cleaning operations in the Stoa of Attalos.

Height, 0.24 m.; width, 0.22 m.; thickness, 0.29 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 6127.

ca. a. 120 a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 119

- [ἐπὶ — — — — ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς — — — — ἰδος — — — — πρυτανείας ἥι  
 ————— ἐργα] μμάτευεν Βοηδρομιῶ[νος — — — —  
 ἰσταμένον,]  
 [— — — — τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλησία κυρία ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ· τῶν προέδρων  
 ἐπεψήφισεν — — — — <sup>ca. 17</sup> — — — — Κ] ειριάδης καὶ συμπρ[όεδροι· ἔδοξε  
 τῇ βουλῇ]  
 [καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· — — — — <sup>ca. 21</sup> — — — — εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἔφηβοι οἱ ἐπὶ  
 — — — — ἄρχοντος θύσαντες τα]ῖς ἐγγραφαῖς ἐ[ν τῷ πρυτανείῳ ἐπὶ τῆς]  
 [κοινῆς ἐστίας τοῦ δήμου καὶ καλλιερήσαντες μετὰ τε τοῦ κοσμητοῦ καὶ τοῦ  
 ἱερέως τοῦ Δήμου καὶ τῶν Χαρίτων] καὶ τῶν ἐ[ξηγητῶν ἐπόμπευσαν τῇ  
 Ἀρτέμειδι]  
 5 [τῇ Ἀγροτέραι, ἐποιήσαντο δὲ καὶ τὴν ὑπαπάντησιν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐν ὅπλοις  
 καὶ προέπεμψαν αὐτά, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ] τὸν Ἰακχ[ον, ἤραντο δὲ καὶ τοῖς  
 μυστηρίοις]  
 [ἐν Ἐλευσίνι τῇ θυσίαι τοὺς βοῦς καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς Προηροσίοις καὶ τοὺς ἐν  
 τοῖς ἄλλοις ἱεροῖς καὶ γυμνασί]οις [καὶ τοὺς δρόμους συνετέλεσαν (?) — —]

The restorations have been made with reference to two ephebic texts of approximately the same date, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1006 and 1008.

**22** (Plate 38). Fragment of a stele of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found on May 4, 1950, near the south end of the Stoa of Attalos. Traces of cement on the stone show that it was once built into the Late Roman Fortification Wall.<sup>35</sup>

Height, 0.12 m.; width, 0.205 m.; thickness, 0.085 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.-0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 6310.

<sup>35</sup> This wall also yielded many of the fragments of the long ephebic text (decrees, register, and citations) now published in *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pp. 220-239 (see especially pp. 223-224); but this fragment cannot be part of that inscription.

*fin. saec. II a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

I  
(lost)

| II         |                        | III                     |         |
|------------|------------------------|-------------------------|---------|
| [Οἰνηίδος] |                        | [Ἰπποθωντίδος]          |         |
| (lacuna)   |                        | (lacuna)                |         |
|            | [-----] Ἀχα]ρνεύς      | Δῖος                    | [-----] |
|            | [-----] Φ]υλάσιος      | 15 Πύρρος Πύρρ[ον-----] |         |
|            | [Κεκροπί]δος           | Ἀλέξανδρος              | [-----] |
| 5          | [-----] ρος Ἐπεικίδης  | Αἶαν[τίδος]             |         |
|            | [-----] νον Δαιδαλίδης | Νίκανδρος               | [-----] |
|            | [-----] ρον Ἀλαιεύς    | Μελίτων Μ[-----]        |         |
|            | [-----] ου Μελιτεύς    | 20 Διονύσιος Δ[-----]   |         |
|            | [-----] ν Μελιτεύς     | Πρώταρχο[ς-----]        |         |
| 10         | [-----] ους Ξυπεταιών  | Ἀλέξανδ[ρος-----]       |         |
|            | [-----] Συπ]αλήττιος   | [-----]                 |         |
|            | [-----]                | [-----]                 |         |

The names belong to the register of epheboi cut on the stone below the usual honorary decrees.

**23** (Plate 38). Fragment of Hymettian marble, preserving the upper right corner of the original stele, found in the north wall of the Church of the Hypapanti (T 21) on March 8, 1938.

Height, 0.164 m.; width, 0.092 m.; thickness, 0.145 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 5302.

## GRAIN-COMMISSIONERS OF THE CITY

*init. saec. II a.*

|    |           |                         |    |
|----|-----------|-------------------------|----|
|    | [-----]υς |                         |    |
|    | [-----]   | [γραμματεὺς] κληρωτό[ς] |    |
|    | [-----]   | [-----]ιμοκλέου         |    |
|    | [-----]   | [ἐκ Κεραμέω]ν           |    |
| 5  | [-----]   | [γραμματεὺς α]ῖρετός    | 15 |
|    | [-----]   | [-----]ολέμο[ν]         |    |
|    | [-----]   | [-----]                 |    |
|    | [-----]   | [ὑπηρέτ]ης              |    |
|    | [-----]   | [-----]χου              |    |
| 10 | [-----]   | [-----]                 | 20 |
|    | [-----]   |                         |    |

The inscription should probably be dated in the first half of the second century.<sup>36</sup> It is known from Aristotle that the grain-commissioners (σιτοφύλακες) were originally ten in number, five for Athens and five for the Peiraeus ('Αθ. Πολ., 51, 3). They were chosen by lot, and in Aristotle's day had been increased in number to thirty-five. But in the third century there is now epigraphical evidence that the original number of the commission had been restored, with the addition of two secretaries, so that in the period of the twelve phylai each phyle was represented either by a commissioner or a secretary.<sup>37</sup> Moreover, one of the secretaries was chosen by lot, and one was elected. Miss Crosby has drawn attention to two lists from the Peiraeus (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1710 and 1711) in which the five officials, presumably σιτοφύλακες, were named with the two secretaries. In addition to the γραμματεὺς κληρωτός and the γραμματεὺς αἰρετός, one of the lists (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1710) also names the ὑπηρέτης. I have therefore restored this title in line 18 of the present text, which I believe is further evidence for the σιτοφύλακες, though in this instance for the group who served in Athens rather than for the group in the Peiraeus.

The name in line 13 may have been either [Τ]ιμοκλέου or [Δ]ημοκλέου.

**24** (Plate 39). Part of a stele of Hymettian marble, mended from two pieces (front and back), with the right side preserved but otherwise broken, found on April 23, 1951, in a Byzantine wall south of the temple of Ares (J 9).

Height, 0.23 m.; width, 0.13 m.; thickness, 0.065 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.-0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 6341.

*init. saec. II a.*

[----- ο]υ Χολ[---]  
 [----- Μα]ραθώνιο[ς]  
 [γραμματεὺς κληρ]ωτὸς  
 [-----]ς Κοθωκίδης  
 5 [γραμματεὺς αἰρε]τός  
 [----- Ξ]υπεταιίων  
 [-----] ΡΙ[-----]  
 [-----] ΥΕ[-----]  
 [-----] ᾿[-----]

See the commentary on No. 23.

<sup>36</sup> Note the unadorned writing, but the spread lambda in line 16.

<sup>37</sup> See Margaret Crosby, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 444-448, No. 2.





15 [--- <sup>ca. 9</sup> ---] τε [-----]  
 [-----]  
 [--- <sup>ca. 12</sup> ---] ον [-----]  
 [--- <sup>ca. 11</sup> ---] ντ [-----]  
 [--- <sup>ca. 11</sup> ---] ια [-----]  
 [--- <sup>ca. 5</sup> ---] ΟΙΣΛ[.] ΛΟΙ [-----]  
 [--- <sup>ca. 5</sup> ---] αι εἰθν[ν -----]  
 20 [--- <sup>ca. 6</sup> ---] ταμίας [-----]  
 [--- <sup>ca. 9</sup> ---] ον [-----]

This is not a decree of the Athenian Demos, but of a club or association. I have restored line 3 on the analogy of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1298. For the restoration of line 1, see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1283. The man honored is not otherwise known. His name, ending in --θις, was recorded at the end of line 3 and the beginning of line 4. I have suggested Γνᾶθις, though it is not divided syllabically between the lines. In the early lines the stoichedon order seems to have been better observed than later, where syllabification must have been the rule.

From singular, the text changes to plural (line 6),<sup>38</sup> and then back to singular (lines 8, 10). These changes condition the restoration of line 5, where I have suggested καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ. In line 8 I have assumed that the secretaryship was in fact a liturgy, for which the verb ἐξάγω and the restoration are appropriate.<sup>39</sup>

27. The inscription published in *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 156, No. 13, may now be described as having been found in the wall of a modern house at the north foot of the Areopagus (O 22) on February 27, 1939.

Study of the disposition of the text and of the forms of the letters, with characteristically disjointed style of writing, shows that the inscription must be dated at the end of the third century. The symmetrical disposition of the lines, moreover, necessitates the following restoration, in which I believe that the preserved letters have been correctly read:

*fin. saec. III a.*

[οἱ]  
 θι[ασῶται]  
 τὸν τα[μίαν]  
 Εὐάγγελο[ν]  
 Σουνιέα

<sup>38</sup> For εἴρους see Meisterhans-Schwyzler, *Grammatik*<sup>3</sup>, p. 149, no. 6.

<sup>39</sup> See *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1304, lines 4, 14.

28 (Plate 41). Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble, with part of the left side and rough-picked back preserved and with the spring of a moulding above the inscription, but otherwise broken, found on March 28, 1950, in a context of late Roman date east of the Middle Stoa (P 12-13).

Height, 0.145 m.; width, 0.185 m.; thickness, 0.05 m.

Height of letters, 0.06 m.

Inv. No. I 6282.

a. 112/1 a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 39

[ἀγαθῇ τύχη· ἐπὶ] Διονυσίῳ[ν ἄρχοντος τοῦ μετὰ]  
 [Παράμονον] ἐ[ν] δ[ὲ] τῷ οἴκῳ Ν[—<sup>ca. 8</sup>—τοῦ Ἀπολ]  
 [λωνίου Ἀ]λεξανδρέως· Σκίρο[φοριῶνος εἰκάδι·]  
 [ἀγο]ρὰ κυρία ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ· Ἀν[—<sup>ca. 14</sup>—Ἀν]  
 5 τιοχεὺς εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Εὐνι[κος —<sup>ca. 15</sup>—]  
 [. . .]σιος νομοφυλακῶν ἐν τῷ ἐπ[ὶ Διονυσίου τοῦ μετὰ]  
 [Παρ]άμονον ἄρχοντος ἐνιαυτῷ[ι εὐσεβῶς καὶ φιλο]  
 [τίμ]ως διακείμενος τὰ πρὸς τοὺς [θεοὺς — — — —]  
 [. . .] πάντας ἀνθρώπους φιλανθ[ρώπως — — — — —]  
 10 [—<sup>ca. 6</sup>—]ν αὐτῷ τὴν ὑπά[ρχ]ουσα[ν — — — — —]  
 [—<sup>ca. 9</sup>—]ης τὸ τῆς Η[— — — — —]  
 [—<sup>ca. 11</sup>—] ΑΡ[— — — — —]

This decree, like the one following (No. 29) from which the name in lines 2-3 has been in part restored, belongs to a religious organization worshipping the Great Gods. Its date is given by the name of the Athenian archon and by a cult official whose title seems to have been simply ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ. Then follows the date by month and day, after which the place of the conclave and its character were named, and then the orator. The orator was the same both here and in No. 29.

For the added iota in line 4, see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 9181 and note. The Eunikos who served as nomophylax has not been identified.

29 (Plate 41). Pedimental stele of Pentelic marble, broken at the right, bottom, and back, but with the upper left corner preserved, including mouldings and part of a rosette in relief within the pediment, found on April 23, 1948, in a context of late Roman date southwest of the Market Square (D 16).

Height, 0.235 m.; width, 0.16 m.; thickness, 0.054 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 6108.



a. 111/0 a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 36-45

θε[οί]

- ἐπὶ Σωσικράτου ἄρχοντος ἐ[ν δὲ τῷ οἴκῳ Ν — <sup>ca. 8</sup> — — τοῦ]  
 Ἀπολλωνίου Ἀλεξανδ[ρέως Σκιροφοριῶνος εἰ]  
 κάδι ἀγορὰ κυρία ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ [ωι· Ἀν — — <sup>ca. 13</sup> — — — Ἀν]  
 5 τιοχεὺς εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ [Ν — <sup>ca. 8</sup> — — Ἀπολλωνίου]  
 Ἀλεξανδρεὺς εὐσεβῶς [διακείμενος τὰ πρὸς τοὺς]  
 θεοὺς ὑπομείνας ἱερεὺς [ἄρχειν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τῶν]  
 Μεγάλων Θεῶν καὶ τῆς Ἀ[ — — — — — — — — — — ἀνε]  
 στράφη φιλοδόξως καὶ ἔθν[σεν τὰς θυσίας ὑπὲρ τε]  
 10 [τῷ]ν κατακεκλειμένων ἐξ ο[ — — — — — — — — — — καὶ — — — — — ]  
 [ — <sup>ca. 6</sup> — — ]ν[ . . . ἀν]άγκη συννε[ — — — — — — — — — — ]  
 [ — — — — <sup>ca. 10</sup> — — — — ]ΟΓΟΝ[ — — — — — — — — — — ]

This decree belongs to the same religious organization as that preceding (No. 28), worshipping the Great Gods. The date is also given by the name of the Athenian archon and by the cult official ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ. I have restored the month and day to be the same in both decrees, although of course the years were different. It is probable that the priest (lines 5-7) was the same as the eponymous magistrate (lines 2-3), who had also served in the preceding year. His praise should properly come at the end of a term: hence Σκιροφοριῶνος for the name of the month. The day within the month was given as twentieth by the old-fashioned designation εἰκάδι rather than by the normal δεκάτῃ προτέραι of Attic political decrees.<sup>40</sup> I have no suggestion for the restoration of line 8 or for the concluding lines.

For the Great Gods, see Bruno Müller, *Μέγας Θεός*, *Diss. Phil. Hal.*, XXI, 1913, pp. 281-299; and for the association with them of the ephebic corps, see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1006, line 29, and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1008, line 18, both inscriptions likewise coming from the later years of the second century.

30 (Plate 36). Large block of Pentelic marble (a), from the top of a solid monument or perhaps part of an epistyle, found at the base of a modern wall southeast of the Market Square and west of the Panathenaic Way (R 21) on March 11, 1939. A small splinter (b) with rough-picked top preserved but otherwise broken was found in the wall of a modern house southwest of the Eleusinion and west of the Panathenaic Way (S 21) on March 20, 1939. The larger stone is broken at the bottom and at the back. Its top is rough-picked and has a dowel hole and a pry hole in the center, showing that other blocks were superimposed; on the only part of the edge that is preserved there appears to have been anthyrosis. The right end of the block is rough-picked, and

<sup>40</sup> See B. D. Meritt, *The Athenian Year*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1961, p. 46, note 6.

$\alpha$ 

<sup>45</sup> Dec. 10, 177—Dec. 9, 178. See Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s.v. *Annius*, No. 94.

by Marcus Aurelius alone (he uses the singular pronoun ἐμέ in line 7) ; if so, it must be dated in A.D. 176 before Commodus was given condominium with him.

b. Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, but with the rough-picked back preserved, found on February 14, 1952, in the wall of a modern house south of the Church of the Holy Apostles (O-Q 16-17).

Height, 0.135 m. ; width, 0.10 m. ; thickness, 0.065 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 6436.

This fragment makes no join with any of the other pieces of the stele, but it carries in part the heading of a letter addressed to the Athenians by Commodus alone after the death of Marcus Aurelius. Beneath the five (at least) letters above there was, therefore, on the stone one (at least) letter from Commodus as sole emperor. The publication of the correspondence dates, therefore, from the time of Commodus, a fact which emphasizes his interest, as well as that of his father, in the Sacred Gerousia.

*The series of imperial letters here described began with a heading which is partially preserved; for the text see J. H. Oliver, Hesperia, Suppl. VI, p. 109, No. 24 a.*

*Then follows a lacuna of uncertain length, after which the text is resumed in the fragments here published:*

- [---ca. 14---]ο[-----]  
 [---ca. 13---]τὴν πρ[-----]  
 [---ca. 18---]ι δὲ χωρία [-----]  
 [---ca. 13---]οἱ τετρακόσ[ιοι-----]  
 5 [---ca. 9---κατ]ὰ τὸν ἐπιβάλλ[οντα λόγον (?)-----]  
 [---ca. 12---]τες κατὰ τὰ νο[μιζόμενα-----]  
 [---ca. 8---τὰ γενέ]θλια τὰ ἐμὰ κα[-----]  
 [---ca. 12---]ὕμειν τοῦ κατὰ [-----]  
 [Ἀντοκράτωρ Καῖσ]αρ θεοῦ Ἀντωνίνο[ν Εὐσεβοῦς υἱός, θεοῦ  
 Οὐήρου Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου ἀδελφός, θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ  
 Παρθικοῦ ἔγ]  
 10 [γονος, θεοῦ Νέρο]να ἀπόγονος, Μάρκ[ος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος  
 Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικὸς Σαρματικὸς, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρ]  
 [χικῆς ἐξουσίας τ]ὸ ᾠΒΒ αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ ᾠΘ ὕπατος τὸ ᾠΓ,  
 πατὴρ πατρίδος, καὶ Ἀντοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Δούκιος  
 Αὐρήλιος Κόμμοδος]



- [Σεβαστός, αὐτοκρ]άτορος Ἀντωνίνο[ν Σεβα]στο[ῦ υἱός, θεοῦ  
 Εὐσεβοῦς υἱώνος, θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ἑγγονος, θεοῦ  
 Τραϊανοῦ Παρθικοῦ]  
 [καὶ θεοῦ Νέρουα ἀ]πόγονος Γερμανικ[ὸς Σα]ρμα[τικός,  
 δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ »Γ», αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ »Β»,  
 ὑπατος, πατὴρ πατρίδος,]  
 [τῇ ἐξ Ἀρείου Πάγ]ου βουλῇ καὶ τῇ βο[υλῇ] τῶν  
 γεν[τα]κο[σίων καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων *vacat*]
- 15 [ *vacat* ] χαί[ρειν *vacat* ]  
 [τὰ μὲν γράμματα ἀ] ἐπεστείλατε περὶ [τῷ]ν κατὰ τὴν  
 γερ[ουσίαν -----]  
 [----- <sup>ca. 14</sup> -----] χθῆναι τὸν ἀριθμ[ὸ]ν τοῦτον  
 μνημ[-----]  
 [----- <sup>ca. 14</sup> -----] τῶν ἐκκλησιαζόν[των]ν κατὰ τὰ  
 νομ[ιζόμενα -----]  
 [----- <sup>ca. 14</sup> -----] διωρισμένον ὥστ[ε μ]έντοι μήτε  
 [-----]  
 20 [----- <sup>ca. 15</sup> -----] πλείστων προσδ[έχε]σθε εἰς ἀξ[-----]  
 [----- <sup>ca. 18</sup> -----] ἔνων τὴν ἡλικίαν [καὶ] τούτων  
 μο[-----]  
 [----- <sup>ca. 18</sup> -----] τὴν χώραν τοῦ ἐγλι[πό]ντος  
 μέχρι [-----]  
 [----- <sup>ca. 18</sup> -----] ἐκ τῶν ἀστῶν εἰσάγ[ειν] δεήσει  
 ἀεὶ με[-----]  
 [----- <sup>ca. 10</sup> -----] δημ[ο]ποιητῶν εἰσιόντ[ων] καὶ  
 ἐπιτείμου[ς -----]  
 25 [----- <sup>ca. 12</sup> -----] γὰρ μετέχειν τῆς Ἀθ[ήν]ησιν  
 [γερουσί]ας [-----]  
 [----- <sup>ca. 12</sup> -----] ἐς ἐπέστειλαν βου[λό]μενοι μαθεῖν  
 ὑφ[-----]  
 [----- <sup>ca. 8</sup> -----] γερουσ[ί]αν εἰσιόντων ὁπό[ταν] ἀναπληρωθῇν[αι  
 -----]  
 [----- <sup>ca. 12</sup> -----] γερόντων τινὰς αἰρ[εῖσ]θαι τη[-----]  
 [----- <sup>ca. 12</sup> -----] σει τὸν πρεσβύτατον [----- <sup>ca. 4</sup> -----] γ[. ]  
 [-----]  
 30 [----- <sup>ca. 11</sup> -----] ψ[ήφῳ] δηλοῦν τὴν αὐτ[-----]

[-<sup>ca. 18</sup>---]ΥΟ[... ]σης ἀν αἰρεθῶσι νῦν [-----]  
 ε[- -]ο[- -] *vacat* [-----]  
 Αὐτοκράτωρ Κα[ῖσαρ θεοῦ Ἀντωνίν]ου υἱ[ός, θεοῦ Οὐήρου  
 Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου ἀδελφός, θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ υἱωνός,  
 θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ]  
 Παρθικοῦ ἔγγο[νος, θεοῦ Νέρωνα ἀ]π[όγονος, Μᾶρκος  
 Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικὸς  
 Σαρματικός, ἀρχιερεὺς]

The text here continues, as published by Oliver, in *Hesperia*, Suppl. VI, pp. 111-113, No. 24 b, c, d, e, and f, and p. 121, No. 25 b.<sup>46</sup>

After a lacuna of uncertain length the text is continued on our Frag. b, as follows:

[-----<sup>ca. 33</sup>-----] \Π [-----]  
 [-----<sup>ca. 33</sup>-----] ΥΗΒ [-----]  
 [-----<sup>ca. 33</sup>-----] ΕΙΤΗ [-----]  
 [-----<sup>ca. 31</sup>-----] ΔΑΤΗΣΤ [-----]  
*vacat*  
 [Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Ἀντωνίνου υἱ]ς, θεοῦ Εὐσ[εβοῦς  
 υἱωνός, θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ἔγγονος, θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ  
 Παρθικοῦ καὶ θεοῦ]  
 [Νέρωνα ἀπόγονος Μᾶρκος Αὐρήλιος Κόμ]μoδος Ἀντω[νίνος  
 Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικὸς Σαρματικός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος,  
 δημαρχικῆς]  
 [ἐξουσίας τὸ > > αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ > > ὑπατος] τὸ > Γ >, πατῆ[ρ  
 πατρίδος, ἀνθύπατος, Ἀθηναίων γερονσία *vacat* ]  
 10 [ *vacat* ] *vacat* [ *vacat* χαίρειν *vacat* ]  
 [-----<sup>ca. 31</sup>-----]ήσασθαι [-----]  
 [-----<sup>ca. 33</sup>-----]τοσ[-----]

The date of the first letter, earlier than the elevation of Commodus to full imperial status, was probably in the late autumn of A.D. 176. Marcus Aurelius had just returned from Asia Minor to Rome by way of Athens, where he was initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries, and where he had established professorships in the four great schools of philosophy.<sup>47</sup> During his rather extended sojourn he probably originated the plan, or was party to its initiation, for the formation of the Sacred Gerousia with which these letters are concerned.

<sup>46</sup> The text of Oliver, *op. cit.*, p. 121, No. 25 a, is incorporated in our lines 12-29 above. The positions of No. 24 d, e, and f, and of No. 25 b are uncertain.

<sup>47</sup> See von Arnim in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s.v. Annius, No. 94 (col. 2301).

The second letter was sent by both emperors, whose names and titles now appear in lines 9-13. Marcus Aurelius held the tribunician power for the 32nd time; hence the date lies between Dec. 10, 177 and Dec. 9, 178, probably in A.D. 178.<sup>48</sup> It is noteworthy that this letter, as presumably the one before it, was addressed to the Council of the Areopagus and the Council of the Five Hundred (and to the Demos of the Athenians) and not to the Gerousia. The Gerousia was not as yet in being, but its organization was a subject of discussion in the letter: there were questions of the number (line 17), of age (line 21), of qualifications of citizenship (lines 23-24), of membership (line 25), on all of which the Athenians were still seeking advice (lines 16, 26).

The last letter preserved, that of Commodus alone (our Frag. *b*, lines 6-11), is dated in A.D. 181 or 182 by mention of the emperor's third consulate. His name was erased after the *damnatio memoriae* of A.D. 193, here just as it was in Oliver's text,<sup>49</sup> though when the name was later re-inscribed it was done there with no apparent crowding of letters. Here the letters of the preserved part of the name Commodus are obviously crowded. It may be suggested that in place of the earlier Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Κόμμοδος the scribe used later another and later form of the name Λούκιος Αἴλιος Αὐρήλιος Κόμμοδος.<sup>50</sup> Some explanation must be sought for the crowding.

The whole stele contained, in fine, at least six imperial letters:

1. Above, Frag. *a*, lines 1-8, from Marcus Aurelius to the Council of the Areopagus, the Council of the Five Hundred, and the Demos of the Athenians, autumn of A.D. 176.
2. Above, Frag. *a*, lines 9-32 and *Hesperia*, Suppl. VI, p. 111, line 7, from Marcus Aurelius and Commodus to the Council of the Areopagus, the Council of the Five Hundred, and the Demos of the Athenians, A.D. 178.
3. Above, Frag. *a*, lines 33-34, and *Hesperia*, Suppl. VI, p. 111, lines 18-23, from Marcus Aurelius and Commodus to the Gerousia of the Athenians, A.D. 178 or 179.
4. *Hesperia*, Suppl. VI, p. 111, line 24—p. 112, line 39, from Marcus Aurelius and Commodus to the Gerousia of the Athenians, A.D. 179.
5. *Hesperia*, Suppl. VI, p. 112, lines 40-62, and possibly Frag. *b*, above, lines 1-4, from Marcus Aurelius and Commodus to the Gerousia of the Athenians, A.D. 179 or 180.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>48</sup> He was also imperator for the ninth time and if the date A.D. 178 is correct consul for the third time. Commodus, meanwhile, had been consul in 177 and held the tribunician power for the third time. See Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, *s.v.* Annianus No. 94 (col. 2301) and *s.v.* Aurelius, No. 89 (col. 2468).

<sup>49</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VI, p. 111, lines 10-11, 25, and p. 112, line 42.

<sup>50</sup> See Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, *s.v.* Aurelius, No. 89 (col. 2470).

<sup>51</sup> See J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VI, p. 2.



6. Above, Frag. *b*, lines 6-11, from Commodus to the Gerousia of the Athenians, A.D. 181 or 182.

**32** (Plate 42). Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble, with the left side and back preserved, found on July 22, 1947, in a well southwest of the Market Square and west of the Great Drain (C 17:4).

Height, 0.105 m.; width, 0.215 m.; thickness, 0.075 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 6061.

*fin. saec. II p.*

[— — —] Ἀρεοπαγείτας ἐξ ἀσσά[ρια — — — —]  
 [— —] ατα δίδονται τῇ νέα νου[μηνία — — — —]  
 [— — —] κεφάλαιον κωδικι[λλ — — — — — —]  
 [— — —] ομαι τοῖς ἀξιολ[ογο — — — — — —]  
 5 [ . . ] ος τῇ γενεθλίων [— — — — — — — —]  
 μὴν ἐκ πέντε Ἀτ[τικ — — — — — — — —]  
 παραγεινομ[εν — — — — — — — — — —]  
 [— —] κεφάλαιον[ — — — — — — — — — —]  
 [— — —] ἈΓΓ[ — — — — — — — — — —]

The character of the writing is very much like that of the imperial letters inscribed in the time of Commodus (No. **31**), but the hand is not the same (sigma, for example, is square). Yet this fragment too belongs to an imperial letter and deals with money payments (lines 1, 6), with the emperor's birthday (line 5), and with the Council of the Areopagus (line 1). Dates of payments are possibly indicated in line 2, but there is no continuous context.

**33** (Plate 42). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides but with the rough-picked back preserved, found on April 7, 1949, in a late Roman aqueduct east of the Panathenaic Way (O-P 9-11).

Height, 0.205 m.; width, 0.245 m.; thickness, 0.10 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 6137.

*aet. imp. Rom.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[— — — —] . Σ . . [— — — — — — — — — —]  
 [— — — — τ]ὸν κήρυκα ὦ καὶ [— — — — — —]  
 [— — — — μῆ]δὲν τοιοῦτον λάθῃτε [— — — —]  
 [— — — —]χων ὦ ὀρίσθω ὅστις ἂν τ[— — — —]

5 [-----]ο τοῦ κήρυκος κλιτο[-----]  
 [-----]ε μὴ εἰσαγαγόντας [-----]  
 [-----το]ὺς τότε ἀτείμους [-----]  
 [-----] τούτων ὀρίσθαι [-----]  
 [-----] νόμῳ διει[-----]  
*vacat*

The writing is similar to that of imperial letters of the second century after Christ.

**34** (Plate 42). Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble, with the right side and rough-picked back preserved, found in a late Roman wall (O 8) east of the Panathenaic Way on May 3, 1949.

Height, 0.21 m.; width, 0.275 m.; thickness, 0.07 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 6170.

*aet. imp. Rom.*

[-----] ΝΕΙΣΚ[-----]  
 [-----] προβληθέντος ἐ[...]  
 [-----]νεσιν καθ' ἃ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ  
 [-----]ν ἡμῶν συνήθειαν δι  
 5 [-----] *vacat*  
 [-----] τῇ Παρθένῳ ἐν τῷ ἑκατον  
 [πέδω ---] ῥων ἀγαθῇ τε τύχῃ καὶ  
 [-----]ους καθ' ἕκαστον

The use of the personal pronoun in line 4 indicates that the text is part of an imperial letter. In some way it is concerned with the statue of Athena Parthenos in the Parthenon (lines 6-7).

**35** (Plate 42). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found in a context of Turkish date in a well on the north slope of the Acropolis east of the Late Roman Fortification Wall (T 24) on March 17, 1939.

Height, 0.067 m.; width, 0.07 m.; thickness, 0.031 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 5729.

*a. 412/1 a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[---] επ[---]  
 [---]αι ελ[---]  
 [---]ι Δ||| π[---]

Study of the letters and of the spacing of the stoichedon text has shown this small fragment to be part of the treasure records of the Parthenon. It belongs, in fact, in lines 215-217 of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 288. But the attempt to fit it into place has necessitated a new study of the inscription as a whole, in which a number of improvements in restoration and one significant correction in reading must be made:

*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 288

a. 412/1 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 73

- [τάδε *χοι ταμίαι τ*]ὸν *hierō*[*ν χρημάτ*]ον *tēs* Ἀθεν[αίας  
 Κ]άλλα[*ισχρος Εὐπυρίδες καὶ χσυνάρχον<τες>*]  
 [*hoīs Αὐτοκλείδε*]ς Σοστρά[το Φρεά]ρριος ἐγραμ[μάτε]νε  
 παρ[έδοσαν τοῖς ταμίαις *hoīs* Εὐάνδρος]  
 [Ἐριθαλίονος Εὐο]νυμεὺς ἐ[γραμ]μάτενε Ἀσοποδ[όροι]  
 Κυδ[αθεναιεὶ καὶ χσυνάρχοσι παραδεχσ]  
 205 [ἀμενοι παρὰ τὸν π]ροτέρων [ταμι]ὸν *hoīs* Λευκα[ῖος  
 Κο]μάρ[χο Ἀφιδναῖος ἐγραμμάτενε· ἐν τῷ Πα]  
 [ρθεν<ὸν>ι· στέφανος χ]ρυσὸς στ[αθμὸ]ν τοῦτο *ἸΔ*· φιά[λαι  
 χρ]υσα[ῖ Π]σταθμὸν τοῦτον *ἸΗΗἸΔΔΔΗ*· χρυσί[ο]  
 [*ν ἄσεμον σταθμὸν*] τοῦτο *ΗΙΙΙ*· [καρχ]έσιον χρυσὸν τ[ὸν  
 π]υθμ[ένα] *hnpárgyρον* ἔχον *hierōν τὸ herak*]  
 [λέος τὸ ἐν Ἐλαεῖ στ]αθμὸν τ[ούτο] *ΗΔΔΔΠΗΗ*· ἔλο δύ[ο  
*h*]υπ[αργύρο καταχρύσο σταθμὸν τοῦτοιν *ΗἸ*]  
 [*ΔΔΔΗΗΗ*· πρόσοπον] *hnpárg[υρον κ]ατάχρυσον στα[θμ]ὸν*  
 [τούτο *ΗΔΠ*· φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ *ΗΔΔΔΠΙΙΙ* κέρα]  
 210 [*ς ἀργυρὸν σταθμὸν*] τοῦτον *Τ[ΤΧΧΧΗ]ΗΗΠΗ*· *harithm[ὸν*  
*τάδε· ἀκινάκαι περιχρυσοι ΠΙ*, *λείον περίχ*]  
*[ρυσον, στάχνης ΔΙ]*, *κ*ανὸ *hnp[οχσύλ]ο καταχρύσο [Ι]*,  
*θυμιατέριον hnpóχσυλον κατάχρυσον, κόρε* <sup>v</sup>]  
 [ἐπὶ στέλες κατὰ χρ]υσος, *κο[ίτε hnp]όχσυλος [κατάχρυσος,*  
*γοργόνειον, κάμπε ἐπίχρυσσα, hίππος,*]  
*[γρύψ, γρυπὸς προτ]ομέ, γρύφ[ς, λέοντος κεφαλῆ, hόρμος*  
*ἀνθέμον, δράκον, ἐπίχρυσσα ταῦτα. κυνῆ* <sup>v</sup>]  
 [ἐπίχρυσος {ἐπίχρυσ}οςος}, ἀ[σπίδες ἐπίχρυσοι *hnpóχσυλοι*  
*ΔΠ, κλῖναι Χιοργῆς ΠΙΙΙ* καὶ *Μιλεσιο*]  
 215 [*ργῆς Δ, χσιφομάχαιρ*]αι *ΠΙΙΙΙ*, [*χσίφε Π, θόρακες ΔΠ*],  
*ἀσπίδες*] ἐπ[ίσεμοι *ΠΙ*, ἀσπίδες ἐπίχαλκοι *ΔΔΔΙ*],  
 [θρόνοι *ΔΙ*, δίφροι *ΙΙΙ*, ὁ]κλαδί[αι *ΠΙΙΙ*], *λύρα κατὰχρυσος,*  
*λύρ*]αι ἐλ[εφάντιναι *ΙΙΙ*], *λύραι ΠΙΙ*, *τράπεζα* <sup>vvv</sup>]  
 [ἐλεφαντομένε, κράνε] *χαλκ[ᾶ ΙΙ]*, *κλινὸν πόδες ἐπάργυρο*ι  
*ΔΙΙ*, *π[έλτε, φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ ΙΙΙ]*, *κύλικ* <sup>vvvv</sup>]



- [ες ἀργυροῖ Δ|||, ἡίππο]ς ἀργ[υρὸς, σταθμ]ὸν τ[ούτον  
 ΠΗΗΗΗ· ἀσπίδε ἐπιχρύσο ἡυποχρύλο ||, ἀκινά<sup>v</sup>]  
 [κες ἐπίχρυσος ἄσταθ]μος, φ[ιάλαι ἀργυρ]αῖ [Π]||| σ[ταθμὸν  
 τούτον ΠΗΗΗΠΗ· ποτέρια Χαλκιδικὰ<sup>vv</sup>]  
 220 [ἀργυρᾶ ||| σταθμὸν τού]τον Η[ΔΔΗΗΗ· συβέ]ν[ε h]ε  
 π[αρὰ Μεθυμναῖον ἐλεφαντίνε κατάχρυσος, <sup>vvv</sup>]  
 [ἀσπὶς ἐγ Λέσβο ἐπίσε]μος, κρ[άνος ἐγ Λέσ]β[ο Ἰλλυρικὸν  
 χαλκὸν, φιάλα ἀργυρᾶ ||, καρχεσίο ἀργ<sup>vv</sup>]  
 [υρὸ ||, σταθμὸν τούτον Π]ΠΔΔ[Δ· Λέσβιοι κ]ότ[υλοῖ  
 ἀργυροῖ || σταθμὸν τούτον ΗΗΗΠΔΔ· στέφανος<sup>vv</sup>]  
 [χρυσὸς σταθμὸν τούτο ΔΠΗΗ|||· στέφαν]ο[ς χρυσὸς σταθμὸν  
 τούτο ΔΔΠΗΗΗ· Ἀθηναίας Νίκες σ<sup>vv</sup>]  
 [τέφανος χρυσὸς σταθμὸν τούτο ΔΔΠΗΗΗ· στ]έφ[ανος  
 χρυσὸς σταθμὸν τούτο ΔΔΔΗΗΗ· Ἀθηναί<sup>vvv</sup>]  
 225 [ας Νίκες στέφανος χρυσὸς σταθμὸν τ]ού[το ΔΔΔΗΗΗ·  
 τετράδραχμον χρυσὸν σταθμὸν τούτο<sup>vvvv</sup>]  
 [ΠΗΗ||C· ὄνυχς τὸν δακτύλιον χρυσὸν h]έχ[ον] ἄστα[θμος·  
 χρυσίον ἄσεμον σταθμὸν τούτο ΠΗΗ<sup>vvvv</sup>]  
 [χορμίσκο || καὶ θαλλὸς χρυσὸς σταθμ]ὸν [τ]ούτον  
 [ΔΔΔΠ|||· χρυσίον δύο σταθμὸν τούτοι]ν ----]  
 [ἐπέτεια ἐπεγένετο ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσοποδόρο ἀρχῆς τάδε]· χρυσίον  
 ἄσεμ[ον σταθμὸν τούτο ----]  
 [----- ca. 38 ----- ἐν]όδια  
 χρυσᾶ Η[-----]  
 230 [----- ca. 40 -----]  
 ΔΔΔΔΠΗΗΗ

vacat

A revision of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 287, lines 187-201, of the records of the preceding year, was published by Allen West in *Mélanges Glotz*, I, 1932, pp. 329-334,<sup>52</sup> in which he made a number of improvements also in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 288. In particular, he determined the basic length of line as 73 letters, and remarked upon the digression from this norm with longer lines in the early part of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 288, and with shorter lines in the later part. The stoichedon pattern changes at line 228, with much closer lettering in the last three lines. My estimate is that about forty letters should be restored before the preserved item χρυσίον ἄσεμ[ον], and I have suggested [ἐπέτεια ἐπεγένετο ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσοποδόρο ἀρχῆς τάδε], where Eustratiades in his original publication had surmised [ἐπέτεια ἐπεγένετο ἐν τῷ Παρθενῶνι].<sup>53</sup> On the preserved portions of the stone the

<sup>52</sup> See *S.E.G.*, X, 205, 206.<sup>53</sup> Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1872, p. 418, with a drawing on plate 61.

stoichedon pattern is remarkably well preserved, but there were clearly irregularities at the ends of the lines and at times probably elsewhere. I have adopted West's suggestion that the final word *χουνάροντες* in line 202 was abbreviated,<sup>54</sup> and I note how close to the correct solution West came with his suggestion [*χορμίσκο δύο καὶ θαλλὸς χρυσὸς, σταθμὸν* [τ]ούτον [κτλ. — —] for line 227. The phrase in its correct form was incorporated into his text of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 287, line 200.

I have assumed the omission, through oversight, of two letters at the beginning of line 206, and have noted (as did West) the letters erroneously added by the stone-cutter in line 214. My correction in the readings from the stone concern line 221. There is no adjective *χρυσή* describing the blazoned shield from Lesbos; rather, the letters on the stone after [ἐπίσ]μος are KP — —.<sup>55</sup> The shield, therefore, was described simply as [ἀσπίς ἐγ Δέσβο ἐπίσ]μος. The letters which follow belong to a new item in the inventory, which can hardly be other than *κρ[άνος]*. The item in full, taken with the words which follow, now becomes *κρ[άνος ἐγ Δέσ]β[ο Ἰλλυρικὸν χαλκὸν]*. By analogy, the restoration of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 287, lines 194-195,<sup>56</sup> should be:

[— — — — ἀσπίς ἐγ Δέσβο ἐπίσμος· κρά]  
[νος ἐγ Δέσβο Ἰλλυρικὸν χαλκὸν — — —]

The correction should also be carried back to *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 283, line 139, to *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 282, lines 123-124, and to *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 280, line 87. This last is the text with which the supposed reading *χρυσέ* originated. It is the only text in which any part of the word following ἐπίσμος is free of restoration except the passage here under discussion. One can no longer control the reading of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 280, for the stone is lost.<sup>57</sup> The only copy is that made by James Stuart, which is reproduced in *The Antiquities of Athens*, 2nd ed., 1825, II, Chapter I, plate III, figure 11. There is no doubt about what Stuart thought he saw, for the letters ΧΡΥ after ἐπίσμος are all clearly shown. And yet he must have been in error; he must have seen in fact the letters ΚΡΑ, or parts of them, the first two of which can now be verified on the stone preserved in Athens for *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 288, line 221.<sup>58</sup> Even were the two letters KP not preserved on the Athens stone, the word *χρυσέ* could not in any case be restored; the lines immediately above

<sup>54</sup> A. B. West, *Mélanges Glotz*, I, 1932, pp. 331-332, note 2.

<sup>55</sup> Clearly distinguishable on the squeeze at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton.

<sup>56</sup> For the text see West, *loc. cit.*, and *S.E.G.*, X, 205. The doubtful beta in our present text was read as epsilon by Koehler (*I.G.*, I, 168, and bibliography).

<sup>57</sup> A. Kirchhoff, in *I.G.*, I, 170, reported that it had been taken to London by Lord Elgin. This apparently was not true; at least the stone is not among the Elgin Marbles in the British Museum. See Hicks and Hill, *Gr. Hist. Inscriptions*, No. 66, and the account in J. Stuart and N. Revett, *Antiquities of Athens*, 2nd ed., 1825, II, p. 55, note b.

<sup>58</sup> Paleographically, the mistake is easily explained.

and immediately below show that it is too short by one letter for the stoichedon space available.<sup>59</sup>

The text of this inscription as presented here preserves throughout (lines 202-227) a strictly stoichedon restoration of 73 letter-spaces in each line. Uninscribed spaces at the ends of lines are noted, and extra letters, if added, are tied to their predecessors by signs of ligature. The numeral in lines 208-209 has been restored in part from *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 281, line 99.<sup>60</sup>

**36** (Plate 42). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found among collected marbles south of the Hephaisteion on June 14, 1939.

Height, 0.05 m.; width, 0.08 m.; thickness, 0.07 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 5880.

a. 432/1 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 84

[----- ἐμέραι ἐσελ]ελυθ[νίαι ἐσαν . . .<sup>6</sup> . . . ----]  
 [----- δ]όσις ηελ[λενοταμίασι ----]  
 [----- ἐσελελυθνί]αι ἐσα[ν . . .<sup>ca. 11</sup> . . . ----]<sup>61</sup>

This fragment is part of the text of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 296, but cannot be fitted into any of the lines known so far. It must belong to the lower part of the inscription which records the moneys given to the generals about the Peloponnesos in the summer of 431 B.C.<sup>62</sup>

**37** (Plate 40). Fragment of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides but with the back (much worn) preserved, found in modern debris above the well-house of Klepsydra (T 27) on May 31, 1940.

Height, 0.105 m.; width, 0.175 m.; thickness, 0.097 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 5895.

a. 374/3 a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----]έστρατ[ος -----]  
 [----- οἷς E]ύκλείδης Μυ[ρρινούσιος ἐγραμμάτεν]  
 [ταμίαις τῆς θεῶ τοῖς ἐ]πὶ Σωκρατίδο [ἄρχοντος . . .<sup>ca. 13</sup> . . .]  
 [-----<sup>ca. 18</sup> -----]ι Διονυσίο Κυ[δαθηναίει, . . .<sup>ca. 13</sup> . . .]  
 5 [-----<sup>ca. 22</sup> -----]αιεῖ, Λυ[-----]

<sup>59</sup> This is a fact overlooked in Hiller's publication of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 288. Nor can the phrase ἐγ Λέσβο Ἰλλυρικὸν χαλκὸν by itself alone be explained. The words Ἰλλυρικὸν and χαλκὸν are adjectives, and require a noun; this noun is now supplied by the substantive κράνος.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, p. 303 (No. 276).

<sup>61</sup> For the meaning of ἐσελελυθνίαι, depending on πρυτανείαι (understood), see A. Oguse, *B.C.H.*, LIX, 1935, pp. 417-420.

<sup>62</sup> For the text of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 296, see B. D. Meritt, *Athenian Financial Documents*, pp. 80-83.



The date is given by the name of the archon Sokratides in line 3. Names preceding in the nominative, and names following in the dative, indicate that the text comes from the opening lines of a record in which one board (or commission) handed over its charge to a succeeding board. I interpret the inscription as an account of the Treasurers of the Goddess for the year 374 B.C.: the old board of 375/4 gave its charge to the incoming board of 374/3.

The documents nearest in date are *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1410 and 1411. Although Ferguson has shown that the secretary-cycle was not operative for the treasurers of Athena in the three decades following 385 B.C., it is perhaps worth noting that the secretary from Myrrhinous here (line 2) who belongs to the year 375/4 and to the phyle Pandionis (III) follows immediately, in reverse order, after the secretary of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1411, who belongs to the year 376/5 and to the phyle Leontis (IV).<sup>63</sup>

Eukleides of Myrrhinous (line 2) is known as the father of [...] *χίας*, who was a councillor from Pandionis later in the century,<sup>64</sup> and Dionysios of Kydathenaion (line 4) was hellenotamias in 410/09.<sup>65</sup>

Whatever the demotic to be supplied in line 5 ending in — — *αιετ*, it is evident that the treasurers of 374/3 cannot have been named in the official order of the phylai. This same disregard of the official order occurs also in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1410, for the treasurers of the year 376/5.

38 (Plate 42). Part of a stele of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, but with the smooth back preserved, found on April 8, 1948, among marbles collected from the area southwest of the Market Square.

Height, 0.095 m.; width, 0.093 m.; thickness, 0.044 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 6101.

*saec.* IV *a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[— — — —] το Χαρ[— — — — —]  
 [— — — —] μφισβητων ειτ[— — — — —]  
 [— — — —] ίωι καὶ ἐτιμης[— — — — —]  
 [— — — —] ΠΗΗ ἐπρίατο [— — — — —]  
 5 [— — — —] οσίωι ἄπασα Η [— — — — —]  
 [— — — —] ἀ]πέγραψε ἐν τῶι [— — — — —]  
 [— — — —] σίωι ΠΗΗΗΗΗ [— — — — —]  
 [— — — — —] ἐμο Εὐ[— — — — —]

<sup>63</sup> For the hiatus in the secretary-cycles of the treasurers of Athena see W. S. Ferguson, *The Treasurers of Athena*, 1932, pp. 141-144.

<sup>64</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1753, lines 50-51.

<sup>65</sup> See Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, I, 1939, p. 570. For the text of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 304, see Meritt, *Athenian Financial Documents*, pp. 94-96.

The text is part of a record of sales by the poletai of confiscated property. Lines 2-3 imply court action and an evaluation (or fine).

**39** (Plate 42). Part of a stele of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on April 20, 1948, near the southwest corner of the Middle Stoa (H 13). Mention of the discovery was made in *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 223.

Height, 0.15 m.; width, 0.255 m.; thickness, 0.071 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 6104.

*saec.* IV *a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----]στράτο τὸ [-----]  
 [-----π]αρά τοῖς θεσμοθέ[ταις -----]  
 [-----] γείτων βορρᾶθεν Δ[-----]  
 [----νοτόθ]εν ἡ τάφος ἡ παρὰ [-----]  
 5 [-----] ἀπὸ τῆς πυλίδος κλη[-----]  
 [-----Δ]ωρόθεος Ἀρκεφῶντος Α[-----]  
 [----κατεβλήθ]η τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῆς τιμ[ῆς ----]  
 [-----]ς ἐνεπεσκήψατο ἐνοφείλεσθαι[ι ----]  
 [-----]υλῶν ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ καὶ τρί[τῳ ----]  
 10 [-----]τ[ί]ππο ΠΗΗΗΔΔΠ Θέμ[-----]  
 [-----]νότος τὸ ἀργύριον[ν ----]  
 [-----]ην ἀναλ[-----]  
 [-----]Ο[-----]

Five lines of the text occupy about 0.06 m. on the stone vertically. The name in line 6 is otherwise unknown. For the claim in line 8 urged as a lien against the property sold, see the similar phraseology in *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 402, no. 10, lines 170-176. The text belongs among the records of the poletai of the sale of confiscated properties.

**40** (Plate 43). Upper left corner of a stele of Pentelic marble, broken at the bottom, at the left below the corner, and at the right, found on July 26, 1949, in the wall of a modern house east of the Stoa of Attalos. The flat top and left edge (so far as preserved) are dressed with a toothed chisel. Traces of red appear in some of the letters.

Height, 0.385 m.; width, 0.355 m.; thickness, 0.086 m.

Height of letters, 0.016 m. and 0.012 m. and 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 6225.





41 (Plate 43). Part of a stele of Hymettian marble, with the left side and the original back preserved, but otherwise broken, found on February 8, 1941, among stones collected on Kolonos Agoraios.

Height, 0.35 m.; width, 0.20 m.; thickness, 0.09 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 5903.

The writing is stoichdeon with a checker pattern in which the units measure *ca.* 0.01 m.

*post. med. saec. IV a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[. . . .] δ[-----]  
 τεττάρω[ν ποδῶν ----- τεττ]  
 ἄρων ποδ[ῶν -----]  
 [. .] ποδιο[----- ἀριθ]  
 5 μός: [. .] ΔΔ[----- τὸν α]  
 ὑτὸν τρόπ[ον -----]  
 ΤΛ[. .]:[. .] ιτ[-----]  
 λίθων κε[-----]  
 μετωπίω[ι -----]  
 10 [. .] μήκη τριγ[-----]  
 [. .] πόδιοι: π[-----]  
 οἶον τοῦ λίθο[ν ----- ἀ]  
 [ργ]ύριον: σ[-----]  
 [. . . .] ἑκαστο[-----]  
 15 [. .] ο[. . .] λίθων [-----]  
 [. .] εἰν[. .] εἰ ἐκομι[-----]  
 [. . . .] οἷον ἴσων α[----- τῶ]  
 [μ μι]σθῶν [κ]αὶ λι[θουργίας ----- κ]  
 [ε]φάλαιον ἀργυρ[ίου -----]  
 20 τῇ ἐπιβάσει [-----]  
 εἰς ἑκατὸμ πόδα[ς -----]  
 [. .] ται δ' εἰς τὸ πλ[άτος -----]  
 [. . . .] ιος πόδας ο[-----]  
 [. . τὸ]ν αὐτὸν τρόπ[ον -----]  
 25 [. . .] Η: ΗΗ: ἀριθμός [-----]  
 [. . .] εἰ[. .] πον τὸ ἐπὶ [-----]  
 [. . τὸ] πλάτος εκ[-----]  
 [. . . .] α πόδε[ς -----]  
 [. . . . . π]λάτ[ος -----]

The fragment belongs to a building inscription of the mid-fourth century, or later,<sup>66</sup> with records of building specifications and expenses. Lines 18-19 seem to contain a minor summation, concerning wages and stone-masonry (?), after which specifications were resumed.

42 (Plate 44). Fragment of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found in a context of Roman date near Klepsydra (T 27) on May 27, 1940.

Height, 0.21 m.; width, 0.21 m.; thickness, 0.07 m.

Height of letters, 0.004 m.-0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 5893.

*ca. a. 325 a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

I

II

[Λεωντίδος]

5

[-----]

Φ[ρεάρριος]

Θεόφι[λος]

Φρεάρριο[ς]

Ἀκαμαντ[ίδος]

10

Φιλοκλή[ς]

Ἀγνούσ[ιος]

Πολυάρα[τος]

Χολαργ[εύς]

Νικόβου[λος]

15

[Π]ροσπά[λτιος]

[-----]ον

[-----]μον: Π

3 [-----]άτου

[-----]ν: Π

Polyaratos of Cholargos (lines 13-14) and Nikoboulos of Prospalta (lines 15-16) were trierarchs in 323/2 B.C.<sup>67</sup> This fragment, in which their names occur again, was part of a naval record of approximately the same date, in which Theophilos of Phrearrhoi and Philokles of Hagnous were associated with them in some capacity not here specified. They too may have been trierarchs, listed here according to phylai, as were the trierarchs in the early part of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1622 (*q.v.*), though in much abbreviated form. The restorations at the ends of the lines in the second column are uncertain; in the first column there seems to have been a numeral with each name, though the text differs in character from the second column and cannot be similarly restored with simple names and demotics.

<sup>66</sup> Witness the genitive τοῦ in line 12.

<sup>67</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1632, lines 29, 38, 248, 255. Cf. *P.A.*, 11908 and 10845.

**43** (Plate 43). Fragment of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found at the base of the cliff on the Acropolis east of Klepsydra (U 26) on April 13, 1939.

Height, 0.08 m.; width, 0.10 m.; thickness, 0.027 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 5774.

*ca. a. 325 a.*

I

[-----]οτελ[---]  
 [---φιάλη σταθμ]όν: Η  
 [-----]τος  
 [-----]οἰκοῦ  
 5 [ἀποφυγοῦσα-----]ωνα  
 [---φιάλη σταθμόν: Η] <sup>v</sup>

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

II

φ[ιάλη σταθμόν: Η]  
 Σ[-----]  
 φι[άλη σταθμόν: Η]  
 Χο[-----] 10

This small fragment belongs to the records of Attic manumissions, which have now been treated at length by D. M. Lewis.<sup>68</sup> I have not so far been able to join this new fragment with any of the other known pieces.

**44** (Plate 43). Dedicatory plaque of Pentelic marble, with both front and back preserved, as well as the vertical edge, but broken at the left, found southwest of the Market Square (E 19) on May 12, 1939.

Maximum dimension, 0.29 m.; thickness, 0.0495 m.

Height of letters (face), 0.012 m. and (edge) 0.016 m.

Inv. No. I 5816.

*post. med. saec. IV a.*

Face

*in wreath*

[ο]ἱ ἱππεῖς

Edge

Καλλισθένης Χα[-----]

**45** (Plate 43). Statue base of Hymettian marble, found lying upside down on the floor of the Roman stoa outside the northwest corner of the Market Square (F 2) on March 31, 1939.

Height, 0.20 m.; width, 0.59 m.; thickness, 0.73 m.

Height of letters, 0.03 m. in line 1, 0.025 m. in lines 2-4.

Inv. No. I 5769.

<sup>68</sup> *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 208-238.



*fin. saec. I a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[Παμμένης Ζήνων]νος Μαραθώνιος  
 [- <sup>ca.</sup> 9 - Μη]τροδώρου Σνπαλήττιον  
 [φιλοτιμίας τε καὶ εὖν]οίας ἔνεκεν τῆς εἰς ἅπὸν  
 [ἀνέ]θηκεν

The stone is broken at the left and at the back and is much worn by traffic on its under side (the top surface in its later use). This was a plain plinth. It carries in its original top the mark of the left foot of a life-sized bronze statue. The foot had been secured by a large heel-dowel the rectangular cutting for which remains. The foot was later released by chiseling on all sides.

The name Pammenes is almost surely to be restored in line 1. The lettering (especially omega) favors a date in the second half of the first century, and Pammenes was at that time the most prominent member of his distinguished family from Marathon. He is to be identified with that Pammenes who was priest of Apollo about 50 B.C., and for whom references may be found in *Hesperia*, Index I-X, 1946, p. 122, *s.v.* Παμμένης [Ζήνωνος Μαραθώ]νιος. The name of the man whose statue he dedicated is not preserved, and the father Metrodoros is otherwise unknown.

46 (Plate 44). Fragment from the corner of a stele of Pentelic marble, inscribed on adjacent faces, broken on all sides, found in a context of Byzantine date southwest of the Market Square (D 18) on April 27, 1939. The lettering is in the Attic alphabet, with three-bar sigma.

Height, 0.125 m.; width (Face B), 0.107 m.; thickness (Face A), 0.042 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 5794.

*med. saec. V a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

|    | A                 |  | B                                       |
|----|-------------------|--|---|
|    | [- - - -]ο[- -]   |  |   |
|    | [- - - -]ο        |  |   |
|    | [- - -]ντο[ς]     |  | [- - <sup>ca.</sup> 9 - -]γρ[- - - -]   |
|    | [- - -]           |  | [- <sup>ca.</sup> 6 - -]ε Θράιτ[τα - -] |
| 5  | [- - - -]πελ[- -] |  | ἡμέρα Ἀρχεβί[ον - - -]                  |
|    | [- - - -]ος       |  | Τιμοχσένε Καλ[- - - -]                  |
|    | [- - - -]ς: Με[.] |  | Μίκα Μίκονος Γ[- - - -]                 |
|    | [- - - -]ς: Γυ    |  | Ἀριστοβόλε Λυκ[- - - -]                 |
|    | [- - - -]ετ       |  | Γοργὸ Κλεάρχο [- - - -]                 |
| 10 | [- - - -]ο[.]     |  | Σμικύθε Σ[- - - -]                      |
|    |                   |  | [.]σ[- - - -]                           |

15

This piece was identified by A. E. Raubitschek as part of the same inscription with that published by A. Brueckner in 1926.<sup>69</sup> It belongs apparently to the same corner of the original monument, beneath the fragment from the Kerameikos. With the new evidence there is no longer any question about the character of the names; they were not the daughters of distinguished Athenians, but rather slaves, and the "patronymics" must be taken, not as fathers, but as owners.

47 (Plate 44). Fragment of a stele of Hymettian marble, with part of the toothed right side preserved but otherwise broken, found in a modern wall at the north foot of the Areopagus (N 21) on March 19, 1939.

Height, 0.20 m.; width, 0.35 m.; thickness, 0.145 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 5720.

*saec.* IV *a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----] ρμου [Ἀ]χαρνέως  
 [-----] ιος Σωσισθένους Μυρρ  
 [ινούσιος -----] ος Διειτρέφους Θορίκι  
 [ος -----] τος Αὐτοφράδους Θορα  
 5 [ιεύς -----] ς Εὐχέρους [Πα]μβωτάδη  
 [ς -----] ης Ξενοκλέου[ς] Ῥαμνού  
 [σινος -----] αῦλου Φιλ[αί]δης<sup>vvv</sup>  
*vacat*  
*vacat*  
 [-----] *traces* [-----]

The writing is stoichedon with a square checker pattern in which the units measure 0.016 m. The letters are of the fourth century (see especially phi and omega).<sup>70</sup> No one of the citizens in this list—not in the official order of their phylai—can be identified, although Xenokles (line 6) is clearly a forebear of Xenokles of Rhamnous mentioned in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2336, lines 40 and 155.<sup>71</sup> The nature of the list is uncertain.

48 (Plate 45). Fragment of Hymettian marble from the lower left corner of a large block, broken behind and at the right, found on October 14, 1949, near the Stoa of Attalos. The bottom was rough-picked and then dressed with a toothed chisel; the left edge was dressed with a toothed chisel.

<sup>69</sup> Discovered near the city wall in the Kerameikos in 1916. See A. Brueckner, *Ath. Mitt.*, LI, 1926, pp. 129-130; A. E. Raubitschek in *S.E.G.*, X, 351.

<sup>70</sup> For the phi, see J. Kirchner, *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum*<sup>2</sup>, p. 26, commentary on No. 96.

<sup>71</sup> For a later relative, see also *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3504.

Height, 0.115 m.; width, 0.25 m.; thickness, 0.32 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 6232.

*saec.* IV *a.*

[-----]  
[ . . . ]στρατ[ος -----]  
[Π]ολυκτήμων Εὐκτῆ[μονος -----]  
Ἀριστεὺς Ἀριστοφώντος [-----]  
5 [Ε]ὐ[μ]αρίδης Διοπίθους Α[ἰ]γι(λιεύς)

49 (Plate 46). Part of a base of Hymettian marble, found on May 11, 1950, in the wall of a late pithos northeast of the Odeion (N 8). The stone is broken at both sides and at the bottom, but part of the top and possibly of the back is preserved. There is a smooth dressed band along the front edge of the top, the rest of the surface being rough-picked in the same plane; the back has been roughly hollowed out in a re-working.

Height, 0.205 m.; width, 0.265 m.; thickness, 0.137 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.-0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 6297.

*a.* 267/6 *a.* (?)

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[οἱ -----<sup>ca. 21</sup> ----- οἱ ἐπὶ (?) Μενεκλ]έους ἄρχοντο[ς ἀνέθεσαν]  
[-----<sup>ca. 11</sup> ----- στεφανωθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς βο]υλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμ[ου *vacat*]

I

II

|   |  |    |  |
|---|--|----|--|
| 5 | [-----]<br>[-----]<br>[-----]<br>[-----]<br>[-----]<br>[-----] | 10 | [----- <sup>5-6</sup> -----]δης Ἰσηγόρου Κεφ[αλήθεν]<br>[Τελεσι]νος Τελεσίμου Ἀχ[αρνεύς]<br>[----- <sup>ca. 6</sup> -----]κλῆς Σωκ[-----]<br>[-----]<br>[-----]<br>[-----] |
|---|--|----|--|

The definition of the dedicants must have been given in line 1, and in line 2 was perhaps the name of the hero or god(s) to whom the dedication was made.<sup>72</sup> The lettering indicates a date in the third century, during the period of twelve phylai.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>72</sup> See, for example, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2811 ff.

<sup>73</sup> The phi is characteristic. See Kirchner, *Imagines*<sup>2</sup>, nos. 82 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 772, of 268/7), 85 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 677, from shortly before mid century), 87 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1283 of 261/0), and 88 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 780, of 252/1). The dates of nos. 82, 87, and 88, are given according to the table in B. D. Meritt, *The Athenian Year*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1961, pp. 233-234.



Since the first preserved demotic belongs to the phyle Akamantis, seventh in the official order, one may assume that the dedicants were a college of officials, one from each phyle, and so arranged on the stone as to make two columns of six names each. The demotic of Telesinos (line 10) may be restored in conformity with this pattern, and the assumption of two columns determines the approximate width of the base.

In line 9 Isegoros is probably to be identified with that Isegoros son of Isokrates of Kephale who was secretary in 271/0.<sup>74</sup> The name of the archon should be chosen from the four in the general period whose names end in — — — κλης: Telokles (290/89), Diokles (286/5), Demokles (278/7), and Menekles (267/6). The latest of these is best suited to the character of the writing, but his name and the date must be marked with a question.

**50** (Plate 44). Thin slab of Hymettian marble, carefully dressed with a toothed chisel on the reverse, with the right edge and lower edge preserved, found on April 24, 1951, in the wall of a modern house outside the Market Square south of South Stoa II.

Height, 0.17 m.; width, 0.22 m.; thickness, 0.039 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 6413.

*med. saec. II a.*

[Ἀτταλίδος]

*lacuna*

[ — — — — — ] ρον Ἀ[θμον]εὺς

*vacat ca. 0.095 m.*

[ — — — παιδοτρ]ιβούντος Σωκράτου Φυλασίου

*vacat*

The inscription contained a list of epheboi, apparently, from which only part of the name of the last has been preserved. The thinness of the stone argues against a wide stele of the type characteristic of the late second century. Probably the names were here arranged in two columns, by phylai, and recorded with patronymics and demotics. The last name belonged to the deme Athmonon of the twelfth phyle Attalis.

The paidotribes was probably the father of that Dionysios, son of Sokrates, of Phyle who was kosmetes in 123/2.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>74</sup> See W. B. Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 288, no. 182, lines 3-4.

<sup>75</sup> See *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1006, as supplemented by *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2485, and by *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 23-25, No. 11.

51 (Plate 44). Stele of Hymettian marble, with the right side and bottom preserved, including part of the tenon for setting, and possibly also the rough-picked back, found on April 7, 1951, in the wall of a late Roman house east of the north end of the Stoa of Attalos (O 7).

Height, 0.34 m.; width, 0.45 m.; thickness, 0.17 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.-0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 6333.

a. 144/3 a. (?)

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----]ο ἐπὶ Ἀνδρέου ἄρχοντο[ς]

Ο [-----ᾶ]ρχοντος

οἱ κεχειροτονη[μένοι ἄνδρε]ς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου

*vacat*

μεθ' ἐννέα ἀρχόντων

ἱερεὺς Σαράπιδος εἰς ἄστυ

καὶ ἱερεὺς Ἀρτέμιδος ἐν νήσῳ εἰς Δῆλον

τῇ ἐμπορίῳ εἰς Δῆλον *vacat*

οἱ κεχ<ε>ιροτονημένοι ἄνδρες ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου

10 [γραμματεὺς ἐπι]μελητέῃ Δήλου *vacat*

*vacat*

The date is given by the little-known archon Andreas, who is now assigned to the year 144/3.<sup>76</sup> The text of line 8 is complete as given above, but I suspect none the less a reference to the ἐπιμελητῆς ἐμπορίου.<sup>77</sup> The epimeletes of Delos itself was mentioned in line 10.<sup>78</sup> Probably the restoration should be [γραμματεὺς ἐπι]μελητέῃ Δήλου, and I have so indicated it. In line 7 the four letters *καὶ* appear before the word *ἱερεὺς*. Their alpha has a straight bar, not the broken bar of the main text of lines 5-10, and I suspect a remnant of some previous text not entirely erased. Indeed, the whole section from line 5 to line 10, with alpha with broken bar, seems awkwardly disposed on the stone and inexpertly written. It should be taken as an appendix (how much later is uncertain) to the main text above, which has alpha with straight bar, and which ends with line 3; the erased text (if such it was) was probably earlier than both.

52 (Plate 45). Two joining fragments of a stele of Hymettian marble, with the left side and back preserved, found on July 28, 1947, in the Roman drain at the west end of the Middle Stoa (H 13).

<sup>76</sup> B. D. Meritt, *The Athenian Year*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1961, p. 237.

<sup>77</sup> See P. Roussel, *Délos*, pp. 179-182.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. P. Roussel, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-125.

Height, 0.59 m.; width, 0.43 m.; thickness, 0.105 m.

Height of letters, 0.025 m., 0.01 m., and 0.018 m.

Inv. No. I 6066.

*init. saec. II p.*

[-----'Α λ ω]  
 π ε κ ῆ θ ε ν τ [ ι μ ῆ σ α ς τ ο ὺ ς π ρ υ τ ά ν ε ι ς ]  
 κ α ἰ τ ο ὺ ς ἀ ἱ σ ί τ ο υ [ ς ἀ ν έ γ ρ α ψ ε ν *vacat* ]

|    | I                     | II                     | III    | IV     |
|----|-----------------------|------------------------|--------|--------|
|    | Ἀναφλύστιοι           | Φ̄ Βησαιεῖς            | (lost) | (lost) |
| 5  | Δημοχάρης Ἐπικτήτου   | Αὐ· Πρέϊμος            |        |        |
|    | Ἀμύντας Ἡρακλέωνος    | Ζώσιμος )              | 20     |        |
|    | Κόρινθος )            | Ϛ Ἡράκων Ἀλκίμου       |        |        |
|    | Μᾶρκος )              | Ἀλκιμος )              |        |        |
|    | Εὐπορος Μέμνονος      | Ἐπέραστος Ἀλκίμου      |        |        |
| 10 | Ἀθήναις Εὐφροσύνου    | Εὐήμερος )             |        |        |
|    | Ἀγαθοκλῆς Ἀσκληπιάδου | Ἀντίγονος              | 25     |        |
|    | Φιλήμων Ἀμύντου       | Ἰανᾶρις Ἐρασείνου      |        |        |
|    | [Β]ερυλλανός          | Ἰσίων Μηροδώρου        |        |        |
|    | Ἐπίκτητος )           | Ϛ Ποσειδώνιος ) Ϛ      |        |        |
| 15 | Ἀντίοχος )            | Ἰσιγένης Νεικίου       |        |        |
|    |                       | Θεόπομπος Νεικηφό[ρου] | 30     |        |
|    | Σημαχίδαι             | <i>vacat</i>           |        |        |
|    | Μᾶ· Οὐλ· Ἀρχέλαος     |                        |        |        |
|    | <i>vacat</i>          |                        |        |        |

There were fourteen names and demotics in the first column and thirteen names and demotics in the second column. Since the register of prytaneis of Antiochis should normally have had about 58 lines devoted to names and demotics (fifty names plus eight demotics) there were originally four columns, in all probability, with perhaps fifteen or sixteen lines in each of the last two. This calculated width of the stone allows the restoration as proposed above for the larger letters of lines 2-3. There were no regularly stereotyped formulae for the headings of these registers before the time of Hadrian, but it may be that the name in line 1, if not of the ἐπιστάτης τῶν πρυτάνεων,<sup>79</sup> was that of the secretary.<sup>80</sup> He belonged to the phyle honored. The demotics Ἀλωπεκῆθεν, Ἀναφλύστιος, Σημαχίδης, and Βησαιεύς all belonged to Antiochis in this period of the twelve phylai, though the deme Besa went to Hadrianis when the thirteenth phyle was created.

<sup>79</sup> See *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1821; below, No. 55.

<sup>80</sup> See *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1764.





ca. a. 225 p.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[---] *traces* [-----]  
 παιδο[τρίβης-----]  
 γραμματε[ὺς-----]  
 ΚΛ Λεωσθένης[ςΜελιτεὺς προστάτης-----]

The inscription is part of a catalogue of epheboi. The full form of the name in line 4, as it is known from *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2208 and 2209, was Τιβ. Κλ. Νίγρος ὁ καὶ Λεωσθένης Μελιτεὺς. In the later inscriptions, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2223 and 2235, the name was written ΚΛ Λεωσθένης Μελιτεὺς, as here. These inscriptions range in date from A.D. 212/3 to 234/5.<sup>84</sup> At least as early as 220/1 Leosthenes had been elected *προστάτης* διὰ βίου (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2223, line 13).

There is an uninscribed band of marble at the left edge of the stone separated from the inscribed portion by a deeply cut vertical groove. The text belongs at the left side of a large stele, inside the frame of uninscribed marble.

**55** (Plate 46). Stele of Pentelic marble, broken at the top, bottom, and left side, found in a late Roman context west of the west end of the Middle Stoa (H 13) on July 25, 1947.

Height, 0.205 m.; width, 0.302 m.; thickness, 0.055 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.; 0.014 m.

Inv. No. I 6058.

init. saec. III p.

|    |   |                 |
|----|---|-----------------|
|    | [-----]   |                 |
|    | [-----]ς σ[-----]                               |                 |
|    | [----- αἰσείτου]ς τιμήσας ἀνέγραψε <sup>v</sup> |                 |
|    | [---] Ἀριστόδημος                               | Αἰξωνεῖς        |
| 5  | [-----]   | Ἔλλος )         |
|    | [-----] )                                       | Ἀντ Ποσειδώνιος |
|    | [-----]   | Ἀφροδίσιος ) 15 |
|    | [-----]   | Φιλοκλῆς        |
|    | [-----]   | <i>vacat</i>    |
| 10 | [-----]   | Συπαλήττιοι     |
|    | [-----] Ἑρμίου                                  | Ἀθήναιος )      |
|    |   | Ροῦφος ) 20     |
|    |   | Πόπλιος [---]   |
|    |   | [-----]         |

<sup>84</sup> See J. A. Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 54.





For the signatures of these sculptors, see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4293-4297; *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 164, No. 63.

58 (Plate 47). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides but with the rough-picked back preserved, found on February 23, 1939, in a modern wall over the Panathenaic Way south of the Eleusinion (S 21).

Height, 0.28 m.; width, 0.23 m.; thickness, 0.106 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 5645.

saec. IV a. ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[— . . . .] ιο [— — — —]  
 [— . . . .] ων δη [— — — —]  
 [— . . . .] ιν ιδία [— — — —]  
 [— . . . .] ται εἰν [αι — —]  
 5 [— — εὖ] ἐργέτην [— — — —]  
 [— . . . .] λ [— — — —]

The stoichedon pattern consists of square units which measure approximately 0.0155 m. The text belongs to a decree honoring a benefactor of Athens.

59 (Plate 47). Fragment of Pentelic marble, with the left edge preserved but otherwise broken, found in a context of Turkish date over the Panathenaic Way west of the Eleusinion (T 20) on March 15, 1939.

Height, 0.108 m.; width, 0.078 m.; thickness, 0.065 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 5713.

med. saec. IV a. ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[.] μηλον [— — — — — — — —]  
 αι μηδὲ [— — — — — — — —]  
 αν τῶν Ἀ[θηναίων (?) — — μηδ]  
 ἐνὶ μηδ' ἀ[— — — — — — — —]  
 5 τιων δε [— — — — — — — —]  
 καὶ ὄρκ[ον — — — — — — — —]  
 σι εν[— — — — — — — —]  
 μεν[— — — — — — — —]  
 √ Λ [— — — — — — — —]

The letters are normal types of the fourth century, and the writing is stoichedon with a square checker pattern in which the units measure 0.0076 m. The text is part of a decree, from which only a few words are distinguishable; in line 6 ὄρκ[ον] suggests a treaty.

60 (Plate 47). Stele of blue Hymettian marble, with part of the rough-picked back and toothed left side preserved, but otherwise broken, found on June 13, 1950, in the curbing of a Turkish well north of the Odeion (M 8).

Height, 0.19 m.; width, 0.237 m.; thickness, 0.048 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 6314.

The writing is stoichedon with a square checker pattern in which the units measure 0.012 m. Vertical marks of the toothed chisel are visible on the surface. The letters, especially the cruciform phi, are characteristic of the late fourth and early third centuries.

ca. a. 300 a. ΣΤΟΙΧ. 20

[— — — — —] Λ[...<sup>8</sup>...]  
 [— — — — —] ει[...<sup>7</sup>...]  
 [...<sup>3</sup>...] σιας [...<sup>7</sup>...]  
 [...<sup>7</sup>...] ΕΙΔΑΙΜ [...<sup>7</sup>...]  
 5 [.] νέων ἀναγράφ[αι δὲ τόδε]  
 [τ]ὸ ψήφισμα ἐ[ν στήλαις λι]  
 [θ]ίναίς τρι[σὶν καὶ στήσαι]  
 [ι] τήν μὲν ἐ[ν ...<sup>11</sup>...]  
 [...<sup>8</sup>...] τήν [δὲ ...<sup>10</sup>...]  
 10 [...<sup>6</sup>...] ίωι ἐν [...<sup>9</sup>...]  
 [...<sup>8</sup>...] ι Ποσ[...<sup>8</sup>...]  
 [...<sup>9</sup>...] ΤΡΕ[...<sup>8</sup>...]  
 [...<sup>8</sup>...] ι [...<sup>8</sup>...]  
 [...<sup>8</sup>...] Γ[...<sup>8</sup>...]

A remarkable feature of the text is that it provides for the erection of three stelai. Hence it is likely not to have been a public decree, but rather a decree of some society, or religious

organization, or perhaps phyle or deme. I have not ventured to suggest the sites that must have been specified in lines 8-12. The last preserved letter in line 10 may have been (epigraphically) kappa as well as nu.

**61** (Plate 47). Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble, with the rough-picked back and right side (behind the surface) preserved, found in a modern wall west of the Panathenaic Way and southwest of the Eleusinion (S 22) on April 5, 1939.

Height, 0.27 m.; width, 0.19 m.; thickness, 0.135 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 5760.

*init. saec. III a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 28

[— — — — — τ] ὦν π[ροέδρων]  
[ἐπεψήφισεν . . .<sup>7</sup> . . .] ἰας K[. . .<sup>7</sup> . . .]  
[. . . . .<sup>12</sup> . . . . . καὶ σ]υμπρόε[δροι<sup>vv</sup>]  
[vvvvv ἔδοξεν τεῖ βo]υλεῖ vvv[vvvvv]  
5 [ . . . . .<sup>15</sup> . . . . . ] οὐ Πιθεὺς ε[ἰπεν·]  
[ἐπειδὴ . . . . .<sup>8</sup> . . . ] βουλευεῖν λ[αχὼν]  
[ἐπὶ . . .<sup>7</sup> . . . ἄρχο]ντος καλῶς [καὶ δι]  
[καίως διατετέληκ]ε τὸν ἐνια[τὸν ε]  
[ῥνους καὶ φιλοτιμ]οῦμενος ἀ[εὶ περ]  
10 [ὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς θεo]ὺς εὐσέβε[ιαν κα]  
[ὶ τὸ τῆς πόλεως συμ]φέρον, καὶ [πρεσβ]  
[εύων ἐν ταῖς πρεσβ]είαις αἴ[τιος ἐγ]  
[ένετο . . . . .<sup>12</sup> . . . . . ] Δ[ . . . . .<sup>9</sup> . . . . .]  
[— — — — — ] Ν[ . . . . .<sup>11</sup> . . . . . ]

The writing is stoichedon, with a square checker pattern in which the units measure ca. 0.015 m.

**62** (Plate 47). Part of a stele of Pentelic marble, with the left edge and back preserved, but otherwise broken, found on the north slope

between the Acropolis and the Areopagus (R 23) on May 16, 1939.

Height, 0.11 m.; width, 0.09 m.; thickness, 0.04 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 5836.

The writing is stoichedon with a square checker pattern in which the units measure ca. 0.01 m.

*init. saec. III a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 30

[ . . . . ] ε[— — — — —]  
[ . ] οὐ Πα[— — — — —]  
ἐκ Φωκέω[ν — — — — —]  
ν τὰ συμφ[έροντα τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναί]  
5 ων· ἀγαθῇ[ι τύχῃ δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ· ἐ]  
παινέσ[αι αὐτοὺς καὶ στεφανῶσαι ἕκα]  
στον αὐ[τῶν χρυσῶι στεφάνῳι κατὰ τὸν]  
νόμον [— — — — —]  
[ . ] — [— — — — —]

The writing and the formulae are indicative of the date. In line 4 phi has the cruciform shape which appears first about the middle of the fourth century, but which is not to be expected after the second decade of the third century.<sup>87</sup> The granting of the crown κατὰ τὸν νόμον is normal only at the end of the fourth century or later.<sup>88</sup> So the present text is probably to be dated in the early third century. It honors men who had come from Phokis, or who had been sent from Athens to Phokis and had returned, for their efforts on behalf of the Athenians. It is known that in the archonship of Ourias (281/0)<sup>89</sup> a delegation had been sent to Lebadeia for the celebration of the Basileia there and had been praised on their return.<sup>90</sup> Similarly, this text may have praised a delegation returning from Phokis. The letters pre-

<sup>87</sup> J. Kirchner, *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum*<sup>2</sup>, p. 21, note on No. 68, and p. 23, note on No. 77.

<sup>88</sup> See *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, Part I, fasc. I, p. 285.

<sup>89</sup> For the date see W. B. Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 314.

<sup>90</sup> *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 562-565, No. 40.

served in line 2 suggest a patronymic and an Athenian demotic; if so, the men praised were Athenians who had done well for the interests of their city during their mission.

**63** (Plate 48). Fragment of Pentelic marble, with the right edge preserved, found on February 24, 1939, west of the Panathenaic Way and southwest of the Eleusinion (S 21).

Height, 0.065 m.; width, 0.07 m.; thickness, 0.035 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 5650.

*saec.* III *a.* NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----] κλει  
[-----] Πειθι  
[-----] Ἀνα] φλύσσι  
[ον -----] ν Ὀθήθεν  
5 [-----] Ἀ] μφικτύ  
[ονα -----]

The text seems to be part of a decree, in which a number of men were cited for honors. The type most common is that of the decree of the Council in honor of the officers of a prytanizing phyle (see *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, *passim*).

**64** (Plate 48). Small fragment of Pentelic (?) marble, badly burned and discolored and broken on all sides, found in a Byzantine context in a drain shaft south of the Eleusinion (U 22:1) on May 24, 1938.

Height, 0.13 m.; width, 0.07 m.; thickness, 0.076 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 5460.

*ca. med. saec.* III *a.* NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[----- εἰς σ] τήλ[ην λιθίνην καὶ στῆσαι ----]  
[----- εἰς δ] ἐ τήν [ἀναγραφὴν καὶ ----]  
[----- μερίσαι τὸν] ἐπὶ τῇ [διοικήσει τὸ γενόμε]  
[νον ἀνάλωμα] *vacat*

<sup>91</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pl. XIV, line 31 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1706).

<sup>92</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2411, line 18; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7518.

The few letters preserved belong to formulae characteristic of the concluding lines of a decree.

**65** (Plate 48). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on November 1, 1938, in the wall of a modern house at the north foot of the Areopagus (L 20).

Height, 0.10 m.; width, 0.13 m.; thickness, 0.082 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 5617.

*ca. a.* 200 *a.*

[*traces*]

Ἐργοχάρ[ους]

Σφήττιον

This is the citation from a decree honoring the son of Ergochares of Sphettos, the archon of 226/5 B.C.<sup>91</sup> The other known name in this family is Θέωρος,<sup>92</sup> but the traces on the stone do not seem to yield this name here.

**66** (Plate 48). Fragment of Pentelic marble, with part of the right side preserved, found in a late context under Acropolis Street, west of the Late Roman Fortification Wall (S 24-25 to T 24) on March 12, 1937.

Height, 0.094 m.; width, 0.07 m.; thickness, 0.031 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 4608.

*init. saec.* II *a.* NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca.* 31.

[-----] ΙΝΚ[...]  
[----- γράψασ]θαι φν  
[λῆς καὶ δῆμον καὶ φρατρίας ἧς ἂ]ν βούλω  
[νται -----] περὶ αὐ  
5 [τῶν ----- τοὺς] θεσμ[ο]  
[θέτας -----] ΙΤ[...]

The decree recorded a grant of citizenship. The approximate original width of the stone is determined by the restoration in line 3.



**67** (Plate 48). Fragment of Pentelic marble, with the left edge preserved, found in a modern wall south of the Eleusinion in the area of the Late Roman Fortification Wall (T 21-22) on April 28, 1937.

Height, 0.21 m.; width, 0.103 m.; thickness, 0.118 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv No. I 4803.

# HIPPOTHONTIS

*init. saec. II a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

Ἀμαξία[ντεῖς]  
 Καλλισ[θ]έ[ν]ης  
 [Κ]{ρ}όπρε[ιοι]  
 [Δ]ημήτρι[ος]  
 5 Ἀρι[στομέ]...  
 [ἐκ Κο]ίλ[ης]  
 [-----]

The names are from a register of prytaneis in one of the so-called prytany decrees, the demes (lines 1, 3, and 6) belonging to the phyle Hippothontis. The scribe evidently misspelled Κόπρειοι in line 3. In the matter of representation by demes, it is noteworthy that Hamaxanteia, with one councillor here, had two in *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 61, No. 19,<sup>93</sup> five in *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 120, No. 64,<sup>94</sup> and eight in *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 123, No. 25,<sup>94</sup> with the representation increasing during the second century.

Since the left margin of this stone is preserved, the names must have appeared in the first column of the register. The appearance of so small a deme as Hamaxanteia (or Kopros) in the first column means that the councillor from the first small deme was the treasurer of the prytaneis and that the first councillor from the next small deme was the secretary.<sup>95</sup> These offices, in the present text, were held by Καλλισθένης Ἀμαξαντεύς and by Δημήτριος Κόπρειος,

<sup>93</sup> See now *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 153, No. 11.

<sup>94</sup> Where Kopros had only one, whereas here it has two.

<sup>95</sup> See Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 4, 14-15.

respectively. Line 1 of the fragment here published was the first line of the register.

**68** (Plate 48). Fragment of a stele of Hymettian marble, with part of the left side and part of the top preserved, found in a late wall northeast of the Odeion (N 8) on February 16, 1938.

Height, 0.283 m.; width, 0.25 m.; thickness, 0.252 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 5238.

*saec. II/I a.*

[-----]νμ[-----]  
 [-----]λητη[-----]  
 [-----]ων κατα[-----]  
 [-----]χοροδιδα[σκαλ-----]  
 5 [-----]διδ[ασκαλο]-----  
 [-----]ΚΛΙΟΙΣΚ[-----]  
 [-----]τα· τοὺς δ[ἐ]-----  
 [-----]μον ε[-----]  
 [-----]νεπ[-----]  
 10 [-----]αι[-----]

The chief interest of the text lies in the word χοροδιδασκαλος, in some form partly preserved in line 4. The lines are too fragmentary to permit restoration.

**69** (Plate 48). Part of a stele of Hymettian marble, with the left side preserved, but otherwise broken, found in a Turkish wall west of the Panathenaic Way and southwest of the Eleusinion (R 22) on June 2, 1939.

Height, 0.115 m.; width, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.057 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 5863.

*saec. IV/III a.*

[Ἀχαρνείς]  
*lacuna*

[-----]  
 [Θ]ράσυλλ[ος]  
 [Δ]εοντέω[ς]  
 Τιμόδημο[ς]  
 Κηφισοδότ[ου]  
 [Φ]υλάσιοι  
 [Θο]υδόσιο[ς]  
 [-] traces [-]

A wide margin was reserved at the left of the column of names, which were arranged by demes and which belonged to the phyle Oineis. The men were probably councillors, rather than epheboi, a conclusion which is supported by the consideration that in a list of epheboi the names from Oineis ought not to come so early as the first column on the stone.

The writing is of indifferent character, and does not, in my opinion, serve to give a precise date. The name Leonteus is rare in Attica before Roman times, but is well attested as early as the fourth century (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1590, line 16). Both Timodemos and Kephisodotos are known names of the deme Acharnai (belonging to Oineis),<sup>96</sup> and it may be assumed that the men in lines 3-6 were Acharnians.

**70** (Plate 48). Fragment of Pentelic marble, with the back preserved and the top re-cut but otherwise broken, found on October 24, 1938, in the wall of a modern house southeast of the Market Square and west of the Panathenaic Way (R 23).

Height, 0.137 m.; width, 0.177 m.; thickness, 0.082 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 5634.

*saec.* I *a.*

[-----]  
 [-----]ς  
 [..]συγένης  
 [Δ]ημήτριος  
     οἱ πρυτάν[εις]  
     wreath

The text belongs to a register of prytaneis, with the names arranged in columns and with citations below. The citation by the prytaneis is a partial indication of date (cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 173, Nos. 104, 105), while the record of names without patronymics is characteristic of the first half of the century rather than later (cf. e.g., *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 165-166, No. 97).

**71** (Plate 46). Large fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on October 11, 1938, in a modern wall southeast of the Market Square (R 21).

Height, 0.325 m.; width, 0.184 m.; thickness, 0.136 m.

Height of letters, 0.026 m.

Inv. No. I 5584.

*fin. saec.* I *a.*

Ἀπόληξ[ις ---] or [ἐπὶ] Ἀπολήξ[ιδος ---]

An Apolexis appears as archon in Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 186, No. 115, line 2, and another as orator in Dow, *ibid.*, p. 186, No. 116, line 1, both from near the end of the first century. But the name is also known earlier in the first and second centuries (cf. Kirchner, *P.A.*). The identity of the present Apolexis and the nature of the monument are both obscure.

**72** (Plate 46). Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found in the wall of a Byzantine building east of the central part of the Stoa of Zeus (J 6) on June 4, 1938.

Height, 0.082 m.; width, 0.07 m.; thickness, 0.063 m.

Height of letters, 0.004 m.-0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 5482.

*fin. saec.* I *a.*

[οἱ πρυ]τάνεις τὸν [κήρυ]  
 [κα τῆς] βου[λής]  
     Καλλί

<sup>96</sup> See *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 360, line 51; 5787a; 3207, line 29.

5 [αν Σ]ωτᾶ  
[Σκα]μβω  
[νί]δην

This is a citation from one of the later prytany decrees, like that published by Dow in *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 186-187, No. 116. The restoration has been made on the analogy of that text, lines 83-88. The name of the herald was inscribed within a wreath. See also *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 178-180, No. 110.

73 (Plate 49). Part of a columnar monument of Hymettian marble, of which the face only is preserved, found in the wall of a modern house (O 10) on February 5, 1935.

Height, 0.18 m.; width, 0.27 m.; thickness, 0.15 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 2380.

*fin. saec.* II *p.* NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[Παλληνεῖς]  
[Αἶλ] Φλάκ[κος]  
Αἶλ Σωσι[— — —]  
Αἶλ Ἑρακλ[είδης]  
5 Κλ Νεικηφ[όρος]  
Φλ Στέφαν[ος]  
Φλ Διονύσι[ος]  
Αἶλ Χρηστ[ος]  
Πρωτ[— — — —]  
10 Καλλ[— — — —]  
Ἀττ[ικὸς Ἀνθου]  
Εἰρη[ναῖος — —]

Of the names preserved certainly two, and I suspect four, occur among the prytaneis of Antiochis and the deme Pallene in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1792 of 187/8.<sup>97</sup> The certain identifications are Κλ Νικηφόρος and Φλ Στέφανος. [Αἶλ] Φλάκ[κος] of line 2 is probably the same as Αἶλ Φ — — — of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1792, line 14, where the restoration Αἶλ Φ[λάκκος] should be made; and [Ἀττικ]ὸς

Ἀνθου of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1792, line 11, probably justifies the restoration Ἀττ[ικὸς Ἀνθου] here in line 11. Αἶλ Χρηστ[ος] of line 8 should probably be identified with [Α]ἶλ[λ] Χρηστ[ος] of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1783, line 18, which Notopoulos dates in 221/2.<sup>98</sup>

The disposition of the text suggests a list of prytaneis of Antiochis, all of the deme Pallene. The letters nu epsilon in line 5 were cut in ligature. To the left of the column of names a surface of the stone roughly equal to the inscribed area was left blank.

74 (Plate 46). Part of a stele of Pentelic marble, with the smooth top preserved but otherwise broken, found in a context of late Roman date at the north foot of the Areopagus (Q 23) on April 3, 1939.

Height, 0.103 m.; width, 0.083 m.; thickness, 0.035 m.

Height of letters (omikron), 0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 5768.

*med. saec.* V *a.*

[θε]ο[ί : Ἀθηνᾶ : Τύχῃ]  
[— — — ἐγραμ]  
[Η] [Φ] [μ] [α] [τ] [ε] [ν] [ε] [ἀ] [γ] [ά] [λ] [μ] [α]  
[— — —] [τ] [ο] [ς] [ἐ] [π] [ι] [σ] [τ] [ά] [τ] [ε] [σ] [ι]  
[— — — — —]

This small fragment is part of one of the annual records of expense of the making of the Athena Parthenos. The heading is like that of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 355a, but the arrangement of the heading, the numerals showing money received, and the principal text of the record resemble more nearly *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 355.

For these records see *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 354-362; *S.E.G.*, X, 257-263.

75 (Plate 50). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on June 2, 1951, in a

<sup>97</sup> For the date see J. A. Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 52.

<sup>98</sup> Notopoulos, *loc. cit.*



late Roman context north of the Temple of Ares (L 7).

Height, 0.06 m.; width, 0.067 m.; thickness, 0.03 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m. in line 1 and 0.015 m. in line 3.

Inv. No. I 6403.

*saec.* V *a.*

[— — — —] ννξ[— — — —]  
*vacat*

[— — — —] ο ν ι [— — — —]

This is from the Athenian tribute lists, and forms part of Col. IV of List 20 (435/4) to give the reading [Πρ]οκοννέ[σιν] and part of line 1 of list 21 (434/3) to give the reading [Προτ]όνικος. Both names were already certain, but it is gratifying to have this small piece assigned to its proper place in the so-called "second" stele. For the texts see Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, II, 1949, pp. 25-26.

**76** (Plate 50). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found in a late context in the Turkish roadway on the north slope of the Acropolis (V 25) on March 15, 1939.

Height, 0.08 m.; width, 0.037 m.; thickness, 0.028 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 5724.

*a.* 409/8 *a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[— — — —] ἐπιστυ]λί[οις — — — —]

[— — — —] ἐπιστ]υλί[οις — — — —]

[— — — — —] πλ]ᾶ[τος — — — —]

Although this small fragment evidently belongs to the accounts of the Erechtheion, I have been unable to assign a place to it in connection with the main body of the text. It resembles *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 372 *c* and *d*, and the restora-

tions proposed have been made on the analogy of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 372, lines 217-218.<sup>99</sup>

**77** (Plate 50). Boundary stone of Pentelic marble, with the top and sides (beveled) preserved, found in the wall of a modern house at the north foot of the Areopagus (E 17) on October 20, 1938. The face is rough-picked below the inscribed surface.

Height, 0.196 m.; width, 0.177 m.; thickness, 0.07 m.

Height of letters, 0.037 m.

Inv. No. I 5608.

*saec.* V *a.*

ὄρος

**78** (Plate 50). Boundary stone of Pentelic marble, complete save for minor chips, found among collected stones southeast of the Market Square on October 13, 1947. The stone is roughly worked, except for the inscribed surface which is dressed with a toothed chisel.

Height, 0.36 m.; width, 0.22 m.; thickness, 0.13 m.

Height of letters, 0.035 m.-0.05 m.

Inv. No. I 6079.

*saec.* V *a.*

ὄρος

ος

**79** (Plate 50). Marker of Poros stone, broken at the top and bottom, but with both sides (even though rough) and part of the back preserved, found on May 29, 1951, in the wall of a Turkish cesspool east of the East Stoa (P 14).

Height, 0.265 m.; width, 0.195 m.; thickness, 0.11 m.

Height of letters, 0.028 m.-0.043 m.

Inv. No. I 6381.

<sup>99</sup> The inscriptions are treated at length by Lacey D. Caskey in J. M. Paton, *The Erechtheum*, Cambridge, Mass., 1927. For this specific reference see p. 298, lines 10-11, of Caskey's text.

*init. saec. IV a.*

ῥπος  
ιερὸ

Cf. *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 856-858; II<sup>2</sup>, 2596-2599.

**80** (Plate 50). Boundary stone of Pentelic marble, complete save for minor chips, found in the west wall of the court of a Roman building at the north foot of the Areopagus (I 21) on May 15, 1940. This is a rough stone pillar of which only the upper part (0.33 m.) is dressed on the front and sides.

Height, 0.81 m.; width, 0.19 m. (at top); thickness, 0.12 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.-0.03 m.

Inv. No. I 5890.

*init. saec. IV a.*

ῥπος ιερὸ  
Τριτοπα  
τρέων Ε  
ὑεργιδῶν

The inscription is comparable to *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2615, which is also a boundary stone of a sanctuary of Tritopatores (or Tritopatreis), in this case of the family Zakyadai.<sup>100</sup> Pierre Roussel has described a small round monument on Delos, which he takes to be both sacred precinct and altar, with the name of the Attic genos Pyrrhakidai in the inscription Τριτοπάτωρ | Πυρρακιδῶν | Αἰγυλιῶν, a name also known from records of the pythaists at Delphi.<sup>101</sup> And a sanctuary of the Tritopatores has been known since 1910 from Brueckner's excavations in the Kerameikos (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 870). The present text adds the new name of the family of Euergidai to the record of those who maintained such shrines.<sup>102</sup>

**81** (Plate 49). Rectangular block of "poros" limestone, broken at the top and bottom and

with the surface roughly finished, found on October 13, 1947, as the cover slab of a water-channel under a Roman bath northwest of the Areopagus (C 18).

Height, 0.935 m.; width, 0.368 m.; thickness, 0.211 m.

Height of letters, 0.032 m.

Inv. No. I 6078.

*ca. a. 450 a.*

[— — — — 'Α]  
ντιο[χὶς δὲ]  
φυλὲ ἄρχετ  
αι, Ἀλοπεκέ  
5 ον δὲ τριττύς  
vacat

This stone, like most others of the same category, is sedimentary limestone with small sea-shells visible in the texture; in one of the texts (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 885) a clear patch of red color is visible in the first letter.

The present text names Alopeke as the town riding of Antiochis. The inland riding is known from *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 55-56, No. 4, to have been Pallene, and in that same text the name of the coastal riding may plausibly be restored as Anaphlystos,<sup>103</sup> with the reading:

*Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 55-56 (4)

[Δεῦρε Ἀναφ]  
[λυστίον] τ[ρι]  
[ττὺς τ]ε<λ>ε[ντ]  
[ἀι Παλ]λεν[έο]  
5 [ν δ]ὲ ἄρχετ[αι]  
[τ]ριττύς

All the ridings of Antiochis are thus known, two with certainty and one with some probability, and these data may be added to Hommel's chart of the Attic trittyes in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s.v. Trittyes (cols. 367-368).

<sup>100</sup> See the commentary of J. Kirchner, *ad loc.*

<sup>101</sup> *B.C.H.*, LIII, 1929, pp. 166-179.

<sup>102</sup> See Ernst Wüst in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s.v. Tritopatores.

<sup>103</sup> The only coastal deme of Antiochis for which the demotic can be restored in lines 1-2.

82 (Plate 49). Complete boundary marker of Hymettian marble, found among demolition stones from the Church of the Holy Apostles during the summer of 1954.

Height, 0.68 m.; width, 0.24 m.; thickness, 0.13 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.-0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 6699.

ca. a. 450 a.

[Σκ]α[μ]βο[νιδαι]

[ὁ]ν τριττός

This text is evidence that Skambonidai was the town riding of Leontis. The coastal riding is already known from *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 54, No. 2, as Phrearrhioi. That text must also have shown in its mutilated first two lines the name of the inland riding. As first published, the initial letter in the name of the inland riding was read as delta. This is not correct, and the photograph (*loc. cit.*) which seems to show a delta is deceptive. I studied this stone again in Athens in 1955, and believe that no letter has left any trace where the delta has been read. With a normal restoration, the name to be restored for the inland riding should have six letters, but there is no evidence on the stone as to what they were.

These ridings of Leontis (Skambonidai, Phrearrhioi, and . . .<sup>6</sup> . . .) may now be added to the table of trittyes given by Hommel in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s.v. Trittyes (cols. 367-368).

Incidentally, the text of *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 55, No. 3, should be:

Δεῦ[ρε] Π[ε]

δέ[ον] τ[ρ]

ιτ[τὸς] τ[ε]

λε[υ] [τᾶι .]

5 [-----]

The left stroke of upsilon is on the edge of the stone in line 1, and the vertical stroke of epsilon is on the edge of the stone in line 2.

Pedies may be taken as almost certainly the name of the inland riding of Oineis,<sup>104</sup> and the name is further confirmed by the existence still of part of epsilon (not alpha) after the pi in line 1 of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 899: [Δ]εῦρε Π[ε]δέον τριττός, etc.

In line 7 of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 885, the first stroke of alpha is preserved, and allows the reading ἀ[ρχε]ται.

83 (Plate 50). Part of a dedicatory monument of Pentelic marble, broken at the right, found in the wall of the Church of St. Spyridon (R 14), over the Library of Pantainos, on May 10, 1939. There are mouldings at the top and bottom of the preserved faces, and remains of a large rectangular cutting in the top and in the bottom. The stone is much damaged by fire and badly chipped.

Height, 0.15 m.; width, 0.22 m.; thickness, 0.30 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 5821.

ca. a. 500 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

Παντ[-----]

ἀνέθ[ε]κε[εν: ----]

The plinth which carries the inscription was probably raised on a shaft, for which the cutting underneath was prepared, and in its turn it bore the dedication which rested in the cutting above. The symmetry of the monument suggests a text like that, for example, of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 603.

84 (Plate 50). Fragment of an inscribed basin of Island marble, with part of the wall and rim preserved, found on June 14, 1947, in modern débris over a Roman house southwest of the Market Square (A 20).

Principal dimension, 0.117 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 6008.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. H. T. Wade-Gery, *Mélanges Glotz*, II, 1932, p. 886.



*ca. med. saec. V a.*

— — — οκριτ — — —

For similar inscriptions, see *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 739-759; *Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, pp. 142-143, with notes.

85 (Plate 46). Fragment of Pentelic marble, with the left side and bottom preserved, found among marbles collected south of the Eleusinion on March 1, 1939.

Height, 0.17 m.; width (of face), 0.422 m.; thickness, 0.31 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.-0.023 m.

Inv. No. I 5687.

*fin. saec. V a.*

[ — — — — — ]

Παντακλῆς [ἐδίδασκε]

*vacat*

In Ionic letters, this inscription is to be dated later than the two other choregic dedications from the fifth century which name the poet Pantakles,<sup>105</sup> and later than the διδασκαλία of Pantakles to which reference is made in Antiphon's speech περὶ τοῦ χορευτοῦ (§ 11) of 419 B.C.<sup>106</sup>

86 (Plate 50). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found in the area at the north foot of the Areopagus on May 29, 1939.

Height, 0.115 m.; width, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.176 m.

Height of letters, 0.021 m.-0.024 m. (line 1) and 0.02 m. (line 3).

Inv. No. I 5865.

*ca. a. 400 a.*

[ — — — — — ἐχ ] ορ[ήγει]

[ — — — — — ] *vacat*

[ — — — — — ἡῦ ] λει

<sup>105</sup> *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 771; *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 48-50, No. 15.

<sup>106</sup> For the date, see *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 50. See also K. J. Dover, *Cl. Quart.*, XLIV, 1950, pp. 44-60; Pritchett and Neugebauer, *Calendars of Athens*, p. 108 (who attribute the speech to an unknown year); W. K. Pritchett, *B.C.H.*, LXXXI, 1957, pp. 297-298; B. D. Meritt, *The Athenian Year*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1961, pp. 210-212.

For similar choregic dedications see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3027-3062.

87 (Plate 49). Block of Eleusinian stone, with parts of the smooth top and smooth-picked base preserved, but broken at both sides and at the back, found in the wall of a modern house on the north slope between the Acropolis and the Areopagus (R-S 23) on March 29, 1939.

Height, 0.18 m.; width, 0.35 m.; thickness, 0.25 m.

Height of letters (line 1), 0.013 m.

Inv. No. I 5753.

*init. saec. IV a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[ — — — — ] ἰς ἐνίκα πρυτα[νεύουσα]

[δόξαν τῶι δῆμ]ωι

The stone was the base for a dedication, probably a statue, by one of the ten phylai. Line 1 has been restored on the analogy of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1741, and in line 2 the suggested supplement is taken from *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1742. But here there was no catalogue of prytaneis, only the dedication with the name of the victorious phyle, and (if the restoration in line 2 is correct) the record of the sanction of the Demos. Cf. No. 88.

88 (Plate 50). Part of a stele of Pentelic marble, broken at both sides and at the bottom, but with part of the smooth flat top and rough-picked back preserved, found on May 28, 1949, in a late context near the north end of the Stoa of Attalos (Q 8).

Height, 0.12 m.; width, 0.26 m.; thickness, 0.095 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m. above and 0.012 m. below.

Inv. No. I 6193.

*saec. IV a.*

[ — — — — — ἐνίκα ] α πρυτανεύου[σα — — — — ]  
[ — — — — ] κού

For this type of dedication, see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1741, and *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, pp. 36-37, No. 44. Cf. No. 87.

**89** (Plate 50). The left part of a crowning member of Pentelic marble for a funeral monument with a recessed niche, found on April 30, 1947, in the wall of a Byzantine house in the area east of the Great Drain (D 17). The stone is broken at the right; the top is rough-picked, with its front sloping down along the edge to small antefixes, of which only the stumps are preserved. The bottom surface of the band which carries the inscription is smooth with a projecting panel at the back (0.08 m. wide and 0.025 m. deep) which ends 0.115 m. from the left edge, presumably indicating the line of a pilaster at the left upon a lower member of the monument. There is a dowel hole in the bottom surface at the left. The back is very roughly dressed, but is perhaps original.

Height, 0.17 m.; width, 0.69 m.; thickness, 0.55 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.-0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 5975.

ca. a. 353 a.

Τιμόθεο[ς Κόνωνος Ἀναφλύστιος]

Restored as above, the inscription occupies a breadth of about one meter out of a total original width of the monument of about 1.40 m., an appropriate dimension for a memorial of this type. For Timotheos himself, see *P.A.*, 13700, and for his grave on the way from the city to the Academy see Pausanias, I, 29, 15. The monumental character of the stone itself and of the lettering indicate that the Timotheos of the inscription was the famous general of the fourth century. The niche was doubtless occupied by sculpture.

**90** (Plate 49). Part of a relief of Pentelic marble, with an inscription below the sculpture, found on November 3, 1938, among marbles

from the area southeast of the Market Square. The stone has been re-worked on both sides.

Height, 0.214 m.; width, 0.15 m.; thickness, 0.116 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 5544.

saec. IV a.

[-----]ov Πειραιεύ[ς]

[-----] traces [----]

The sculpture shows the advanced left foot of a person facing right, and the long chiton suggests that the figure is female. The swing of the folds suggests motion.<sup>107</sup> Whether more than one figure was represented in the original composition is uncertain, and the exact nature of the monument is obscure.

**91** (Plate 51). A dedication of Pentelic marble, probably an Aphrodite stone,<sup>108</sup> with front and back surfaces convex, and roughly rounded, broken at the bottom, found on April 23, 1951, in a late Roman house west of the Stoa of Attalos (O 8).

Height, 0.205 m.; width, 0.125 m.; thickness, 0.075 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 6351.

saec. IV a.

Μαλθάκη

ὑπὲρ

Θραιτίδος

Alphas are without cross-bar; only the vertical stroke of kappa is sure; and the second tau in line 3 was cut as an afterthought.

**92** (Plate 53). Part of a columnar dedicatory base of gray-blue marble, found on May 5, 1949, in the wall of an ancient house southwest of the Market Square (C 17). About half the circumference is preserved with mouldings

<sup>107</sup> I am indebted to Evelyn B. Harrison for this description of the sculptured remains.

<sup>108</sup> See Oscar Broneer, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 125.

(chipped away) below the flat top. In the top is a round dowel hole 0.04 m. deep. The letters are below the mouldings.

Height, 0.143 m.; diameter, 0.134 m.

Height of letters, 0.012 m.-0.019 m.

Inv. No. I 6152.

*saec.* IV *a.*

Δημοκλῆ[ς]

Δημοφίλ[ου]

τῶι Ἀσκλη[πιῶι]

ἀνέθηκε[ν]

**93** (Plate 51). A small rectangular pedestal, with a plain crowning member, found in the south wall of the Church of St. Spyridon (R 14) on February 23, 1939. The stone is broken at the bottom, and is chipped around the top, in which there are traces of a shallow cutting for a small dedication.

Height, 0.415 m.; width of pedestal, 0.215 m.; width of crowning member, 0.30 m.; thickness, 0.18 m.

Height of letters, 0.013 m. (lines 1-4) and 0.006 m.-0.009 m. (lines 5-6).

Inv. No. I 5669.

*post med. saec.* IV *a.*

[...] | Ο[.] στ[εφανωθεῖς] ΣΤΟΙΧ. 17

[ῖ] πὸ τῶν παράλων δικ[αι]

οσύνης ἔνεκα τῆς εἰ[ς]

τοὺς παράλους

5 Ὀνήσανδρος Ἰθαμένου NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.  
Ἐλευσίνιος

**94** (Plate 49). Fragment of a dedicatory monument of Hymettian marble, with the top, bottom, and right side preserved, found on November 10, 1938, in the wall of a modern house at the north foot of the Areopagus (F-G 18).

Height, 0.11 m.; width, 0.24 m.; thickness, 0.15 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 5613.

*saec.* III *a.*

[ - - - Ἀπολ]λοδώρου

[ - - - - ἀνέ]θηκεν

**95** (Plate 49). Fragment of Hymettian marble, with the bottom surface preserved, but otherwise broken, found in the later wall of the Church of St. Spyridon, over the Library of Pantainos (R 14), on April 20, 1939. In the top of the stone is the bottom of a large rectangular cutting, as if for a dedication. A dowel-cutting is partly preserved at the left end of the block.

Height, 0.115 m.; width, 0.265 m.; thickness, 0.182 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.-0.011 m.

Inv. No. I 5787.

*ca. a.* 200 *a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[ - - - - - ]

[ - - - - - ] ἀσιο[ς]

[ - - - - - ] νη<ς> Θημακ<ε>ύς

[ ( ? ) τεταγμ]ένοι ἐπὶ στρατηγίου

5 [ - - - - - καὶ] φι[λοτ]ιμ[ίας ἔνεκεν]

[ - - - - - ]

The letters sigma and epsilon in line 3 were never cut upon the stone. For the strategion, mentioned in line 4, see R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, III, *Testimonia*, pp. 174-177.

**96** (Plate 51). Small dedicatory base of Pentelic marble, broken at the left end and at the back but with top and bottom and the right side (rough-picked) preserved, found on October 25, 1949, in a well of Byzantine date west of the Stoa of Attalos (Q 9). The bottom is rough-picked, and in the top is a cutting 0.03 m. deep for the insertion of the dedication. Only the right forward corner of the cutting is preserved, 0.06 m. from the front edge and 0.065 m. from the right edge of the base. There are mouldings above and below the inscription.

Height, 0.11 m.; width, 0.145 m.; thickness, 0.13 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 6253.



saec. II a.

[οἱ ἐφηβε]ύσαντες ἐπ[ι]  
[- - <sup>ca. 6</sup> - -]ς ἄρχοντος <sup>v</sup>  
[Διονυ]σόδωρος, Θεόφρα  
[στος], Σουνιεύς, Σίμω[ν]

To preserve equality in the record of the names, it is best to take Σουνιεύς as a name rather than a demotic. The dedication, therefore, was made by four epheboi.

**97** (Plate 47). Three joining fragments (two inscribed) from a dedicatory base of Pentelic marble, found on June 8 and 11, 1949, in a modern context near one of the piers of the Stoa of Attalos (Q 8).

Height, 0.095 m.; width, 0.475 m.; thickness, 0.21 m.

Height of letters, 0.03 m.

Inv. No. I 6200.

ca. med. saec. II a.

[- - -]μαχος Εὐκλέων[ς - - -]

The lettering, especially alpha with sagging cross-bar, is like that of the base for the philosopher Karneades (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3781) and that of the base for Theophilos (*Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 252, No. 33), both dedications of Attalos II. In the top of the present base is a rectangular cutting, in part preserved, set back 0.105 m. from the front edge and itself 0.06 m. from front to rear, suitable to receive the tenon of a dedication.

**98** (Plate 51). Small dedicatory base consisting of two joining fragments of Pentelic marble, from the foundations of a late Roman house southeast of the Tholos (G-H 12), found on May 7, 1937. Parts of the front and bottom, and of both sides, are preserved, with mouldings at the top and bottom returning along the sides. There is a rectangular dowel hole in the bottom.

Height, 0.21 m.; width, 0.135 m.; thickness, 0.105 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 4791.

saec. II/I a.

[Δ]υκίσκ[ος - -]  
[.]ντ[- - - -]  
[- - - - -]  
[- - - - -]  
5 [- - - - -]  
[- - - -]με[- -]  
ἦ ρ ω σ ι [ν]  
ἀνέθηκ[εν]

**99** (Plate 51). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found in January or February of 1949 during cleaning operations in the Stoa of Attalos.

Height, 0.34 m.; width, 0.39 m.; thickness, 0.245 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 6126.

saec. II/I a. (?)

[ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος]  
[- - -]ιον Μι[- - -]  
[.]η ν α [.]  
[ἀρετῆς] ἐνεκεν κα[ὶ] εὐνοίας]  
[ἀ ν] ἐ θ η κ [α ν]

If the man honored were an Athenian one would expect the demotic, rather than the ethnic, to appear in line 3. The letters in lines 3 and 5 seem to have a one-to-one correspondence, and this conditions the restoration. Stephanos cites the ethnic Ἀθηναῖος for two cities in the Peloponnesos, and this name could, epigraphically, be supplied here.

The date is in part inferred from the letter-forms, in part from the formula in line 4, and in part from the fact that there is a slight separation of the words (name and patronymic) in line 2. This last feature is late rather than early. The type of inscription is, except for the ethnic, like that of, e.g., *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3887/8.

**100** (Plates 52). Columnar base of Hymettian marble, damaged at the top, but with the lower part of a rectangular rough-picked cutting still preserved in the upper surface, found in a wall of late date west of the Panathenaic Way and southwest of the Eleusinion (S 22) on March 27, 1939. The column was slightly oval in cross-section, the greater axis being from front to back.

Height, 0.305 m.; diameter, 0.34 m.

Height of letters, 0.013 m.

Inv. No. I 5738.

*a.* 59/8 *a.*

[— — —] *traces* [— — — —]

[ὁ] πῆρ τῶν συνεφήβων

ἐπὶ Λευκίου ἄρχοντος

Ἑρμῆ

5 παιδοτριβοῦντος Με

νίσκου Κολωνῆθ[εν ὁ]

πο[π]αιδοτριβοῦντ[ος . .]

θλ[—<sup>2-3</sup>—] Κολωνῆθεν *vacat*

For dedications of epheboi to Hermes, see, for example, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2981-2985. This particular dedication is dated by the archon Leukios (59/8).<sup>109</sup> Mention of the paidotribes Meniskos of Kolone adds to our knowledge of his service in this office about the middle of the century.<sup>110</sup> The assistant paidotribes, perhaps a son of Meniskos, appeared in lines 7-8, but his name cannot be restored with any assurance.

**101** (Plate 50). Fragment of Pentelic marble, with the smooth-picked left edge and part of the rough-picked back preserved, but otherwise broken, found on June 10, 1947, in disturbed débris over the Civic Offices (I 12).

<sup>109</sup> See *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, p. 117, line 129 = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1716, line 19 = *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, p. 586, line 21.

<sup>110</sup> See G. A. Stamires, *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 251-252.

<sup>111</sup> See now *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 83-88, No. 31.

<sup>112</sup> The contact surface is smooth on the epistyle blocks of the Stoa but not on the epistyle blocks from the Odeion.

<sup>113</sup> As is also the case on the epistyle blocks from the Odeion as well as on the blocks from the Stoa.

Height, 0.082 m.; width, 0.20 m.; thickness, 0.062 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 6000.

*saec.* I *a./p.*

Διον[ύσιος — — —]

[ι]ε]ρὺς μητροῦς

θεῶν

Διον[ύσιος — — —]

[— — — Με]νάνδρου

The nature and disposition of the text remain uncertain.

**102** (Plate 53). Fragment of an inscribed epistyle block of Pentelic marble, found on November 9, 1949, among collected marbles east of the Stoa of Attalos.

Height, 0.19 m.; width, 0.295 m.; thickness, 0.27 m.

Height of letter, greater than 0.12 m.

Inv. No. I 6243.

Parts of the inscribed face and of the left lateral surface (with anathyrosis) are preserved; the bottom, top, back, and right have been broken; of the inscription only part of one letter remains. Apparently this preserved part of a letter is the top major portion of delta or lambda. Upon first discovery it was natural to think that this monumental architectural member might belong to the inscribed epistyle of the Stoa of Attalos,<sup>111</sup> but a close examination has revealed significant differences in workmanship. In its technical details this fragment is like the epistyle blocks of the Odeion rather than of the Stoa. The anathyrosis joint is not smoothed along the contact surface;<sup>112</sup> the interior non-contact surface is rough-picked;<sup>113</sup> and the

contact surface is separated from the rough-picked surface by a pronounced groove marking the limit where the rough picking begins.<sup>114</sup> The indications are that this fragment belongs to the epistyle of the Odeion of Agrippa and that it carries part of its dedicatory inscription.

The stone was at one time evidently built into the Late Roman Fortification Wall in or near the Stoa of Attalos. A number of other fragments certainly from the Odeion have been found in this wall behind the north end of the Stoa.<sup>115</sup> Some of them are now illustrated in *Hesperia*; see XIX, 1950, plate 36, c for a fragment of cornice showing anathyrosis and plate 36, e for blocks of the epistyle.

The middle band of the epistyle of the Odeion measures 0.205 m. in height and has a smooth drafting along the top and bottom while the surface otherwise shows the marks of a toothed chisel. This fragment has a very small area of surface with smooth treatment at the top and elsewhere shows the marks of a toothed chisel. If symmetrically placed on the central band the single letter (delta or lambda) would be about 0.13 m. high. Nothing further is known of the inscription, and it is impossible to say how many blocks of the epistyle it occupied.

**103** (Plate 52). Stele of Hymettian marble, broken at the bottom and at the back, but otherwise intact except for minor blemishes, found southwest of the Market Square (D 12) on April 2, 1948.

Height, 0.24 m.; width, 0.235 m.; thickness, 0.08 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.-0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 6092.

*saec. I p.*

φίλοι

Δῖος

Ἐπίκτητος

Σωσίβιος

For the category to which this inscription belongs, see above, pp. 20-21, No. 12.

**104** (Plate 52). Small rectangular dedicatory base of Pentelic marble, with a rectangular cutting 0.025 m. deep in the top, broken at the right and back, found on April 24, 1947, in a context of late Roman date east of the Great Drain (D 17).

Height, 0.063 m.; width, 0.07 m.; thickness, 0.06 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 5974.

*saec. I/II p.*

ἱερατε[ύων - ca. 4 -]

μενος ) [Κυδαθη]

ναίεις ἀ[νέθηκε]

ζακορεύ[οντος]

5 Κοίντων [---]

For *ἱερατεύων* in line 1, see, for example, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4823; and for the formula of date in lines 4-5, see, for example, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4702, 4771.

**105** (Plate 53). Fragment of a plaque of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides but with the original thickness preserved, found on the north slope of the Acropolis (T 26) on May 19, 1937.

Height, 0.056 m.; width, 0.095 m.; thickness, 0.017 m.

Height of letters, 0.022 m.

Inv. No. I 4898.

*saec. II p.*

*In a wreath*

[-----]

[Ἀπόλλ]ωνι

[ὑπ' Ἀκραις]

This dedication is one of a number belonging to a type most recently discussed by R. E.

<sup>114</sup> There is similar treatment and a similar groove on the blocks of the epistyle of the Odeion, but not on the epistyle blocks of the Stoa, where no sharp division exists.

<sup>115</sup> See Homer A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 141.



Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, III, *Testimonia*, p. 179.

**106.** The text published in *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 220, No. 77, should have in its second line 'Αδριανὸ[s] instead of 'Αδριανο[ῦ ἰδὸς]. The change is also to be made in *S.E.G.*, XVII, 69.

**107** (Plate 53). Fragment from a dedicatory base of Pentelic marble, with the smooth left side preserved but otherwise broken, found in the original filling of the Late Roman Fortification Wall (T 21) on May 20, 1938.

Height, 0.28 m.; width, 0.33 m.; thickness, 0.12 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.028 m.

Inv. No. I 5449.

*ca. med. saec. II p.*

Ἡρώδης 'Α[ττικὸς]  
Μαραθώνιο[ς Φάβιον]  
[Φ]αβιαν[ὸν Μαραθώνιον]  
[-----]

Fabianus (line 3) is possibly to be identified with that Fabius Fabianus of Marathon, fellow-demesman of Herodes, who was herald of the Council and Demos in A.D. 182/3. (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 49, No. 11, line 57). For the date see J. A. Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 22, Table 1.

**108** (Plate 52). Part of a plaque of Pentelic marble, found in June of 1938 among stones from the area southeast of the Church of the Holy Apostles.

Height, 0.058 m.; width, 0.105 m.; thickness, 0.048 m.

Height of letters, 0.019 m.

Inv. No. I 5533.

*saec. II/III p.*

[ῆ ἐ]ξ 'Αρείο[v πά]  
[γου] βουλῇ κ[αὶ ῆ]  
[βουλῇ τῶν ----]

**109** (Plate 53). Fragment from a dedicatory base of Pentelic marble, with the left side preserved, found in the original filling of the Late Roman Fortification Wall (T 21) on May 19, 1938.

Height, 0.348 m.; width, 0.29 m.; thickness, 0.09 m.

Height of letters, 0.04 m.

Inv. No. I 5448.

*saec. II/III p.*

[κατὰ τὰ δόξαντα]  
[τῇ σεμνοτάτῃ ἐξ 'Α]  
ρείου πάγ[ου βουλῇ]  
καὶ τῇ βου[λῇ τῶν Φ' καὶ]  
5 τῷ δήμῳ τ[ῷ 'Αθηναί]  
ων Γάιος [-----]  
σιανὸς [-----]  
[... ]ον[-----]

For the restoration of lines 1-3, see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3667, and for the epithet *σεμνοτάτῃ* see also *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3571. The formula which begins with *κατὰ τὰ δόξαντα* occurs also, e.g., in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3659, 3801, 3812, 3989.

**110** (Plate 52). Statue base of Pentelic marble, joined together from several fragments found on October 24, 1949, packed behind the wall blocks of the middle tower of the Late Roman Fortification Wall near the center of the Stoa of Attalos (Q 10). The upper left corner of the base, with heavy crowning mouldings, is preserved, and two uninscribed fragments not shown in the photograph also belong. There is in addition another fragment (*b*), broken on all sides, which probably belongs to this base but which makes no join. It was found in a modern retaining wall of the outer colonnade of the Stoa of Attalos (Q 9) on May 13, 1949.

*a*: Height, 0.72 m.; width, 0.44 m.; thickness, 0.565 m.

Height of normal letters above the moulding, 0.035 m., and below the moulding, 0.022 m.

Inv. No. I 6235.

*b*: Height, 0.115 m.; width, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.17 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 6185.

*saec.* II/III *p.*

*a* ἡ π[όλις]

*mouldings*

[Τι]β· Κλ· ἐπὶ βωμῷ ἀρετ[ῆς ἕνεκα]

[καὶ φι]λοσοφίας δι[-----]

[-----] ἐν ταῖς π[όλεσι] (?) -

5 [-----] ΤΗΤΟΣ[-----]

[-----] ΣΙ[-----]

[<sup>r</sup>] Κεκροπηίδος[-----]

τῇδ' ἐπεὶ Ἑλλάδος[-----]

<sup>r</sup> ἐπαρκέα π[-----]

10 τῆμος ο[-----]

<sup>v</sup> σπ[-----]

*lacuna*

*b* [-----] ἀνα[-----]

[-----] καυ[-----]

The place of fragment *b* in the inscription is uncertain. For Tiberios Klaudios ἐπὶ βωμῷ, and for the date of his tenure of office, see J. A. Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, Table facing p. 22.

**111** (Plate 53). Upper right corner of a stele of Hymettian marble, found in a late Roman context in a well in the floor of a cistern west of the Tholos (G 11:2) on May 29, 1937.

Height, 0.115 m.; width, 0.063 m.; thickness, 0.04 m.

Height of letters, 0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 4911.

*aet. Rom.*

[*nomen* Ἀν]τιόχῃ

[σα *nomen dei*] ἀνέ

[θηκεν]

**112** (Plate 53). Upper left corner of a dedicatory base of Pentelic marble, with mouldings, the rough-picked top, and the smooth left side preserved, found in the original filling of the

Late Roman Fortification Wall (T 21) on May 19, 1938.

Height, 0.27 m.; width, 0.238 m.; thickness, 0.121 m.

Height of letters, 0.03 m.

Inv. No. I 5447.

*aet. Rom.*

Ἀρχίδαμ[ος Ἀπολ]

λωνίου[-----]

[-----]

**113** (Plate 53). Fragment of a large cylindrical monument of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found in the wall of a modern house west of the Panathenaic Way and southwest of the Eleusinion (S 22) on March 17, 1939.

Height, 0.25 m.; width, 0.24 m.; thickness, 0.12 m.

Height of letters, 0.035 m.

Inv. No. I 5717.

*aet. Rom.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

οἱ θερά[πευθέντες]

ἐπὶ ἱερ[έ]ως <sup>ca. 6</sup> - - -]

Περικλ[ῆ]ς - <sup>ca. 7</sup> - - -]

Παι[ανιεύς]

5 [-----]

etc.

[ἀνέθηκαν]

The monument was a dedication, presumably to Asklepios, made by certain patients who had been cured. For the restoration θερά[πευθέντες] in line 1, which is preferable to the alternative θερά[ποντες], see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3782.

**114** (Plate 52). Fragment from the upper left corner of a dedicatory monument of Pentelic marble found on May 5, 1949, in a late Roman wall (O 8) east of the Panathenaic Way. The moulding above the inscription returns across the lateral face, and above it are the remains of an akroterion on the corner.





Height, 0.175 m.; width, 0.185 m.; thickness, 0.038 m.

Height of letters, 0.016 m.-0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 6349.

*saec.* V *a.*

Τεισιμάχο  
Τρικονυσίο

**119** (Plate 54). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, brought into the Museum of the Agora on May 15, 1940, from a late wall which was being demolished at 110 Hermes Street.

Height, 0.085 m.; width, 0.28 m.; thickness, 0.205 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 5891.

*post med. saec.* V *a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----]  
[----- . .] ΟΙΣΤΟΝΔΕΙ[-----]  
[-----] τοις καὶ λευκασ[πι-----]  
[----- .] ντες κέδεα φο[-----]  
*vacat*

This tantalizing text belongs, apparently, to a public funeral monument, like the epigrams of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 943 (for the Hellespont) and *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 945 (for Poteidaia). The traces of letters in line 2 could be reconciled with a reading ΟΙΣΤΟΝΔΕΙ, but only the lowest strokes are preserved.

**120** (Plate 54). Flat-topped stele of Pentelic marble, with both sides (smooth) and back (rough-picked) preserved, but broken at the bottom, found in January of 1950 among marbles collected from the Late Roman Fortification Wall east of the Panathenaic Way.

Height, 0.21 m.; width, 0.238 m.; thickness, 0.105 m.

Height of letters, 0.019 m.

Inv. No. I 6264.

*saec.* V/IV *a.*

Εὔμαχος

The name of the deceased was cut on a raised band across the top. The face of the stele may have carried sculpture in low relief; if so, it is now lost through fracture and weathering of the stone.

**121** (Plate 54). Fragment of a gravestone of Pentelic marble, with the left side and back preserved, found in the wall of the Church of St. Spyridon (R 14), over the library of Pantainos, on February 24, 1939.

Height, 0.275 m.; width, 0.32 m.; thickness, 0.10 m.

Height of letters, 0.022 m.

Inv. No. I 5671.

*ante med. saec.* IV *a.*

[Διόδ]ωρ[ος]  
[Α]π[ολ]λοδώ[ρο]  
[Π]λωθε[εύς]

Apollodoros of Plotheia (*P.A.*, 1439) in the fifth century married a sister of Chairestrate, who was wife of Damostratos of Melite. They had a son Olympichos and Olympichos had a son Apollodoros who was witness in a trial involving the citizenship of Euxitheos of Halimous about 345 B.C. (Demosthenes, LVII, 38). This gravestone from the first half of the fourth century belongs to a brother of Olympichos who (like Olympichos) had died before the time of the trial.

**122** (Plate 54). Fragment of Pentelic marble, with the rough-picked back and a small part of the right side preserved, found in the wall of a Byzantine building east of the Stoa of Zeus (J 6) on June 1, 1938.

Height, 0.205 m.; width, 0.24 m.; thickness, 0.08 m.

Height of letters, 0.019 m.

Inv. No. I 5480.

*saec.* IV *a.*

Κριτόβουλ[ος]

**123** (Plate 55). Upper left segment of a pedimental grave stele of Pentelic marble, with the roughly dressed back preserved, found in a modern wall west of the north end of the Stoa of Attalos (O 8) on May 24, 1938.

Height, 0.342 m.; width, 0.258 m.; thickness, 0.116 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.016 m.

Inv. No. I 5474.

The inscribed face is surmounted by a moulding and a very high pediment. In the center of the pediment a siren was represented in low relief, the lower part being still preserved.

*saec.* IV *a.*

Φρῶνος: Εὐ[ . . . ]

[.] ^ Λ ^ [.] ἐὺς Φ / [— —]

**124** (Plate 55). Funeral lekythos of Pentelic marble, with almost half the circumference preserved, but with the base and neck broken away, found in the wall of a Byzantine building over the altar of the Twelve Gods (K 6) on May 26, 1938.

Height, 0.62 m.; diameter, *ca.* 0.39 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 5459.

*saec.* IV *a.*

The representation in low relief shows, on a raised ground line, a seated male figure, bearded and partly draped, facing left and holding by the hand a standing male figure facing him. Over the head of the seated figure is the name Τιμοκράτης[s]; the name Κλεόμαχος is with difficulty legible over the head of the standing figure. Behind the standing figure is a boy, nude, standing, and over his head is inscribed the name Τιμοκράτης.

**125.** Grave stele of Pentelic marble, apparently intact, built into the northeast corner of the north tower of the Late Roman Fortification Wall (Q 13). The stone is so placed that it cannot be photographed. Beneath the inscription is a sunken panel 0.50 m. wide with an

elaborate loutrophoros in relief. The text was recorded on May 25, 1939.

Height, *ca.* 1.80 m.; width, *ca.* 0.805 m.; thickness, *ca.* 0.385 m.

Height of letters, 0.04 m.

Inv. No. I 5850.

*saec.* IV *a.*

Εὐξίθεος

Εὐξίθεόν

Κήττιος

Euxitheos was probably brother of Χαρίας Εὐξίθεόν Κήττιος who died on Imbros (*P.A.*, 15344).

**126** (Plate 53). Funeral stele of Hymettian marble, broken at the top and bottom and at both sides, but with the rough-picked back preserved, found in a modern wall south of the eastern part of the Market Square (P 20) on May 11, 1938.

Height, 0.21 m.; width, 0.185 m.; thickness, 0.084 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 5442.

*saec.* IV *a.*

Εὐπορία

**127** (Plate 55). Upper right corner of a grave stele of Pentelic marble, with part of the low pedimental top and the rough-picked back preserved, found in a late wall west of the Panathenaic Way and west of the Eleusinion (R 22) on May 31, 1939. The sculptured relief below the band which carries the inscription is on a recessed field and, in the preserved portion, shows a female head in three-quarter view to the right, much damaged.

Height, 0.295 m.; width, 0.373 m.; thickness, 0.155 m.

Height of letters, 0.017 m.

Inv. No. I 5853.

*saec.* IV *a.*

[— — — : Εὐ]κολίνη : Ἀναξί[— — —]

**128** (Plate 56). Upper left corner of a pedimental grave stele of Pentelic marble, with rough-picked back preserved, found on May 15, 1947, in a context of Byzantine date east of the Great Drain (D 17).

Height, 0.21 m.; width, 0.26 m.; thickness, 0.105 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 5981.

*saec.* IV *a.*

Λυσίστρατ[ος]  
Ἀχαρνέ[ως]

This Lysistratos was evidently the father of that Lysidikos of Acharnai known from the late fourth century (*P.A.*, 9387). For the date of Lysidikos (*ca. a.* 320 *a.*) see now *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, p. 356.

**129** (Plate 56). Grave stele of Hymettian marble with a rounded pediment, broken at the bottom but with the rough-picked back preserved, found on May 3, 1949, in a wall of Roman date southwest of the Market Square (D 17).

Height, 0.216 m.; width at the top, 0.29 m.; thickness, 0.05 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 6150.

*saec.* IV *a.*

Περίλ[ε]στροτίδας  
[Θεο]βήσο[ς]

The reading and restoration are made easy by the curious fact that another gravestone for this same man (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 8881) exists with the text preserved in its entirety.

**130** (Plate 56). Family grave stele of blue marble, found on May 6, 1949, used as a paving slab in the street just west of the bridge over the Great Drain southwest of the Market Square (D 16). The top is broken away, and the lowest lines are badly worn. The stele

tapered, and there was a projection (now worn away) across the bottom.

Height, 1.285 m.; width, 0.695 m.-0.72 m.; thickness, 0.225 m.

Height of letters, 0.022 m.-0.028 m.

Inv. No. I 6153.

The discovery of this stele was reported in *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 155, 165-166, and photographs (*ibid.*, pl. 56, c and d; pl. 58, a) show the location of the stone but are of no epigraphical value.

*saec.* IV *a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

\*Ἀδραστος Ἀρίστωνος Κιανός  
Θεανὼ Εὐαρίστου Κιανή  
Φιλοθέα Ἀδράστου Κιανή  
Καλλίς Ἀδράστου Κιανή  
5 Ἑρμογένης Ἀδράστου Κιανός  
Πόα Εὐαρίστου Κιανή  
Ἀριστονίκη Δάμων Μυλασεῖς  
Πλάγγων [Π]ακλείδου Αἰγινήτης  
Νόγους Δίου [Ἡρακ]λεώτης  
10 Βο[ρίδ]ας [Δί]ον Ἡρ[ακ]λεώτης  
vacat

In line 8 I have been unable to read the first letter of the patronymic. Unless there was some error in the cutting (the name being perhaps Ἡρακλείδου) the restoration must, I think, be as suggested. Pape-Benseler, *Griechische Eigennamen*, cite the name Πακλῆς from Egypt, and if this was possible then Πακλείδης too is legitimate. It so happens that the name Νόγους of line 9 is a form already known from Herakleia (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 8736).

**131** (Plate 57). Flat-topped grave stele of Pentelic marble, with the top and sides smooth-picked but broken at the bottom, found on July 15, 1949, among collected marbles east of the Stoa of Attalos. There is an iron dowel in the face, dating from some period of re-use.

Height, 0.26 m.; width, 0.195 m.; thickness, 0.104 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 6214.



*saec.* IV *a.*

Θεοδότῃ  
Ἀγρεάνου

I give the patronymic as I read it from the stone, though the name is otherwise unknown to me.

**132** (Plate 55). Fragment of a funerary lekythos of Pentelic marble, found on May 18, 1951, among marbles near the south-western part of the Odeion. The front half of the body of the vase is preserved, much battered and weathered. A seated woman, facing left, extends her right hand to a woman standing in front of her. Behind the seated woman a bearded male figure wearing a himation leans upon his staff. The inscription is above the seated figure.

Height, 0.485 m.; width, 0.232 m.  
Height of letters, *ca.* 0.012 m.  
Inv. No. I 6357.

*saec.* IV *a.*

Ἰλιόνῃ

**133** (Plate 58). Part of a funeral stele of Pentelic marble, with the back preserved, but cut down at the top and sides for later use and broken at the bottom, found in the wall of the Church of St. Spyridon (R 14) on February 25, 1939.

Height, 0.37 m.; width, 0.188 m.; thickness, 0.117 m.  
Height of letters, 0.021 m.  
Inv. No. I 5674.

*post med. saec.* IV *a.*      ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[Κα]λλ[ι. . .]  
[Π]υθο[δήλου]  
[Κ]ολλ[υτεύς]

The deceased evidently belonged to the same family with Καλλικράτης <Π>υθοδήλου (Κολλυτεύς) who was councillor from the phyle Aigeis in the archonship of Euboulos (274/3).<sup>116</sup>

**134** (Plate 57). Rectangular grave stele of Hymettian marble, with the lower half rough-picked, found in a wall of Turkish date west of the Panathenaic Way and southwest of the Eleusinion (R 21) on June 2, 1939.

Height, 0.69 m.; width, 0.41 m.; thickness, 0.09 m.  
Height of letters, 0.015 m.-0.02 m.  
Inv. No. I 5858.

*ca. fin. saec.* IV *a.*

[Στ]ησία[ς]  
[Θ]εόδωρο[υ]  
Κυδαθηναίε[ύς]

This Stesias was certainly a relative, perhaps the father, of Θεόδωρος Στησίου Κυδαθηναίε[ύς] of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6577, and a descendant of that Stesias whose epitaph is preserved in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 987. For his sister, see the following text, No. **135**.

**135** (Plate 57) A large orthostate block of Hymettian marble, cut away at the right, and with the left side much worn by traffic. Its top, bottom, back, and face were dressed with a toothed chisel. The stone was used soon after the middle of the fourth century for the grave monument of the son and wife of Aristokleides of Melite (the present text). It was later used as a threshold block, and the upper part of its face shows the cuttings for doorjamb and pivot. When discovered on June 19, 1947, it was serving as a curbstone on Eponymon Street (I 12).

Height, 0.64 m.; width, 0.48 m.; thickness, 0.23 m.  
Height of letters, 0.02 m.-0.025 m.  
Inv. No. I 6017.

<sup>116</sup> For the text see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 678, line 30 (= *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, No. 10), and for the date see W. B. Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 314.

*post med. saec.* IV *a.*

[Θρασυκ]λ[ῆς]  
[Ἀριστοκλ]εῖδ[ου]  
[Μελιτ]εύ[ς]  
[ . . . ] ἀρέτη Θεοδ[ώρου]  
5 [Κυ]δαθηναί[έως]  
[Ἀ]ριστοκλεί[δου]  
[Με]λ[ι]τέως γυ[νή]

Aristokleides, son of Thrasykles, of Melite is known from a naval record<sup>117</sup> to have been a treasurer in 326/5. The first name on this gravestone is that of his son who bore the name of his (the son's) grandfather. The name of the wife of Aristokleides cannot be recovered completely, but she was the daughter of Theodoros of Kydathenaion, who must have belonged to the family known earlier (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 987) and later (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6577) with the names Theodoros and Stesias. She was probably the sister of that Stesias, son of Theodoros, of Kydathenaion, whose tombstone from the late fourth century has been recently found, No. 134.

**136** (Plate 53). Fragment of a large grave monument of Pentelic marble, with the left side preserved but otherwise broken, found on September 7, 1938, in the wall of a modern house southeast of the Market Square (Q-R 20).

Height, 0.16 m.; width, 0.33 m.; thickness, 0.481 m.  
Height of letters, 0.025 m.  
Inv. No. I 5551.

*fin. saec.* IV *a.*

Δημητρία Χ[-<sup>ca.</sup> 4-5]  
Σαλαμ[ινία]

**137** (Plate 58). Top of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, with the ring trimmed off and with the break below the inscription cut smooth. The letters run in a single line completely around the column, with only a small space between the initial epsilon and the final alpha.

Height, 0.125 m.; diameter, 0.135 m.

Height of letters, 0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 6111.

*fin. saec.* IV *a.*

Εὐφράντη Γλυκέρα

The lettering is the same in both names; probably the inscription represents a double burial.

**138** (Plate 57). Upper part of a grave stele of Hymettian marble, with a rounded top, and broken at the bottom, found on September 19, 1947, in a late wall southwest of the Market Square (C 18). On the stele proper are the head and shoulders of a draped man, facing left, and above his head is the inscription (his name). There must have been another figure on the stele, for traces of a second name (illegible) occur at the left.

Height, 0.32 m.; width, 0.30 m.; thickness, 0.09 m.

Height of letters, 0.017 m.

Inv. No. I 6077.

*saec.* IV/III *a.*

Κιλ<ι>κᾱς

For the name, see F. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen*, p. 539.

The stone is damaged at the center of the name, in which the middle letter was inscribed as eta, tied by ligature to the following kappa. Yet even this is not certainly the whole reading. A consideration of space suggests that the name might possibly be read, epigraphically, as Κιλι{η}κᾱς.

**139** (Plate 56). Upper part of a grave stele of Hymettian marble, with rough-picked back preserved, found on May 7, 1949, in a pit beneath a house of early Roman date on the lower slope of the Hill of the Nymphs (C 17:5).

<sup>117</sup> *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 343, No. 43, lines 343-344.

Height, 0.281 m.; width, 0.23 m.; thickness, 0.059 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 6154.

*saec.* IV/III *a.*

Σωχάρης

**140** (Plate 58). Complete columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found in February of 1949 in the area southeast of the Market Square.

Height, 1.30 m.; diameter at the top, *ca.* 0.32 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 6116.

*saec.* III *a.*

Ῥόδιο[ν]  
Νείνον  
[Μιλη]σίου  
γυν[ή]

The surface is badly worn, as a glance at the photograph makes abundantly clear. The inscription was read only after repeated attempts in different kinds of light and shadow. The fourth line, which I could not myself read, depends on notes made by Eugene Vanderpool in 1951.

**141** (Plate 57). Upper part of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found on April 8, 1949, in a late Roman wall east of the Panathenaic Way (O-P 9-11).

Height, 0.225 m.; estimated diameter, 0.26 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 6138.

*saec.* III *a.*

[Νου]μήμιος  
[... ]μίδου  
[Χολ]αργεύς

**142** (Plate 58). Fragment of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, broken

on all sides, found on May 24, 1951, in a late context near the east end of the Middle Stoa.

Height, 0.19 m.; width, 0.23 m.; thickness, 0.17 m.

Height of letters, 0.021 m.

Inv. No. I 6378.

*saec.* III *a.*

[Μ] έ ν ω [ν]  
[Προ]ξενίδο[ν]  
[Ἀχα]ρνεύ[ς]

The deceased was perhaps identical with that Μένων Ἀχαρνεύς mentioned in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 682, line 100, and in Diogenes Laertios (cf. *P.A.*, 10077). If so, I take him to be the grandson (not the son, naturally) of that Menon, son of Pythodoros, of Acharnai given by Kirchner as *P.A.*, 10078.

**143** (Plate 56). Columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, with roughly half the upper part preserved, picked up in 1947 in the Market Square among marbles of uncertain provenience.

Height, 0.30 m.; diameter, *ca.* 0.33 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 5944.

*saec.* III/II *a.*

Μητρ[ο...]  
Ἀπολλ[ωνίου]  
[Φ]αλή[ρεως]

The three lines were symmetrically arranged.

**144** (Plate 58). Columnar grave monument of Pentelic marble, found on October 13, 1938, in the wall of a modern house southeast of the Market Square (S 22).

Height, 0.23 m.; diameter, 0.17 m.

Height of letters, 0.017 m.

Inv. No. I 5585.



*saec.* III/I *a.*

Βάκχιος  
χρηστός

**145** (Plate 56). Upper left corner of a grave stele of Hymettian marble, with the original thickness preserved, found on November 8, 1938, in the wall of a modern house southeast of the Market Square and west of the Panathenaic Way (R 22).

Height, 0.21 m.; width, 0.254 m.; thickness, 0.072 m.

Height of letters, 0.018 m.

Inv. No. I 5603.

*saec.* II *a.*

[Ε]ὕττυχis Ἡρακ[λεωτis]  
Ἑρμαῖσκος T[- -<sup>5-6</sup>- -]  
*vacat*

The ethnic of Hermaiskos was probably either T[ύριος] or T[αρσεύς].

**146** (Plate 58). Fragment of a small columnar grave monument, broken on all sides, found in February of 1947 among collected marbles southeast of the Market Square.

Height, 0.16 m.; width, 0.13 m.; thickness, 0.145 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 5955.

*saec.* II *a.*

Ἀγησίλ[αος]  
Ἑρμωτ[...]  
*traces*

**147** (Plate 59). Columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, broken above, below, and behind, found among collected marbles east of the Stoa of Attalos on August 3, 1949.

Height, 0.245 m.; maximum width, 0.295 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 6229.

*ca. med. saec.* II *a.*

Ξενοκλεία  
Ξενοκλέους  
θυγάτηρ  
Δικαιάρχου  
Θριασ[ίου]  
γ[υνή]

The shapes of the letters, especially alpha with sagging cross-bar, are the clue to the date. The gravestone of Dikaiarchos is known (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6250; cf. also Sundwall, *Nachträge zur Prosopographia Attica*, p. 51).

**148** (Plate 58). Gravestone of Hymettian marble, with both sides and the back (worn) preserved, but broken at the top and bottom, found on April 6, 1951, in the wall of a Byzantine pithos east of the altar of Ares (M 7). The top, though broken, may be the original top of the marker.

Height, 0.22 m.; width, 0.264 m.; thickness, 0.046 m.

Height of letters, 0.019 m-0.026 m.

Inv. No. I 6326.

*saec.* II *a.*

Μαλθόκη

Except for the first alpha, the letters look older than the second century; it is difficult to be sure of the date.

**149** (Plate 57). Columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, broken at the bottom, but otherwise intact though battered and worn, found on May 26, 1951, in a Byzantine wall at the northeast corner of the Temple of Ares (L 7).

Height, 0.328 m.; diameter, 0.21 m.

Height of letters, 0.016 m.

Inv. No. I 6385.

*saec.* II *a.*

[Πορ]φυρίς  
[Ἐπι]γέινου  
[Καρ]υστία

**150** (Plate 58). Upper left corner of a pedimental grave stele, with original thickness preserved, found on September 23, 1938, in the wall of a modern house southeast of the Market Square (R 20).

Height, 0.19 m.; width, 0.205 m.; thickness, 0.083 m.

Height of letters, 0.021 m.

Inv. No. I 5568.

*saec.* II *a.* (?)

[<sup>1</sup>Αρ]χικλῆς [---]

Σημ[αχίδης]

**151** (Plate 58). Gravestone of Hymettian marble, with the top and left side preserved and possibly the back (much worn), found on June 4, 1951, in the wall of a Byzantine storage pit west of the late Roman water mill (P 14).

Height, 0.245 m.; width, 0.205 m.; thickness, 0.085 m.

Height of letters, 0.021 m.-0.026 m.

Inv. No. I 6398.

*saec.* II/I *a.*

Δορκ[---]

The single name was probably feminine: Δορκ[άς], Δόρκ[ιον], or Δορκ[ίς], rather than masculine: Δόρκ[ος], Δόρκ[ων], or Δορκ[ίων].

**152** (Plate 58). Fragment of Hymettian marble, with the right side and bottom preserved, found in a modern context southeast of the Market Square and west of the Panathenaic Way (R 17) on April 7, 1938. The base mouldings below the inscription and on the right have been largely broken away.

Height, 0.151 m.; width, 0.217 m.; thickness, 0.247 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 5382.

# FUNERAL EPIGRAM

*saec.* I *a.*

[----- λή]θης ἄκρα

[-----] ναυτιλίην τελέσας

[-----] οἱ ἀεὶ ποθέοντες ἑταῖροι

[----- θῆ]καν ὑπέρθε τάφον

**153** (Plate 59). Upper part of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found on February 10, 1949, among stones collected near the southeastern part of the Odeion.

Height, 0.25 m.; diameter at the top, 0.24 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 6117.

*saec.* I *a.*

Ξεννῶ

Ἀπολλοκράτου

Ἰκαριέως

θ[υ]γ[άτηρ]

For the name Ξεννῶ see F. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen*, p. 343.

**154** (Plate 59). Columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, broken at the bottom, found on February 17, 1949, in a context of Byzantine date in the Stoa of Attalos (Q 10).

Height, 0.30 m.; diameter at the top, 0.18 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 6131.

*saec.* I *a.*

Εἰρήνη

Δημητρίου

Ἡρακλειώτις

**155** (Plate 60). Columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found on May 11, 1951, used as a cobblestone in a Turkish road east of the Middle Stoa.

Height, 0.30 m.; estimated original diameter, 0.37 m.

Height of letters, 0.032 m.-0.038 m.

Inv. No. I 6359.

*saec.* I *a.*

[-----]  
Εἰρηνα[ίου]  
Ἡρακλ[εώτης]

**156** (Plate 60). Columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, broken at the top and bottom, found in a modern context in the area west of the southern end of the Stoa of Attalos on April 23, 1937.

Height, 0.299 m.; diameter, 0.184 m.

Height of letters, 0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 4777.

*saec.* I *a./p.*

[-----]  
[Ἀπολ]ωνίου  
[Ἀντ]ιοχεύς

This text is not part of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 8164 (perhaps broken and rediscovered), for the diameter of that stone was greater (0.32 m.). See the publication, with drawing, by Rousopoulos in *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1862, pp. 186-187 (No. 188).

**157** (Plate 58). Top of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found in a modern wall at the north foot of the Areopagus (Q 22) on March 31, 1939.

Height, 0.163 m.; diameter, 0.148 m.

Height of letters, 0.017 m.

Inv. No. I 5750.

*saec.* I *a./p.*

Ἡδῆα  
Κλέωνος  
⟨M⟩υριναία

This text was published by W. Peek, *Abh. Ak. Berlin*, 1956, no. 3, p. 26 (72), as [\*A]δῆα [Κλ]έωνος [Κο]ρινθ[ία], but is evidently the same as that given by Koumanoudes, and copied by him when the stone was better preserved than it is today.<sup>118</sup> The readings in the *Corpus*

(*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 9974) should be retained. I have underlined the letters still preserved. For the shape of omega, with upward-slanting wings, see J. Kirchner, *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 29-30 (Nos. 114 and 121).

**158** (Plate 60). Upper part of a small rectangular grave stele with pedimental top and akroteria in low relief, broken at the bottom, found on June 2, 1938, in a modern wall south of the Market Square (N 21). Beneath the inscribed band is a niche with arching top framed by three plain mouldings. The head of a figure, much battered, is preserved within the niche. The back of the stele is rough-picked.

Height, 0.23 m.; width, 0.18 m.; thickness, 0.065 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 5508.

*saec.* I/II *p.*

Φλαβία  
Αἰξήσώ,  
ἐτῶν Ἡ

**159** (Plate 60). Two joining fragments of a large columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, with the top preserved, found in a modern wall at the north foot of the Areopagus on March 9, 1939.

Height, 0.51 m.; estimated original diameter, 0.46 m.

Height of letters, 0.04 m.-0.07 m.

Inv. No. I 5704.

*saec.* I/II *p.*

Λεύκ[ιος]  
Ζωείλο[υ]  
Κηφισιεύ[ς]

The text has been published as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6409a (p. 891), where the readings and restorations must be corrected as shown here. For

<sup>118</sup> St. Koumanoudes, *Ἐπιγραφαὶ Ἐπιτύμβιοι*, No. 2268, judged the marble to be Pentelic.



line 2, see also W. Peek, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXVII, 1942, p. 215, No. 18.

**160** (Plate 59). Fragment of a columnar grave monument of Pentelic marble, with part of the top preserved but otherwise broken, found in a modern wall west of the Panathenaic Way and west of the Eleusinion (S 20) on April 14, 1939.

Height, 0.15 m.; width, 0.17 m.; thickness, 0.06 m.

Height of letters, 0.013 m.

Inv. No. I 5762.

*saec.* II *p.*

Σ ω τ [â s]

Ἡρακλε[ώτης]

The lines were symmetrically placed upon the stone.

**161** (Plate 59). The crowning member of a grave monument, with parts of two antefixes preserved at the top, below which is a plain taenia and beneath it the inscribed surface, with the left edge preserved, found on July 24, 1947, in a well southwest of the Market Square and west of the Great Drain (B 17).

Height, 0.16 m.; width, 0.59 m.; thickness, 0.08 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.; and 0.042 m.

Inv. No. I 6062.

*saec.* II *p.*

Ἀγάθη Εὐπόρου

Ἀφρ[οδει — — —]

**162** (Plate 59). Columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, chipped at the top and back and broken below, exposed by rain in the scarp of an excavation trench south of the railroad and northwest of the temple of Ares (L 6) on January 21, 1950.

Height, 1.07 m.; diameter, 0.42 m.

Height of letters, 0.026 m.

Inv. No. I 6270.

*saec.* II *p.*

[— —] Σύνφ[ορ]ο[ς]

ἐξ Οἴου

The surface is badly weathered at the beginning of line 1. Possibly an abbreviated Roman *nomen* should be restored for the sake of epigraphical symmetry.

**163** (Plate 60). Fragment of Pentelic marble, with upper and lower surfaces preserved, apparently from the capping course of a circular funeral monument, found in a late context outside the Market Square south of the Church of the Holy Apostles (P 17) on January 27, 1938.

Height, 0.32 m.; width, 0.15 m. (of face); thickness, *ca.* 0.155 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.-0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 5197.

*aet. Rom.*

[— — —]ης Εὐόδ[ου]

[Μαπαθ]ώνιος

Εὐόδος as a name is more common than Εὐοδίας, Εὐόδιος, Εὐοδίων, etc., but these remain possibilities for the restoration of line 1.

**164** (Plate 60). Top of a columnar grave monument, with mouldings below the inscription, found in a modern context outside the Market Square in the area south of the southeast corner (O 19) on February 16, 1938.

Height, 0.38 m.; width, 0.225 m.; thickness, 0.23 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.-0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 5248.

*aet. Rom.*

[— — — Εὐ]τέρπη

[— — — ο]ς θυγάτηρ

[— — —]ίδου

For the added iota in line 1, see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 9181 and note.

**165** (Plate 61). Part of a grave monument of Pentelic marble, with the left side and the rough-picked top and back preserved, found on June 10, 1938, in a modern wall outside the Market Square in the area south of the Church of the Holy Apostles.

Height, 0.19 m.; width, 0.39 m.; thickness, 0.13 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 5527.

The inscription is on a flat band below a projecting moulding, above which are ornamental antefixes in relief.

*aet. Rom.*

Σπείρουσα [— — — —]

**166** (Plate 60). Fragment of a funeral monument (?) of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found on June 15, 1938, among stones collected in the area southeast of the Market Square.

Height, 0.208 m.; width, 0.417 m.; thickness, 0.234 m.

Height of letters, 0.035 m.

Inv. No. I 5539.

*aet. Rom.*

Πρεῖμα Ἀντ[— — — —]

**167** (Plate 60). Top left half of a pedimental grave monument of Pentelic marble, found on September 12, 1938, in the wall of a modern house southeast of the Market Square (Q-R 20).

Height, 0.20 m.; width, 0.322 m.; thickness, 0.08 m.

Height of letters, 0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 5557.

*aet. Rom.*

Φιλωτίνη [— — — —]

**168** (Plate 60). Upper part of a pedimental grave stele of Pentelic marble, found on Novem-

ber 8, 1938, in the wall of a modern house southeast of the Market Square and west of the Panathenaic Way (R 22). The stone is broken at both sides and at the bottom, but the original thickness is preserved.

Height, 0.26 m.; width, 0.27 m.; thickness, 0.008 m.

Height of letters, 0.021 m.

Inv. No. I 5602.

*aet. Rom.*

[— — — —] ὁδημος Σ[— — — —]  
Κηφείσι[εὺς]

**169** (Plate 61). Fragment from the top of a columnar grave monument, with part of a niche containing a head in low relief below the ring, found in the wall of the Church of St. Spyridon (R 14) on February 24, 1939.

Height, 0.295 m.; width, 0.153 m.; thickness, 0.178 m.

Height of letters, 0.019 m.

Inv. No. I 5673.

*aet. Rom.*

[Διον]ύσιος  
[— — —]ίμου  
[— — —]εὺς

**170** (Plate 60). Upper central section of a pedimental grave stele of Pentelic marble, found in a wall of late Byzantine date in the northwest corner of the Market Square (G 3) on February 22, 1939.

Height, 0.29 m.; width, 0.24 m.; thickness, 0.056 m.

Height of letters, 0.027 m.

Inv. No. I 5678.

*aet. Rom.*

[θεοί]ς καταχθ[ονίους]  
[τὸν μ]νήμης ἀ[ρίστου]  
[— — —]ῶνα τὸ[ν — — —]

For the restoration of line 2, see *J.G.*, VII, 2808, line 6.

**171** (Plate 60). Fragment of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, with part of the top and about half the circumference preserved, found in the wall of a modern house southwest of the Eleusinion (S 21) on March 2, 1939.

Height, 0.30 m.; diameter, 0.28 m.

Height of letters, 0.032 m.

Inv. No. I 5690.

*aet. Rom.*

Διονύσ[ιος]

traces [- -]

[- - - - -]

**172** (Plate 60). Fragment of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, with the top preserved, found among collected marbles southwest of the Eleusinion on March 6, 1939.

Height, 0.14 m.; diameter, 0.205 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 5695.

*aet. Rom.*

Φιλόξ[ενος]

T[- - - - -]

[- - - - -]

**173** (Plate 61). Columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, with part of the top preserved, found on the north slope between the Acropolis and the Areopagus on May 8, 1939.

Height, 0.285 m.; original diameter (at top), 0.28 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 5819.

*aet. Rom.*

Ἀταλάν[τη]

Εὐτυχίδ[ου]

Ἀντιοχέ[ως]

γυνή

**174** (Plate 61). Columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, broken at the bottom,

picked up in February of 1947 in the Market Square among collected marbles of uncertain provenience.

Height, 0.21 m.; diameter, 0.16 m.

Height of letters, 0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 5943.

*aet. Rom.*

Υ λ α ς

Διδυμάρχου

[- - - - -]

**175** (Plate 61). Columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, broken below and somewhat damaged above, found on April 8, 1949, in a late Roman wall east of the Panathenaic Way (O-P 9-11).

Height, 0.31 m.; diameter, 0.242 m.

Height of letters, 0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 6139.

*aet. Rom.*

Σαραπίων

Διονυσίου

Μιλήσιος

**176** (Plate 61). Fragments of a small grave monument of the naiskos type, found on May 30 and 31, 1949, in a modern wall at the north end of the Stoa of Attalos (Q 8). The fragments do not join, but they evidently belong to the same stele.

*a*: The upper piece, from the upper center of the stele, is broken on all sides but preserves the original rough back. The field below the inscription was cut back to a depth of 0.09 m. for sculpture in relief, nothing of which is preserved.

Height, 0.28 m.; width, 0.26 m.; thickness, 0.17 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 6194.

*b*: The lower piece, from the lower left corner of the stele, is broken above and at



the right, and at the bottom has a rough-worked tenon. The field above the inscription was recessed 0.10 m. behind the inscribed band and the lateral pilaster to accommodate sculpture in relief, of which a sandaled foot is preserved.

Height, 0.25 m.; width, 0.25 m.; thickness, 0.185 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 6196.

Apparently the same name was inscribed on both the upper and lower bands framing the figure in relief. That on the upper band replaced an inscription that was erased and that cannot now be deciphered.

*aet. Rom.*

*above*

[Ζώσιμος] Ζωσίμου Εὐ[— — —]

*below*

Ζώσιμος Ζωσίμου Εὐ — — — —

**177** (Plate 59). Grave stele of Pentelic marble, mended from two pieces, and complete. Both fragments were found on January 25, 1949, southwest of the Market Square (C 16).

Height, 0.635 m.; width, 0.375 m.; thickness, 0.05 m.

Height of letters, 0.016 m.

Inv. No. I 6205.

*aet. Rom.*

[Ἀ]ντιοχὺς Ζωίλου  
Γαργηττίου γυνή

The inscription has been damaged, and partly erased, in the dressing down of the stele for re-use. Also the sculptured relief has been largely trimmed away; it represented a woman, in a naiskos, seated, facing left, and holding a pyxis.

**178** (Plate 61). Grave stele of Pentelic marble, with part of the pediment preserved with

mouldings below it and with part of a representation in relief in a sunken panel just at the break below the inscription, found on November 2, 1949, east of the Stoa of Attalos.

Height, 0.20 m.; width, 0.50 m.; thickness, 0.15 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 6237.

*aet. Rom.*

Ἐπίγονος Σώσου  
Ἀχαρνεὺς

**179** (Plate 61). Grave stele of Pentelic marble, broken at the bottom, but with both sides, the pedimental top, and the rough-picked back preserved, found on April 4, 1951, in a Byzantine house east of the altar of Ares (M 7). Below the inscription is the background, partly preserved, for a relief, into which two cuts have been made for later re-use.

Height, 0.445 m.; width, 0.565 m.; thickness, 0.079 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.-0.032 m.

Inv. No. I 6325.

*aet. Rom.*

Ῥουτελία Ὀνησίμῃ Πάπῳ  
Μαραθωνία

For the double name, see, for example, Παπία Ὀνησίμῃ of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3656. The name Πάπι(ος) Μαραθώνιος occurs in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3261; but in this inscription the patronymic is clearly Πάπος (Πάπου). One Πάπος (Μαραθώνιος) was a councillor *ca.* A.D. 120;<sup>119</sup> Rutilia may have been his daughter. For the feminine demotic, see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6780, 6781, 6810, and for the spelling see Meisterhans-Schwyzler, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*,<sup>3</sup> p. 67, §13.

**180** (Plate 61). Fragment of a funerary plaque of Pentelic marble, with the left side, bottom, and back preserved, but broken at the

<sup>119</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1073, line 20 = *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, 1937, p. 195, No. 121, line 39.

top and right, found in the later wall <sup>120</sup> of the Church of St. Spyridon (R 14), over the Library of Pantainos, on April 19, 1939.

Height, 0.205 m.; width, 0.30 m.; thickness, 0.085 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.-0.03 m.

Inv. No. I 5786.

aet. imp. inf.

μηνὸς Γαμηλιῶνος — — date — —]  
ἀπετέ<θ>η τὸ σῶμα — — name — —]  
μηνὸς Γαμηλιῶνος — — date, date πρὸ]  
Καλανδῶν Φ[εβρουαρίων, ἀπετέθη τὸ σῶμα]  
5 τοῦ δεσπότη[ου — — name — —]

For ἀποτίθεσθαι in the sense "to bury," see Van Herwerden, *Lex. Gr. Suppl. et Dial.*, s.v. This unusual document exhibits two inscriptions, cut in different hands, but probably almost contemporaneous. The first and shorter text (lines 1-2) was doubtless symmetrically spaced on the stone. The second and longer text (lines 3-5), with date by Roman as well as by Attic month, was cut in the available space at the bottom of the plaque. The texts represent two burials, both in Gamelion. One might conjecture that the first burial was of the wife, the second of her husband, but the family relationship is uncertain. Use of the same stone implies relationship, but does not guarantee the degree. The second epitaph belonged to the δεσπότης, or master. If husband and wife, they may have died at about the same time; it is perhaps an easier assumption than that they died exactly one year (or two, or three, etc., years) apart.

It is clear that an equation exists in lines 3-4 between the Athenian and the Roman months;

some day in Gamelion was the same as some day before the Kalends of February. This is as it should be: Gamelion roughly equivalent to January.<sup>121</sup> The calendar equation conditions, in some measure, the restoration of line 5 as well, for there is not room for the curse (sometimes inscribed) against one who opens the grave. Nikos A. Bees has published, for example, a Christian epitaph which carries in its concluding lines the imprecation: ἡ τις δὲ δοκειμάσει τοῦτο ἀνῶξε χωρὶς τῶν [τ]οῦτου δεσποτῶν ἔστω αὐτῷ τὸ ἀνάθεμα.<sup>122</sup> Even though the letters in line 5 of the present text could be part of the phrase χωρὶς τῶν τοῦτου δεσποτῶν, the long formula and possible modifications of it are to be rejected; one cannot, without violence to the calendar equation, insert the name of the dead in line 3, and—on the analogy of the first epitaph—the words ἀπετέθη τὸ σῶμα probably should be restored in line 4. Hence there was no room for the curse, and τοῦ δεσπότη[ου] in line 5 is simply an epithet joined to the name of the deceased.

As conjectured above, this second interment may have been of the husband, whose wife had predeceased him. We do not know the name of either. The word δεσπότης as "lord and master" of a household is as early as Aischylos,<sup>123</sup> and δεσποτεία is known from Philo Judaeus, I, 40 (= I, LX [167] Loeb) to describe the authority enjoyed by a husband over his wife: τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ συνόντος ἀνδρὸς δεσποτείαν, οὗ τοῖς ἐπιτάγμασι πειθαρχεῖν ἀναγκαῖον. In its simple meaning of "owner," whether of persons or of property, the noun δεσπότης is, of course, common.

181 (Plate 61). Part of a stele of Pentelic marble, with the left edge and the rough-picked back preserved, but otherwise broken, found on

<sup>120</sup> This wall was part of a rebuilding which M. Alison Frantz, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 198, dates in A.D. 1613.

<sup>121</sup> For equations between Greek and Roman months elsewhere, see, for example, *Inscr. Gr. ad res Rom. pertinentes*, I, Nos. 598, 1438.

<sup>122</sup> *Die griechisch-christlichen Inschriften des Peloponnes*, I, 1941: *Isthmos-Korinthos*, pp. 37-41, No. 17 [commentary by F. J. M. de Waele].

<sup>123</sup> *Eumenides*, 60: τὰν τεύθεν ἥδη τῶνδε δεσπότη δόμων. The reference is to Apollo.

January 28, 1942, in a hollow west of Pnyx Hill, and brought to the Agora Museum.

Height, 0.12 m.; width, 0.125 m.; thickness, 0.038 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 5904.

*aet. Rom.*

ἀγαθ[ῆ]      τύχη]  
ἐπὶ ἄρχοντ[ος —  $\frac{ca. 18}{—} — —$ ]  
οἱ πρυτάνει[ς τῆς —  $\frac{ca. 9}{—} — \phi\upsilon$ ]  
λῆς τεμῆσ[αντες ἐαυτοὺς καὶ]  
5 τοὺς [ἀϊσείτους ἀνέγραψαν]

The text gives the opening lines of a catalogue of prytaneis, comparable, for example, to that of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1812.

**182** (Plate 61). A ball of Pentelic marble, somewhat less than half preserved, originally roughly spherical in shape with a round hole *ca.* 0.025 m. in diameter through the center, found in a terracotta drain (N 21) at the north foot of the Areopagus on May 10, 1939.

Principal dimension, 0.115 m.

Height of letters, 0.014 m.

Inv. No. I 5818.

*saec.* I/II  $\dot{\rho}$ .  
γέφανο[s]

Hesychios defines γέφανος as a hand-mill for grinding grain, and this stone could conceivably

be the pounding or rolling unit used for such a purpose, with the hole through the center holding a wooden shaft. But other hand-mills found in the Agora are quite different,<sup>124</sup> and the alternative explanation is probably preferable, that the stone was used as a counter-weight on a crane (γέφανος) used for hoisting, possibly a toy.

**183** (Plate 61). Part of a slab of Hymettian marble, with the smooth top and smooth-dressed original back preserved (cut down at the top), found on June 8, 1938, in the débris from the destruction of a late Roman building in the sixth century after Christ south of the Market Square (P 19).

Height, 0.12 m.; width, 0.135 m.; thickness, 0.034 m.

Height of letters (X), 0.023 m.

Inv. No. I 5529.

*aet. Rom.*

[Α Ε Ι Ν] Ρ Φ  
[Β Ζ Κ Ξ] Ç X  
[Γ Η Λ Ο] Τ Υ  
[Δ Θ ΛΛ Π Υ Ω]

The exact shapes of mu, xi, and omega are not known, but the abecedarium clearly had a lunate sigma, and probably lunate epsilon as well.

**184** (Plate 59). Part of a stele of Pentelic marble, with the smooth right side and rough-picked back preserved, found in the wall of a mediaeval house above the east end of South Stoa II (O 15) on April 8, 1952. Above the moulding over the inscription was a sculptured panel, which still preserves at the right the feet of a draped figure and at the left part of a dolphin.

Height, 0.205 m.; width, 0.19 m.; thickness, 0.07 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 6496.

<sup>124</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, pp. 143-144.



a. 321/0 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 33

|    |   |    |   |   |
|----|---|----|---|---|
|    | [θ  | ε] | ο | ί |
|    | [ἀναγραφεὺς Θρασ]υκλῆς Ναυσικράτου[ς] Θ[ρ]                    |    |   |   |
|    | [ιάσιος· ἐπὶ Ἀρχίππ]ου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Δ[ε]                  |    |   |   |
|    | [ωντίδος πέμπτης π]ρυτανείας ἥι Σωκρατ[.]                     |    |   |   |
| 5  | [..... <sup>14</sup> .....]δης ἐγραμμάτευεν· Μαι[μ]           |    |   |   |
|    | [ακτηριῶντος ἔνει] καὶ νέαι, πέμπτει τῆς [πρ]                 |    |   |   |
|    | [υτανείας· ἐκκλησ]ία· τ[ῶ]ν προέδρων ἐ[πεβήφ]                 |    |   |   |
|    | [ιζεν ..... <sup>7</sup> ..... Παλ]ληγεύς· ἔδοξεν τ[ῶ]ι δῆμῳ] |    |   |   |
|    | [ι· ..... <sup>18</sup> .....]ήλου Πο[-----]                  |    |   |   |
| 10 | [..... <sup>14</sup> .....]μον τ[-----]                       |    |   |   |
|    | [..... <sup>14</sup> .....]ιδη[-----]                         |    |   |   |
|    | [..... <sup>15</sup> .....]Ι[-----]                           |    |   |   |

The inscription belongs during the period of the ten phylai, within the span of three years from 321/0 to 319/8 when the registrar was the chief recording officer. The calendar equation shows an ordinary year in which the first four prytanies had 142 days (36 36 35 35) and the first five months had 147 days (29 30 29 30 29):

Prytany V 5 = Maimakterion 29 = 147th day.

The only available year is that of the archonship of Archippos in 321/0, where the calendar supports the inference drawn from other evidence that the year of Archippos was ordinary.<sup>125</sup> But the new text raises again the question of identifying and assigning dates to the various known registrars. It is now obvious that Thrasykles of Thria belongs in 321/0, displacing the registrar from Oion most recently restored in the hypothetical first line of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 546,<sup>126</sup> and recorded in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 385.<sup>127</sup> The registrar from Oion probably belongs in the archonship of Philippos in 292/1, but the two fragments now assigned to his text must be separated, with fragment *b* remaining in the fourth century.<sup>128</sup> The text of fragment *a* is stoichedon 34, that of fragment *b* stoichedon 41.

The name of Thraskyles of Thria used to be restored in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 378. Now that

<sup>125</sup> B. D. Meritt, *The Athenian Year*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1961, pp. 112-113.

<sup>126</sup> Meritt, *op. cit.*, p. 112. The date of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 546, remains 321/0, but the name of the registrar to be supplied in its hypothetical first line becomes now Thrasykles of Thria.

<sup>127</sup> See the text as given by Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 25.

<sup>128</sup> See Dinsmoor, *Archons*, pp. 24-25. Dinsmoor first chose to restore the archon's name as Archippos rather than Philippos because of a supposed difficulty with the cycles of the priests of Asklepios, but we now know that the cycles of the secretaries were resumed (after the span of the registrars) in 291/0 (Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 53-54), and indeed Dinsmoor himself has most recently attributed the registrar from Oion to the archonship of Philippos (*Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 313).

his name is actually preserved in the present text the validity of this restoration must be studied again. Doubt was cast upon it by a reading by Schweigert, reported in *Hesperia*, VII, 1958, p. 99, note 1, who gave the demotic in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 378, as [Φυ]λασίου rather than [Θρι]ασίου.<sup>129</sup> It seems a difficult choice, if *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 378, has the registrar's name as Θρασ[.....<sup>22</sup>.....]ασίου (in the genitive), the reading of lambda in the demotic not being accepted, and the present text has [Θρασ]υκλῆς Ναυσικράτου[ς] Θ[ριάσιος], to deny both texts to the same man, and not to read in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 378, Θρασ[υκλέους Ναυσικράτους Θρι]ασίου.

Yet there are difficulties. The two texts, if both belonged to 321/0, must have been passed in the same prytany, with *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 378, later by nineteen days (24-5) than the new text here published. This means that the day of the month was the 19th: ἐνάτει ἐπὶ δέκα, with a stoichedon line of 29 letters. The other lines are stoichedon 33, and a tentative text would have to be proposed somewhat as follows:

[ἐπὶ Ἀρχίππου ἄρχοντος ἂ]ναγραφέως Θρασ  
[υκλέους Ναυσικράτους Θρι]ασίου ἐπὶ τῆς  
[Λεωντίδος πέμπτῃς πρυταν]είας Ποσιδεῖ  
[ῶνος ἐνάτει ἐπὶ δέκα <sup>υυυυ</sup> τε]τάρτει καὶ ε  
5 [ἱκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας ἐκκλ]ησία κυρ[ία·]  
[τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν ὁ Ἀρ]ιστοφά[νης]  
etc.

It is an anomaly to find asyndeton between the archon and the registrar in line 1, and again an anomaly that the patronymic in line 2 is without the definite article. If the date 321/0 were correct both these lines should have 36 (not 33) letters. Some editors have sought to explain the different lengths of line by claiming that the inscription is not stoichedon,<sup>130</sup> but this is a faulty observation. In these early lines of the text, so far as preserved, the lettering is, in fact, stoichedon,<sup>131</sup> and any irregularity, if such be assumed, must be posited in the restored portions. To accommodate the restoration of date in line 4, the lengths of lines would have to vary from 36 to 29 letters.

The only date even close to Posideon 19 that can give the required number of letters in line 4 is δεκάτει προτεραίαι, a rare variant of δεκάτει προτέραι meaning the twentieth day.<sup>132</sup> In order to justify this restoration, one would have to assume that a day had been omitted from the festival calendar between Pos. 1 and Pos. 20, for the

<sup>129</sup> Subsequent investigation shows that the stroke of lambda, if read at all, is very faint.

<sup>130</sup> See Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 25 with note 2; Pritchett and Neugebauer, *Calendars of Athens*, p. 71.

<sup>131</sup> Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, pp. 87-88; Meritt, *The Athenian Year*, p. 27.

<sup>132</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1673, line 77. See Meritt, *The Athenian Year*, p. 46, note 6.

corresponding count by prytany shows only nineteen days. The omission would serve probably as compensation for an extra day intercalated earlier (before Maim. 29). This may be the correct solution, for examples of addition of days and subsequent omission can be demonstrated, though rarely, in the known festival calendar of the fourth century.<sup>133</sup> It would then have to be assumed that three of the first four prytanies had 36 days each and that one of them only had 35 days, making the equation of our new text

Prytany V 5 = Maimakterion 29 = 148th day.

But this solution of the calendar involves a series of possible, though rare, irregularities, and even so does not explain the anomalies in lines 1 and 2. Our preference is to forego the identification of Θρασ[— —]<sup>134</sup> of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 378, with [— —]νκλῆς in the new text, and to leave *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 378, as at present dated and restored, in 294/3.<sup>135</sup>

The Thraskyles now known as the registrar in 321/0 is to be identified, as suggested years ago by Koehler,<sup>136</sup> as the pro-Macedonian spokesman of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 450, of 314/3 B.C.: Θρασυκλῆς Ναυσικράτο[υ]ς Θριάσι(ος).

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<sup>133</sup> Cf. Meritt, *The Athenian Year*, p. 131.

<sup>134</sup> There are at least twenty-one names different from Θρασυκλῆς beginning with Θρασ- known to Athenian prosopography, ranging from Θρασέας to Θρασωνίδης.

<sup>135</sup> Meritt, *The Athenian Year*, p. 27, and *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 99.

<sup>136</sup> *I.G.*, II, 5, 229b.



# FRAGMENT OF A SACRED CALENDAR AND OTHER INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE ATTIC DEME OF TEITHRAS

(PLATE 62)

1 (Pl. 62). A fragment of an inscribed stele containing part of a sacred calendar has been found recently in the modern village of Pikermi near a stream bed about 200 meters north of the Metamorphosis church.<sup>1</sup> This area has been previously identified on the basis of an inscription published in 1924 by Möbius as the ancient deme of Teithras.<sup>2</sup>

The fragment is of Pentelic marble and is opisthographic. The left side of the stele (when viewed from side A) is preserved; otherwise it is irregularly broken on all sides. Its dimensions are: preserved height 0.17 m.; preserved width 0.165 m.; thickness 0.075 m.; letter height 0.006 m.

The writing on side A is stoichedon except for the prices of the sacrificial offerings which are placed irregularly in the left margin. The writing on side B is of inferior workmanship to that of side A, and cannot be considered stoichedon. Possibly side B was inscribed after the stele had already been set up.

1st half of the 4th century B.C.

## FACE A

|    |      |                                      |
|----|------|--------------------------------------|
|    | Π††  | Βοηδ[ρομιῶνος]                       |
|    |      | τετρ[άδι — — — —]                    |
|    |      | Δὺ : ἐντ[ — — — —]                   |
| 5  | ΔΠ†† | ῥῖν : ἄρρεν                          |
|    | †    | ἱερεῖῶσυνα                           |
|    |      | τετράδι φθ[ίνοντος]                  |
|    | †††† | Ἀθηνᾶι ῥῖν [ — — — ]                 |
|    |      | Δὺ : προθύ[ματα]                     |
| 10 |      | χοῖρον γα[λαθηνόν]                   |
|    |      | [ἰ]ερεῶσυν[να]                       |
|    |      | [. . . . <sup>3</sup> ]εσθη[ — — — ] |

<sup>1</sup> E. Curtius and J. A. Kaupert, *Karten von Attika*, Bl. XII (Pentelikon).

<sup>2</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, XLIX, 1924, pp. 1-13. The inscription, which records several decrees of the people of Teithras, was found by Möbius and Lehmann built into the wall of the Metamorphosis church. An improved text was published by A. Wilhelm, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, XI, 1933, pp. 189-200. J. Tréheux, *B.C.H.*, LXXVII, 1953, pp. 155-165, offers an interpretation of the phrase 'Επ' ἀμφότερα which occurs in the text.

## FACE B

|    |                 |
|----|-----------------|
|    | [----]α[----]   |
|    | <i>vacat</i>    |
|    | [---]αθα[.]ενει |
| 5  | [---]ν δραχμῶν  |
|    | δ[έκα]          |
|    | <i>vacat</i>    |
|    | [τέ]λεον        |
|    | <i>vacat</i>    |
| 10 | [τ]ελέαν        |
|    | [---]τος        |

## NOTES

## FACE A:

Line 1: The reading here is highly uncertain, but the fact that the figures are in the left margin makes it clear that the price of some offering is indicated.

Line 4: Only the vertical stroke of the letter restored tau is visible on the stone. An iota is also possible.

Lines 5 and 8: The prices indicated here seem to be the same as those on the state calendar from Athens,<sup>3</sup> although the terminology used for the sacrificial animals is somewhat different. ὄν ἄρρεν in line 5 is presumably the same as κριός in column III of the state calendar, the price being 17 drachmas in each case. The price of the sheep offered to Athena in line 8, 4 drachmas, appears on the state calendar for an ὄν λειπογνώμονα (col. III, line 38); this, or some similar phrase, should perhaps be restored on our calendar.

Lines 6 and 11: *ἱερείωσυνα* and *ἱερεώσυνα* are apparently different spellings of the same word. *ἱερεώσυνα* is the form used on the state calendar (column II, lines 39, 52 and on *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1357b). *ἱερείωσυνα* occurs on *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1359. A third spelling *ἱερώσυνα* appears on the sacred calendar from the Marathonian tetrapolis (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1358). The appearance of *ει* for *ε* is common in inscriptions of the 4th century B.C.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The state calendar from Athens is preserved in several fragments. The largest of these, found in the Agora and now in the Agora Museum, was published by J. H. Oliver in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 1-32. Two other fragments, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1357a and 1357b, are also discussed in Oliver's article. S. Dow has added several small fragments from the Agora; *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 31-37. This group of inscriptions will be referred to as the "state calendar." When a column number is cited the large Agora fragment is referred to. The other fragments will be cited by their Corpus or inventory number. Professor Dow has recently published a summary of the nature, content and chronology of these fragments in *Historia*, IX, 3, pp. 271-293; he has discussed their physical aspects *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, pp. 58-73.

<sup>4</sup> See K. Meisterhans, *Grammatik der Attischen Inschriften*, pp. 45-46, and especially note 3.

What is remarkable is that there should be two different spellings in the same inscription.

Line 9: *προθύ[ματα]* (or *πρόθυ[μα]*, but the plural is more common) is a probable but problematic restoration. The punctuation after *Δί* makes an epithet (such as *προθύραιος*) unlikely. The significance of the word *πρόθυμα* requires some explanation.

That *προθύματα* actually were sacrifices themselves and not simply preparatory steps for later sacrifices can be deduced from Aristophanes, *Plut.*, 660, where the *προθύματα* are spoken of as being dedicated on an altar (*καθωσιώθη . . . . . βωμῷ*). A line of Euripides' *Iph. Aul.*, 1311, suggests that they could also be offered to specific deities.<sup>5</sup> A scholiast on Aristophanes' *Plut.*, 661, tells us that *προθύματα* consisted of grain of various sorts (*τὰς ὀλύρας*) offered before the sacrifice of animal victims. Eustathius gives a similar definition: *εἰσὶ δὲ οὐλοχυνταί . . . . . τὰ προθύματα . . . ἄς ἐπέχεον τοῖς βωμοῖς πρὸ τῆς ἱερουργίας*<sup>6</sup> This sort of offering—grain, meal, etc.—seems to stem from an ancient stratum of Greek religion and is normally associated with the chthonic aspect of the gods.<sup>7</sup>

It is probable that *προθύματα* were offerings of grain which immediately preceded the sacrifice of animals to the chthonic deities or to any deity in a chthonic aspect. (The fact that Zeus is offered a pig in our inscription possibly suggests that he is being worshipped in a chthonic aspect<sup>8</sup>). Such *προθύματα* would have been offered whenever they were appropriate. In a general calendar of sacrifices such as the Teithras calendar it may have been necessary to specify exactly when *προθύματα* were required. On the other hand, in the sanctuary of a chthonic deity the offering of *προθύματα* as a regular part of all sacrifices would have been taken for granted. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 47, lines 25, 30 suggest that they occurred repeatedly in the worship of Asklepios. An inscription set up by the Athenian epimeletes of the Eleusinian mysteries boasts that the *προθύματα* were offered *ἀεί* to Demeter and Kore.<sup>9</sup> Again in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1635, line 37, the accounts of the Athenian amphiktyony at Delos, money is decreed for the *προθύματα τῆς ἐορτῆς*. In none of these inscriptions is a specific time stipulated for the offering nor is a specific deity mentioned. One infers that *προθύματα* were offered regularly in the various sanctuaries.

<sup>5</sup> *Προθύματα* (or *πρόθυμά σ'*) ἔλαβεν Ἀρτεμις πρὸς Ἴλιον. The full meaning of the lines is obscure and the text may require emendation, but the general significance of the lines is clear. Iphigeneia's death is compared to a *πρόθυμα* accompanying the sacrifice of Troy. Artemis is probably designated as the recipient because the quest for Troy is likened to a hunt. The metaphor would have no effect if a specific deity, in this case Artemis, could not receive *προθύματα*.

<sup>6</sup> *Commentarii ad Homerum Iliadem*, I, verse 449, par. 132, 23.

<sup>7</sup> See J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, pp. 84-92.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 16, 152, 153.

<sup>9</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 847, line 16.



F. Sokolowski has produced an interesting study of the word *προθύσια*, which he feels means "the right to sacrifice ahead of others."<sup>10</sup> If one assumes that there is a close connection between *προθύματα* and *προθύσια*, for example, that the latter means the right to sacrifice ahead of others and the former means the actual sacrifices performed by those who have this right, then one would have to assume that *προθύματα* were not different in nature from any other sacrifice and that they only had a special name because they occurred at the beginning of a given series of sacrifices. None of the inscriptions or literary references given above, however, supports such an assumption, and there seems to be little doubt that a *πρόθυμα* was a specific type of offering.

One of the pieces of evidence cited by Sokolowski was an inscription discovered by J. Papadimitriou in the excavation of the temple of Apollo Maleatas at Epidauros.<sup>11</sup> The word *πρόθυσις*, which occurs in this inscription, is interpreted by Papadimitriou as meaning a preliminary sacrifice regularly made to Apollo Maleatas prior to the posing of a request or question to Asklepios. He further points out, however, that Pausanias (V, 13, 8) uses the word *πρόθυσις* to mean the first level of a large altar. Thus we can see that these words formed with *πρό* and *θύω* are not strictly defined and admit a considerable variety of meanings. Another suggestion made by Papadimitriou is that the phrase *ὅσων δεῖ* in the third line of his inscription<sup>12</sup> refers to the *πόπανα* and *θυλήματα* mentioned in the scholia on Aristophanes' *Plut.*, 660. Possibly then, the *ὅσων δεῖ* of the Epidauros inscription refers to what we have called *προθύματα*. Papadimitriou makes a distinction, however, between the *ὅσων δεῖ* and the other items listed in the inscription,—grain, firewood, etc., but the wording of the inscription does not make it clear whether or not such a complete distinction can be made.

It is surprising that *προθύματα* are not mentioned on the other sacred calendars. It may be, however, that the *ἀλφίτων ἐκτεύς* on the calendar from the Marathonian tetrapolis is in fact a *πρόθυμα*. Likewise the *πέλανος* referred to in line 35 of the inscription set up by the Salaminioi of Heptaphylai and Sounion<sup>13</sup> may be the equivalent of *προθύματα*, since the scholiast on Aristophanes, *Plut.*, 660, seems to equate the two words. And finally it may be that the *[μέδιμ]νος κριθῶν* on the state calendar (column I, lines 25-26, column II, 57-58) was to be used for *προθύματα*; once again the clue is given by the scholiast on Aristophanes. He states flatly that *προθύματα* is the equivalent of *κριθάς*.

<sup>10</sup> *Harvard Theological Review*, XLVII, 1954, pp. 165-171.

<sup>11</sup> *B.C.H.*, LXXIII, 1949, pp. 361-383; *S.E.G.*, XI, 419a.

<sup>12</sup> ὁ ἱερεὺς ὁ παρ' Ἀσκληπιοῦ παρ[ε]

χέτω τοῖς προθυνομένοις πά[ντ]

α ὅσων δεῖ ἐπὶ τῇ προθύσει —————

<sup>13</sup> W. S. Ferguson, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 1-74.

The breakage of the stone makes it impossible to say whether a price was indicated for the *προθύματα*.

Line 10: For the reading *γαλαθηνόν* compare *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 840.

I append the following four inscriptions which have also been found in Pikermi.

**2** (Pl. 62). Fragment of a grave stele of Pentelic marble broken only below. The top is flat, and a thin moulding is preserved. In the broken edge below there are two round dowel holes which suggest that the break is ancient and that the stele was repaired.

Preserved height 0.26 m.; width, 0.18 m.; thickness 0.08 m.; letter height 0.015 m.  
4th century B.C.

*Χερσίππη*

**3** (Pl. 62). Fragment of Pentelic marble broken on all sides.

Preserved height 0.11 m.; preserved width 0.12 m.; preserved thickness 0.50 m.; letter height 0.03 m.

4th century B.C.

| Δ ] η μ ο [ - - - ]  
[ K ] τ η σ ι φ [ ὦ ν τ ο ς ]

The great thickness shows that the inscription was on a mensa; cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, Part 3, fasc. 2, plate I.

**4** (Pl. 62). Fragment of a grave stele of Pentelic marble broken on all sides. Toward the top, above the letters, there is a partially broken moulding about 0.03 m. in width. At the bottom the curving edge of a recessed cutting is visible. It is probable that this cutting was centered on the stone and was decorated with relief sculpture.

Preserved height 0.33 m.; preserved width 0.38 m.; thickness 0.082 m.; letter height 0.025 m.

1st-2nd century after Christ.

[ - - - ] Ἑρμογένους  
[ Μει ] λ η σ ί α Μάμ [ α γ ] ν ν ή

Since the limits of the inscription are preserved on the right side, and if the recessed cutting mentioned above indicates the center of the inscription, there will

not be room for more than 4 or 5 letters on the left side. *Μειλησία* fits well in the second line and a short feminine name is to be restored in the first line.

The genitive *Μάμα* from *Μάμας* occurs in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Sozomenus (V, 2, 12): *τὸν τάφον Μάμα τοῦ μάρτυρος*.<sup>14</sup> The more canonical genitive *Μάμαντος* will not fit, since there is only room for two, or at the most three, letters on the stone.

5 (Pl. 62). Grave stele of gray marble preserved on the top and on the sides but with the bottom broken. Above the inscription is a Constantinian monogram in a circle, about 0.20 m. in height, carved in relief. Another smaller Constantinian monogram is inscribed at the end of the last line.

Preserved height 0.65 m.; width 0.20 m.; thickness 0.07 m.; letter height 0.025 m.

5th century after Christ (?)

κοιμητήρ-  
ιον Θαλλού-  
σης ἔνθα  
κίτε

J. J. POLLITT

NEW YORK, N. Y.

<sup>14</sup> Robert Hussey, ed., *Sozomeni Ecclesiastica Historia*, Oxford, 1868.



## A GEOMETRIC GRAVE GROUP FROM THORIKOS IN ATTICA

(PLATES 63-64)

CIRCUMSTANCES OF DISCOVERY. On November 2, 1958, my family and I made a chance find at Thorikos in southeast Attica.<sup>1</sup> On the south side of the hill called Velatouri, above the theater, we came upon a recently disturbed grave. The find spot is *ca.* 400 m. northwest of the theater and *ca.* 11 m. directly south of (below) a fragment of wall *ca.* 6 m. long, built in ashlar style, preserved in one or two courses and now almost hidden in brush.

What first attracted our attention was a large number of fragments of homogeneous pottery of excellent fabric and decorative technique scattered in a fairly restricted area. Some of the breaks were old, proving that the pot or pots had been smashed at a reasonably remote period. But most fragments were newly broken and there had clearly been recent damage, whether deliberate or not.

Closer inspection showed that the sherds were mainly in an area just below a disturbed bit of ground which could be clearly distinguished from the unploughed and undisturbed surrounding surface. Furthermore, a large flat slab of stone, not unlike many others on the hillside, was leaning against a near-by shrub. The presumption is that a person or persons unknown had very recently removed the slab. It is not so clear whether or not he realized that the slab had covered an ancient grave. Since the hillside had recently been cultivated nearly up to this point, the owner might merely have been clearing ahead of the plough and unwittingly trampled and scattered the already broken pots. Although it was later clear that our search of the area did not turn up nearly all of the fragments, it is doubtful if any were deliberately removed. Possibly one or more complete pots and/or other more precious contents of the grave were discovered and removed. But it is at least equally likely that the objects we recovered represent the total grave furniture.

The disturbed area showed that the grave had been oriented roughly east-west

<sup>1</sup> I wish to express appreciation to the Greek Archaeological Service for permission to restore, publish and display the finds. To Mr. Nicholas Coldstream, of Cambridge University and the British School in Athens, who is preparing a definitive study of Greek geometric pottery, I wish to tender special thanks for his ready and willing help during the writing of this article. Others have assisted me at various stages: Professor Eugene Vanderpool and Mr. Colin Edmonson of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, Professor Homer A. Thompson, Miss Alison Frantz and others of the Staff of the Agora Excavations. Plates 63, a-c, and 64, b are by Professor Saul Weinberg; Plate 64, a by Miss Alison Frantz. Plate 64, c is by Mr. V. Tombazes and permission to publish it is owed to Professor George Mylonas and Mr. Threpsiades.

and was apparently deeper and wider at the west end. Its dimensions seem to have been approximately 1.35 m. in length, 0.75 m. wide at the west, and 0.40 m. at the east. Disturbed earth reached a depth of at least 0.65 m. below the modern surface at the west end, and it can be presumed that the amphora had stood or lain there.<sup>2</sup> Since fragments of the pottery and one of the metal objects were still mixed in the loose earth, there can be no doubt that the grave was the source of all the objects described below.

The Greek Archaeological Service was immediately notified of the above facts. The vases were mended in the workroom of the American Agora Excavations, and permission was granted by the Greek Archaeological Service to exhibit the group in the new Davis wing of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens.

**CONTENTS.** The sherds collected proved to come from a fine grave group consisting of a neck-handled amphora, an oinochoe, a two-handled kantharoid cup, and a tripod stand (Pl. 63, a). All are of light buff clay. None show clear signs of burning. A few miscellaneous sherds which do not seem to belong to any of the above may not be from the grave, since the hillside is strewn with fine and coarse pottery of various periods. The heavily corroded iron objects, almost certainly from the grave, suggest that the burial was that of a mature male. They include the following items: a spear(?) head, two sections of a knife or razor, and two sections of a dagger(?) blade. Seven peculiar lumps of hard-baked clay and a dozen bits of broken and charred bone were also collected.

1. *Amphora* (Pl. 63, a, b). The large neck-handled amphora presumably contained the burial ashes. In shape it is midway between Kerameikos 253 of developed Early Geometric and 866 belonging to an early but settled phase of Middle Geometric.<sup>3</sup> The former has a taller, narrower neck, more steeply sloping shoulder, and lower center of gravity. The latter has a

wider neck, broader and flatter shoulder, and higher center of gravity. In decoration the nearest parallel is Kerameikos 2155.<sup>4</sup> The narrow neck panel is an early feature, while the friezes of vertical strokes and double axe (or "butterfly" or opposed triangles) on lip and body are at home in Middle Geometric.<sup>5</sup>

H. 0.555 m.; d. of lip 0.181 m.; min. d. of

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the description of a grave in the Athenian Agora by C. W. Blegen, "Two Athenian Grave Groups of about 900 B.C.," *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 279-280.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Karl Kübler, *Kerameikos: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen. Die Nekropole des 10 bis 8. Jahrhunderts*, Vol. V Part I, Berlin, 1954, henceforth referred to as *Kerameikos*, V. For amphora 253, cf. pl. 25 (Grave 74) and for amphora 866, pl. 29 (Grave 37). Cf. also a wider-necked, slightly later example than ours recently discovered at Eleusis (*A.J.A.*, LXI, 1957, pl. 84, fig. 8).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Kerameikos*, V, pl. 29 (Grave 36).

<sup>5</sup> See also Peter Kahane, "Die Entwicklungsphasen der Attisch-Geometrischen Keramik," *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pp. 465-482. Kahane's pl. XVIII, 2, labelled advanced Early Geometric, has decoration very similar to ours but the shape is earlier with a distinctly heavier appearance and lower center of gravity. The only comparable vase from Corinth, though it is quite slim and elongated, should also be slightly earlier than ours (Cf. S. Weinberg, *Corinth*, VII, 1, pl. 10, 58).

neck 0.116 m.; max. d. of body 0.329 m.; d. of base 0.137 m. Repaired from many fragments; *ca.* half of rim restored; neck practically complete; one handle partially restored; more than half of body restored, especially in shoulder area; base and area immediately above it practically complete. Black glaze rather dull and heavily worn, tending to blush into red areas; glaze on neck much more lustrous with brown or red predominating; noticeable tendency for unglazed inside surface to flake off. Decoration done with great care.

Neck. Swelling rim; relatively high neck with concave profile; black-glazed band w. 0.007 m. inside lip, extending 0.008 m. below lip on outside; rim decorated with frieze w. 0.008 m. consisting of repeated motif of ten vertical strokes between double axe pattern; distance from center to center of each triglyph-metope motif uniformly 0.04 m. where preserved; below frieze upper half of neck in solid reddish glaze 0.075 m. wide, ending at point just below upper join of handles; lower half of neck decorated by two reserved panels between handles, with solid paint under handles and separating panels; one panel complete, second nearly so; over-all dimensions l. 0.12 m. (horizontal), w. 0.076 m.; above and below meander itself a frieze w. 0.016 m. consisting of three black bands averaging 0.004 m. wide alternating with narrower reserved bands; each panel has two sections of the running meander motif h. 0.04 m.; heavy black lines w. *ca.* 0.002 m. outline meanders; hatched lines th. *ca.* 0.001 m.; extremely careful, regular, meticulous painting with skillful transitions in direction of hatching at corners.

Handles. Extend from neck to shoulder; broad and flat; fairly uniform w. *ca.* 0.046 m.; th. *ca.* 0.017 m.; under surface unglazed, although paint has run over edges in places; outer

surface decorated with ladder pattern of twenty-two horizontal bands averaging 0.005 m. th.; areas of solid glaze th. *ca.* 0.01 m. at top and bottom; black stripes run vertically at edges of handles and extend around curved surface; regularity and exactness not so marked as elsewhere on vase.

Body. Four wide zones in solid paint separated by three parallel friezes; lower two w. 0.018 m. consisting simply of three thin reserved bands; lowest *ca.* 0.078 m. above top of base; middle *ca.* 0.09 m. above lowest; upper frieze on shoulder total w. 0.05 m.; decorative scheme similar to rim panels, i.e. double axe w. 0.013 m. separated by ten vertical lines forming a repeated motif averaging w. 0.028 m.; outlines of opposed triangles have tendency to convex curves and to blend into each other rather than to meet in sharp angles; curvature probably result of lack of care rather than deliberate intent; frieze proper w. 0.02 m.; framed above and below by six narrow bands alternately painted and reserved.

Base. Low ring type.

2. *Oinochoe* (Pl. 63, a, c). In shape it is midway between the Early Geometric type of *Kerameikos* 927, which has broad foot, low center of gravity, and heavy neck<sup>6</sup> and the more gracefully proportioned and taller *Kerameikos* 870 of Middle Geometric, with narrower foot, higher center of gravity and more slender neck.<sup>7</sup> Nearest in shape, although with shorter neck, is a pitcher from Marathon.<sup>8</sup> Decoration of body and handle quite standard; that of neck panel apparently simpler than most.<sup>9</sup> (Left and right refer to sides as viewed when facing spout).

H. 0.236 m.; d. of mouth along axis of handle *ca.* 0.101 m.; d. of lip (transverse) *ca.* 0.103 m.; min. d. of neck 0.064 m.; max. d. of body 0.158 m.; d. of base 0.095 m. Reconstructed from

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Kerameikos*, V, pl. 71 (Grave 2). Cf. also Kahane, *op. cit.*, pl. XVII, 1 which is perhaps a bit closer to ours.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Kerameikos*, V, pl. 72 (Grave 37).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Πρακτικά*, 1939, p. 28 (Grave 1).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Kerameikos*, V, pl. 74 (880, Grave 25) for closest parallel among Kübler's illustrations.



many fragments; following areas restored: left side of trefoil lip, spout, most of neck except under handle; about half of body and base (especially right side).

Rim. Trefoil; solid black glaze.

Neck. Rear half plain black glaze; surface worn and paint noticeably thin and streaked in places; reserved panel occupied front half; lower corner preserved at left showing part of meander motif; another section preserves top of panel, near (if not including) corner at right; panel h. *ca.* 0.043 m.; exact w. problematical but *ca.* 0.097 m.; design apparently consisted of two complete running meanders framed top and bottom by two narrow parallel black bands.

Handle. Ribbon type: w. 0.03 m.; th. 0.014 m.; inner surface unglazed; outer surface decorated with ladder pattern consisting of nineteen rather carelessly drawn transverse strokes.

Body. Solid black glaze, somewhat thin and streaky on shoulder and much worn in lower rear area; decorated with three identical friezes w. 0.01 m., consisting of three narrow reserved stripes each.

Base. Low ring base.

3. *Kantharoid Cup* (Pls. 63, a, 64, b). Nearest in shape is Kerameikos 251,<sup>10</sup> with low handles and ring foot, although ours has slimmer profile in lower half of body. The wide and broad meander panel is more accentuated than in any of the published examples.<sup>11</sup> Ours seems to be one of the very latest of the type whose floruit hardly extends beyond Early Geometric.

H. 0.096 m.; max. d. of body 0.163 m.; d. of rim *ca.* 0.144 m.; d. of base 0.075 m.; h. of base 0.004 m. Reconstructed from fragments; lacks one handle, and about two-thirds of rim and shoulder. Whole interior and lower exterior solid black glaze; exterior paint tends to

be streaky and thin in places and has rather bluish metallic sheen; paint on interior heavier and darker.

Rim. Narrow offset concave moulding framed between two black stripes; on inside, below upper stripe a narrow band reserved and decorated with ladder pattern in short vertical strokes (clearly painted before inside glaze and extending under it); preserved sections suggest that ladder pattern may not have been continuous, although gaps may be result of wear.

Handles. Preserved one decorated with ladder pattern consisting of fourteen quite carelessly drawn horizontal stripes; solid glaze on inside and on *ca.* 0.01 m. of outside surface where each end joins rim and body.

Body. Shoulder decorated with running meander pattern in two panels separated by three vertical stripes behind handles; panel h. 0.047 m., including parallel stripes which frame them above and below; on better preserved side five sections of meander certain; probably not enough space for a sixth complete and of comparable width; width of individual keys and of hatched areas varies and lines not all at right angles; crosshatching drawn uniformly in one direction.

Base. Low ring type. Very slightly hollow beneath and unglazed.

4. *Tripod Stand* (Pls. 63, a, 64, b). It may have been meant to hold the kantharoid cup, since the d. of its inner ring, 0.158 m., corresponds so neatly to max. d. of 0.163 m. for cup. The nearest parallels are Kerameikos 249<sup>12</sup> of advanced Early Geometric context and a tripod in the Eleusis Museum (Pl. 64, c).<sup>13</sup> Our example seems lighter and more sophisticated than either, with feet splaying outward in

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 84 (Grave 74).

<sup>11</sup> Cf. cup from Marathon grave 5, *Πρακτικά*, 1939, pp. 30 ff. This is part of a Middle Geometric group. The shape reappears with high-swung handles at the end of Middle Geometric.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Kerameikos*, V, pl. 68 (Grave 74).

<sup>13</sup> *Εφ. Ἀρχ.* 1898, pl. 4, 3. Skias in his text mentions two smaller tripods of similar type.

a graceful concave sweep continuous with the rim.<sup>14</sup>

Total h. 0.222 m.; outer d. at top 0.084 m.; distance from center point of one foot to next, 0.222 m. Reconstructed from many fragments; lacks about one-third of ring-band, parts of one foot and considerable sections of struts; some pieces in beautifully fresh condition, others very much worn. Decoration in general extremely careful. Black glaze often shading into red, even in same stroke where it was less heavily laid on; clay slightly more pinkish than that of other pots.

Ring-band. H. 0.05 m.; th. 0.013 m.; solid glaze on inside except for series (probably three) of thin parallel stripes (now very much worn) with total w. of ca. 0.005 m. just below rim; on flat surface of rim a series of panels each consisting of nine stripes separated by rather carelessly outlined double axes; uniform l. 0.043 m. from center point of one to next would accommodate eleven of the repeated motifs; transition of lip from horizontal to vertical surface in form of graceful convex moulding; continuous frieze of meanders framed by two heavy black stripes, w. 0.004 m. with three intervening stripes reserved, w. 0.002 m.; meander h. averages 0.033 m. and key design probably repeated thirteen times; meanders outlined in heavy black lines th. ca. 0.002 m.; hatching th. averages 0.001 m.; direction of hatching regularly reversed at two corners of each key by use of a small v-shaped insertion.

Feet. Three supports attached symmetrically under rim at intervals of ca. 0.15 m. (center to center); decided outward (concave) curvature tending to make the stand steadier; leg th. averages 0.013 m.; w. ca. 0.038 m., although flaring somewhat at top and especially at base where w. is ca. 0.05 m. (exclusive of struts); base also thicker and rounded, with easy transition into diagonal struts; inside surface of legs and struts solid glaze; vertical stripe reserved

on each edge, then two thick vertical black stripes frame meander decoration; lower black stripe of rim frames top of meanders and three (in one case only two) horizontal lines frame bottom; lowest line th. ca. 0.005 m.; meanders carefully drawn, with one or two changes in direction of crosshatching in each key; gradual diminution in h. of key designs, varying from 0.048 m. at top to 0.042 m. for center and 0.036 m. for lowest.

Struts. A pair support each foot; connected to bases and to lower rim at middle point between feet; approximately round in section with average d. 0.013 m.; vertical reserved stripe at transition to front surface, then thick black stripe framing a frieze of chevrons; where two struts join rim a thickened section w. 0.032 m. decorated with three rows of zigzags; lowest section of strut where joined to foot solid black glaze, now quite worn.

5. *Dagger(?) blade* (Pl. 64, a, a). Two sections, apparently of same object, but not contiguous; each broken at both ends; max. th. at center and diminishing toward edges, both of which were apparently sharp; no sign of central rib or attachment of hilt; shorter fragment l. 0.067 m., w. ca. 0.028 m., max. th. 0.025 m.; longer fragment l. 0.16 m., max. w. 0.025 m., min. w. 0.01 m.

6. *Knife (?) or Razor (?)*. (Pl. 64, a, b). Two sections, probably contiguous, but join not clear; lower convex edge must have been cutting edge; longer section has at one end a thinner tine 0.025 m. long for attachment of handle; over-all l. of longer section 0.071 m.; max. w. 0.02 m., max. th. 0.008 m.; l. of smaller section 0.049 m., w. 0.017 m., max. th. 0.007 m.<sup>15</sup>

7. *Spear(?) head*. (Pl. 64, a, c). One piece, badly rusted and broken at both ends; no sign

<sup>14</sup> These three and related tripod stands deserve a thorough analytical study and comparison with metal prototypes. For a later example, cf. L. Shoe, *Hesperia*, I, 1932, p. 63, fig. 9.

<sup>15</sup> In original shape perhaps like the crescent-shaped knife published by Blegen, *op. cit.*, fig. 3, 4.

of socket; pres. l. 0.10 m., max. w. 0.03 m.; max. th. 0.023 m.; channel or groove extending whole length on each side perhaps indicates position of fins.

8. *Clay Lumps*. (Pl. 64, a, d). Seven collected; all hard baked, light to dark red clay

with traces of black carbonized matter clinging to some; shapes very irregular; clay clearly in malleable condition at time of burial and burned hard during cremation; at least five preserve definite outlines and striations produced by harder objects against which they were pressed before being burned.<sup>16</sup>

CONCLUSIONS. The contents of our grave form an important and homogeneous group. Particularly noticeable is the triple comparison made above with similar vessels in Kerameikos Grave 74. According to Kübler, the contents of that grave range in date from the third quarter of the 10th to the first quarter of the 9th century. In all three cases the Kerameikos vases were cited as appearing earlier than our amphora, oinochoe and kantharoid cup in their respective lines of development. Hence, we may use the first quarter of the 9th century as a rough *terminus post quem* for our group. A lower limit is likewise suggested by Kerameikos Grave 37, from which two vases have been cited to illustrate a development slightly later than our amphora and oinochoe. Of the contents definitely belonging to the original Grave 37, Kübler dates a bowl in the first half of the 9th century and the three other vases to the third quarter (the amphora), last quarter (the oinochoe) and end of the 9th century. Consequently, a *terminus ante quem* for our group in the neighborhood of 825 seems to be indicated.

I would suggest, therefore, that the Thorikos burial was made in or not far from the third quarter of the 9th century, at the very threshold of Middle Geometric. There is no question of local manufacture or provincial stylistic traits. The quality of the pottery is fully equal to the most sophisticated tradition of the Athenian Potters' Quarter at this time. Perhaps the chief value of the vases is the clarity with which they illustrate an important ceramic transition. Mr. Nicholas Coldstream calls our find: "A significant group, delicately poised on the fence between Early and Middle Geometric." As far as I know, this is the first major evidence for habitation at Thorikos in the Geometric period. Wrede<sup>17</sup> mentions a geometric fibula now in the National Museum and also geometric sherds scattered on the south slope of Velatouri hill, where he suggests a cemetery may have been located. In the later Bronze Age the little double harbor was an important link between Attica, the Cyclades and Crete. Evidence may still be found for at least a partial resumption of this role in the early Iron Age.

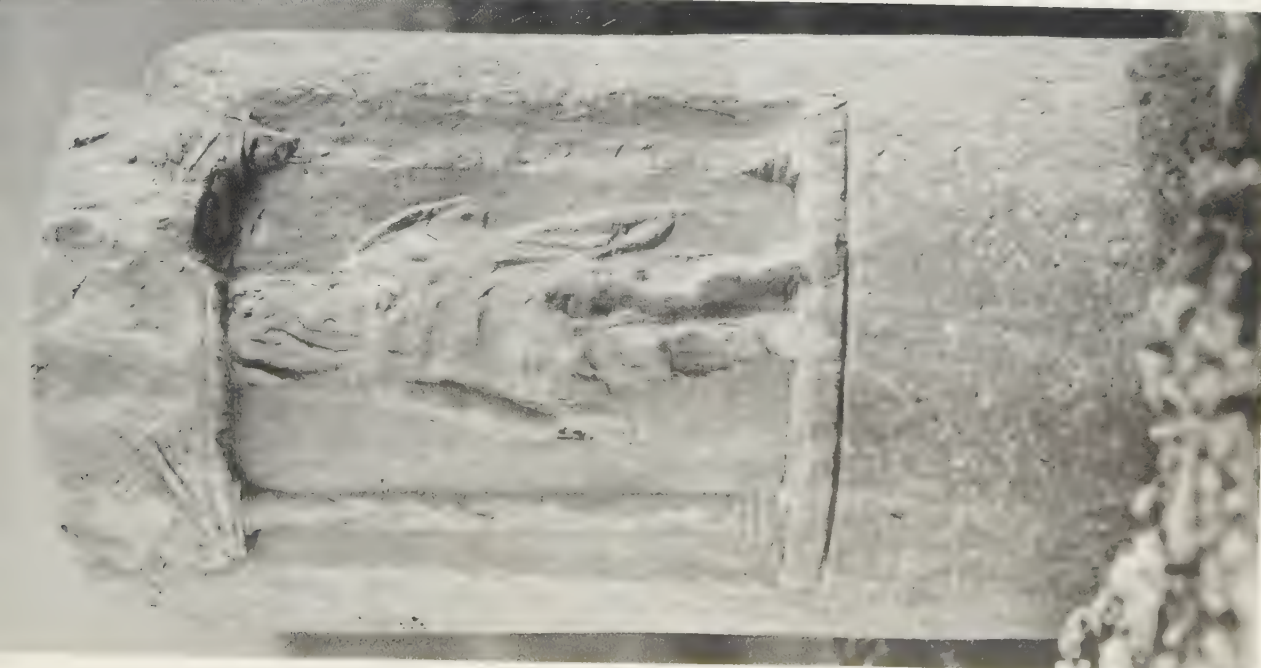
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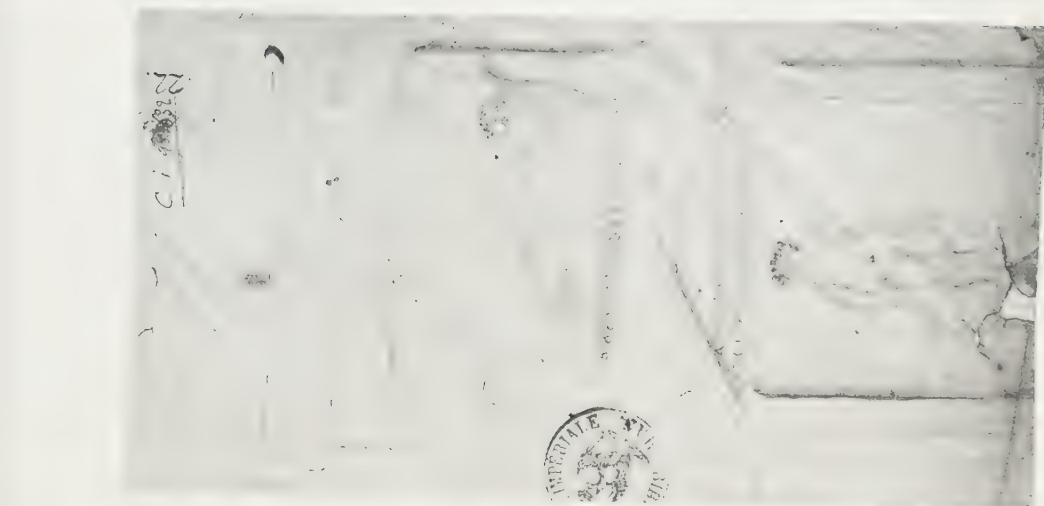
<sup>16</sup> Possibly to be compared with "clay ball" mentioned by Blegen, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *R. E.*, s.v. *Thorikos*, cols. 338-340.

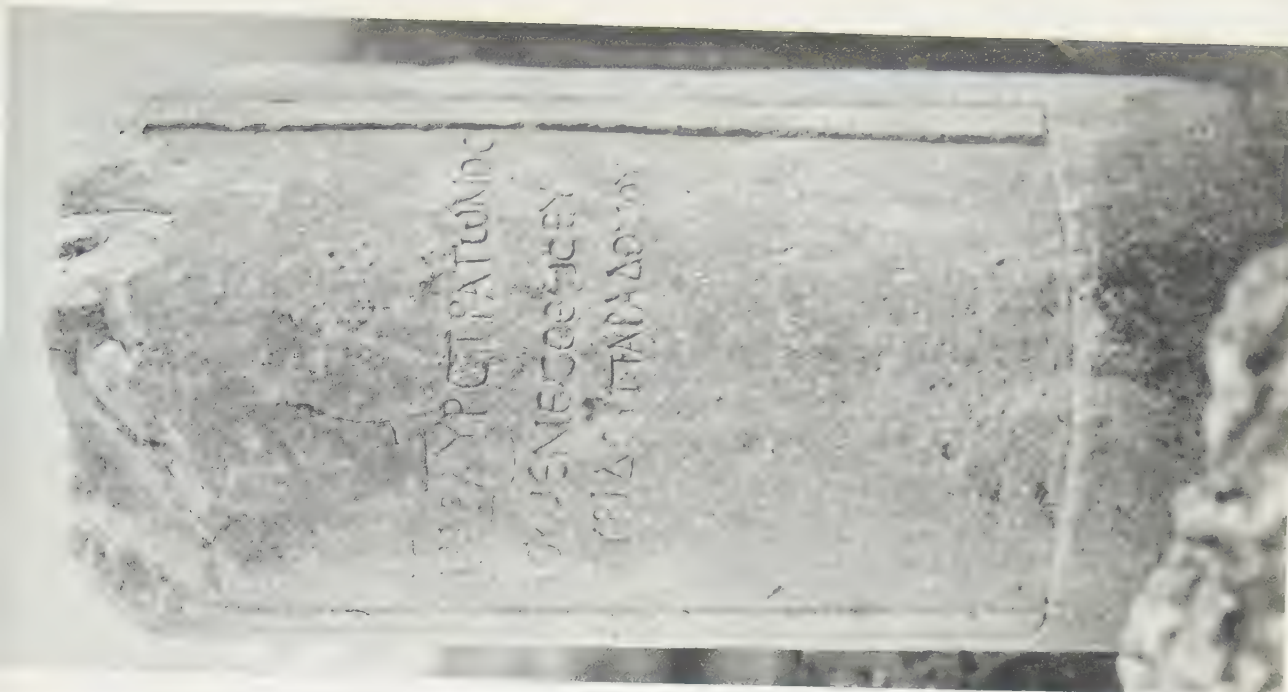




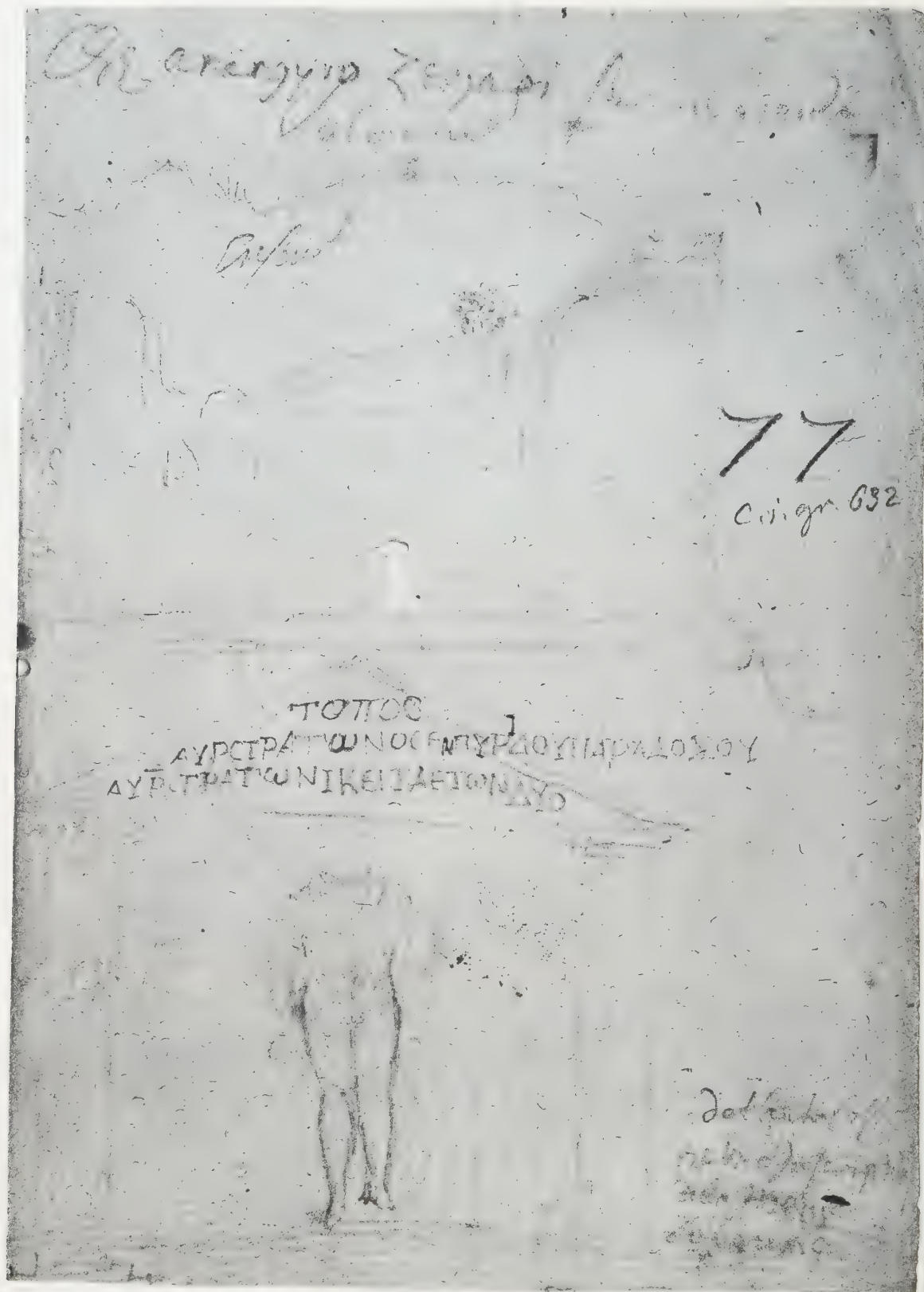
No. 1, Face A



Fourmont's Drawing of Face A in the  
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Courtesy of Bibliothèque Nationale



No. 1, Face B



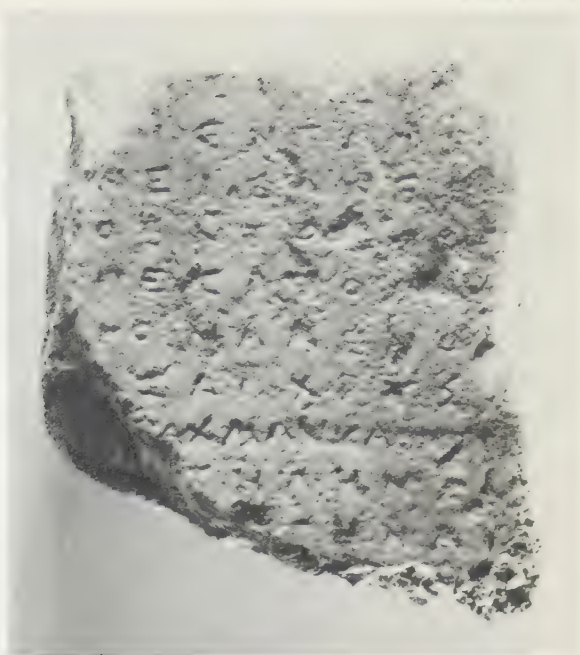
Fourmont's Drawing of No. 1, Face A, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Ms. Suppl. Gr. 854, fol. 38 verso)  
Courtesy of Bibliothèque Nationale

BENJAMIN D. MERITT: GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

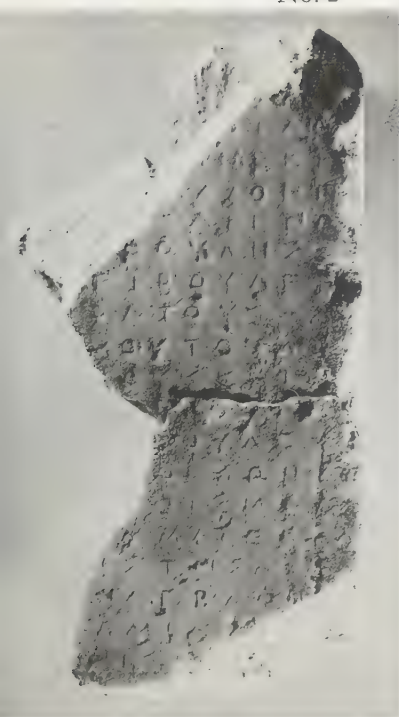




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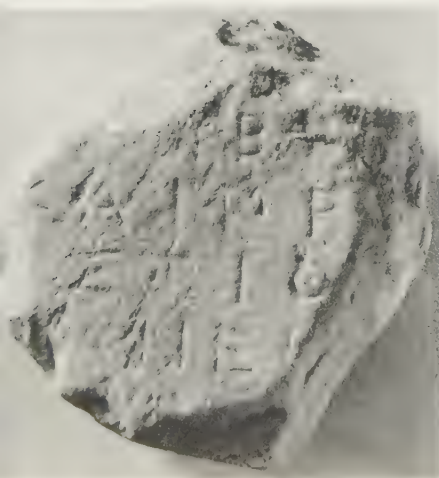
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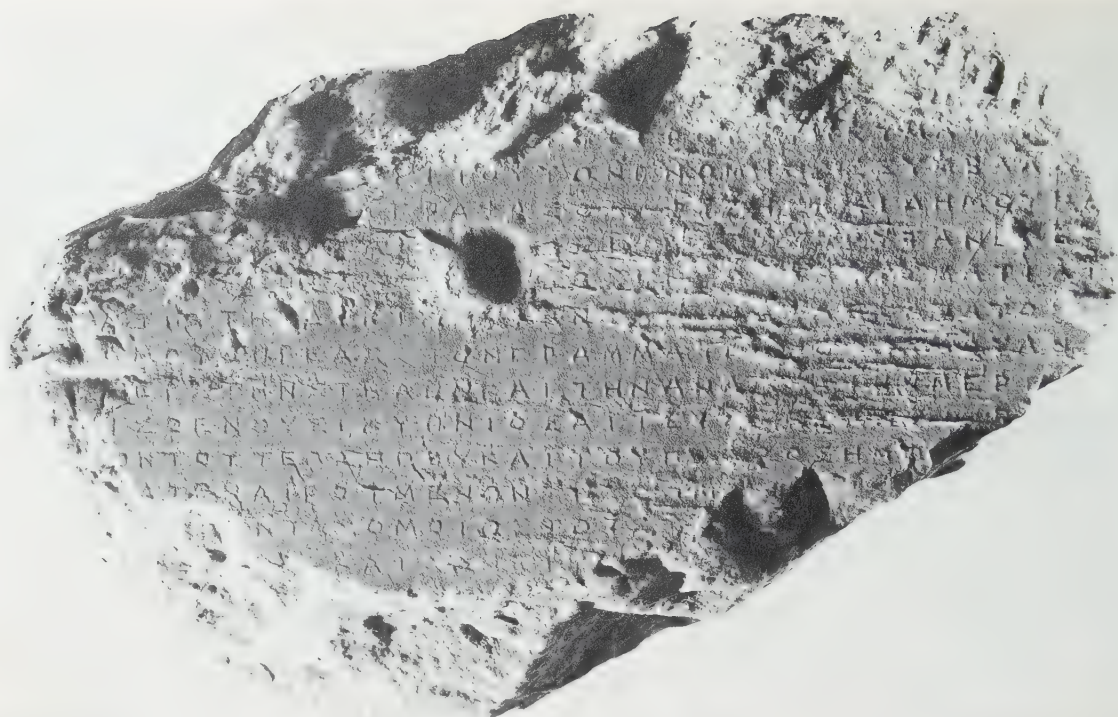


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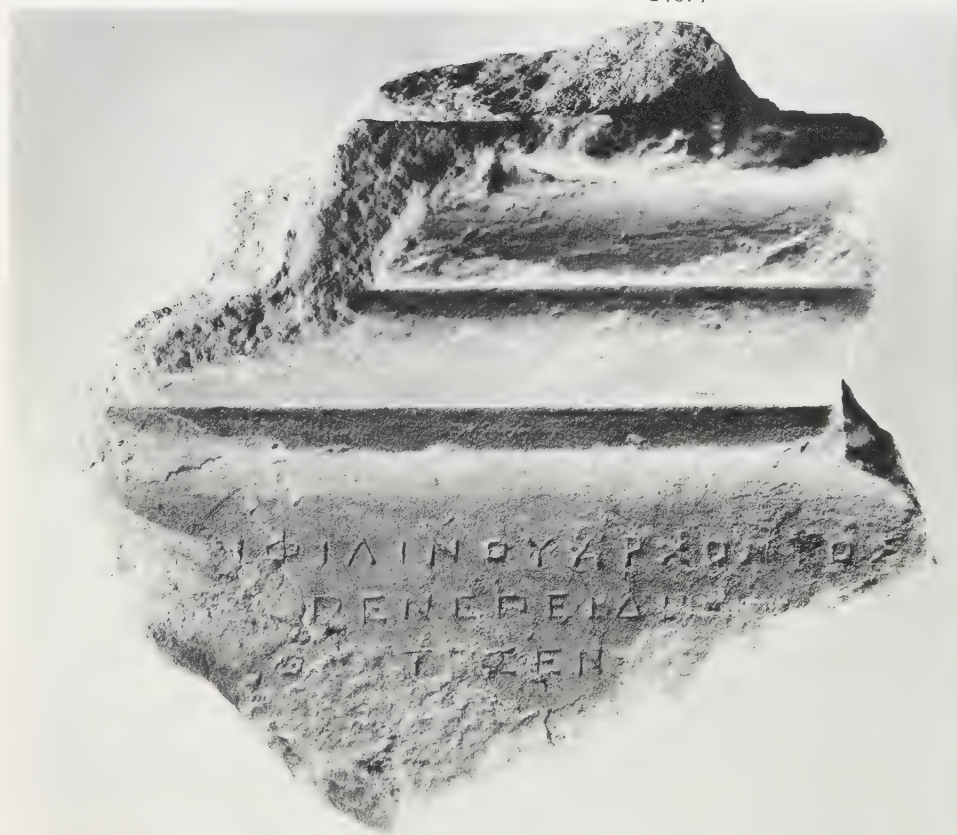


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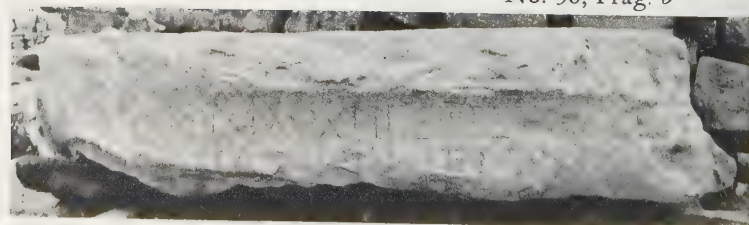
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No. 8



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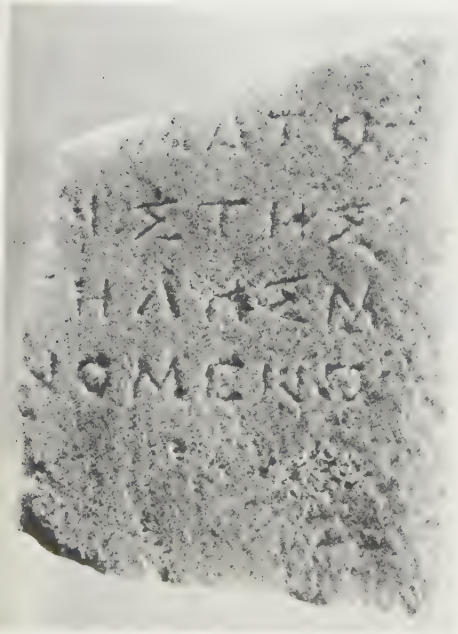


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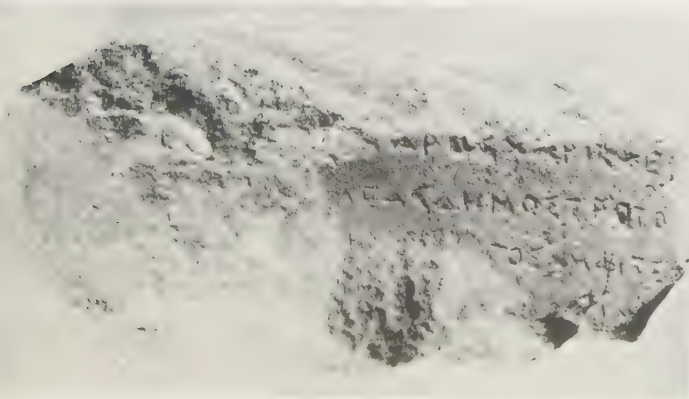
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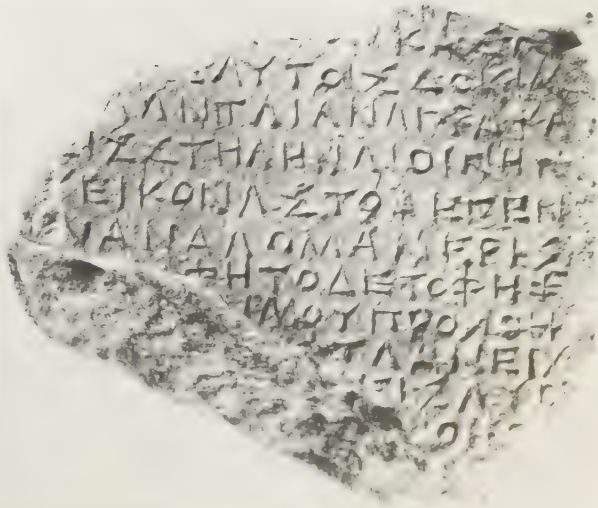
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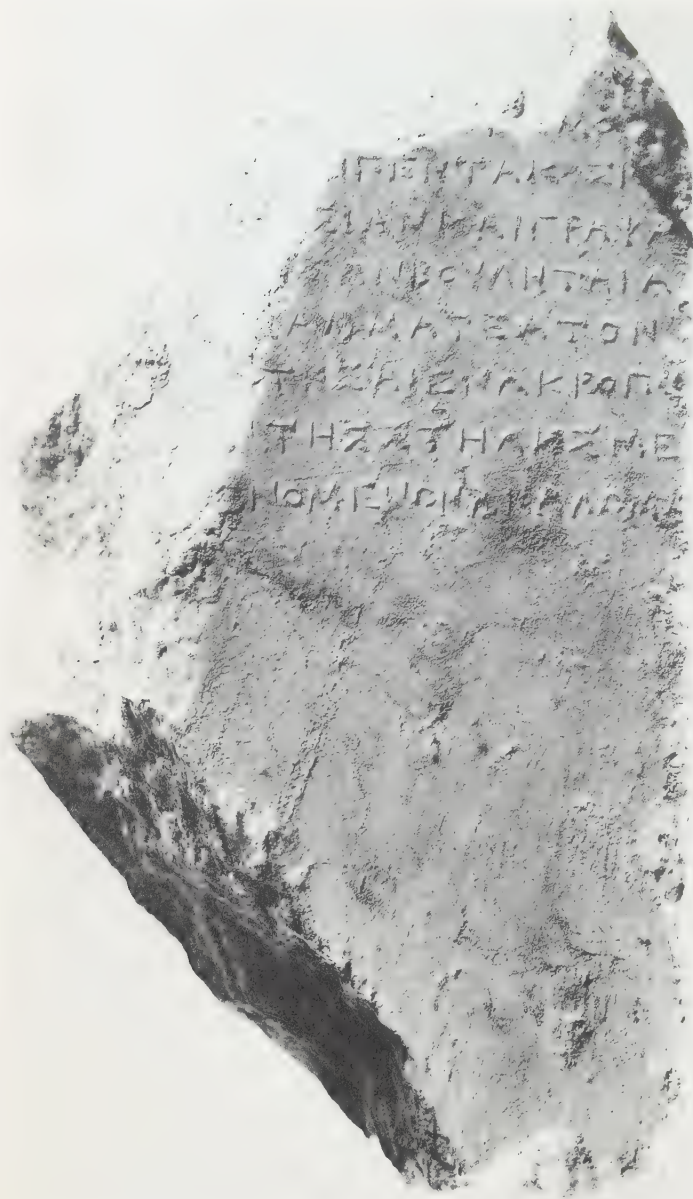


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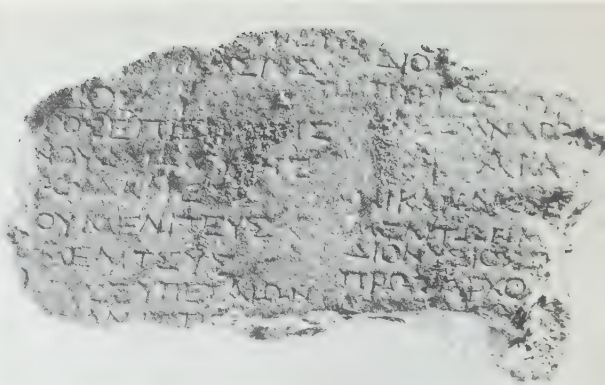


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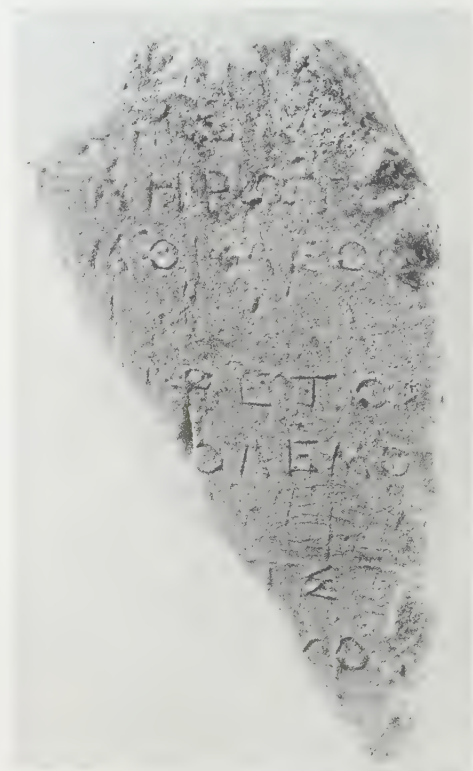




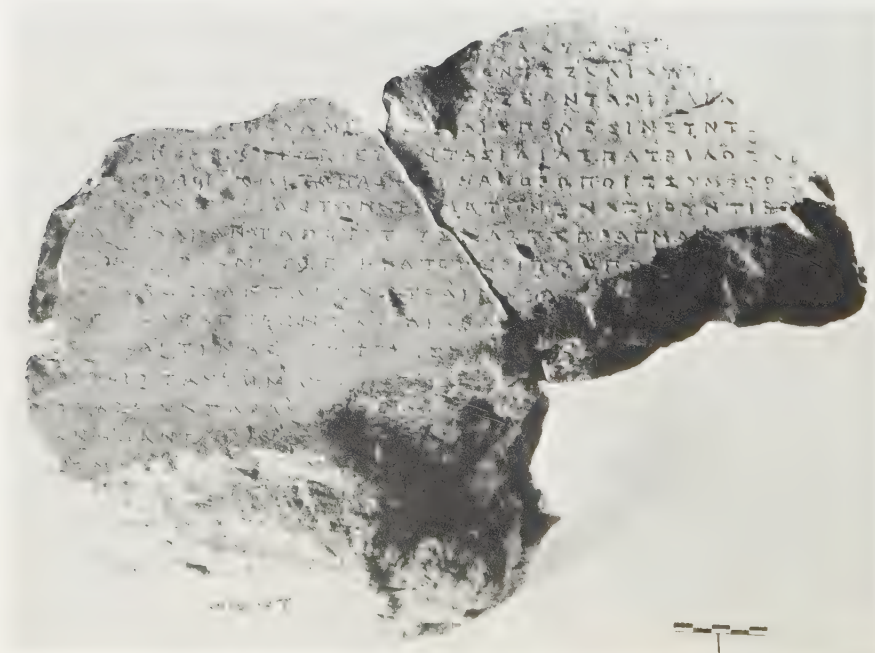
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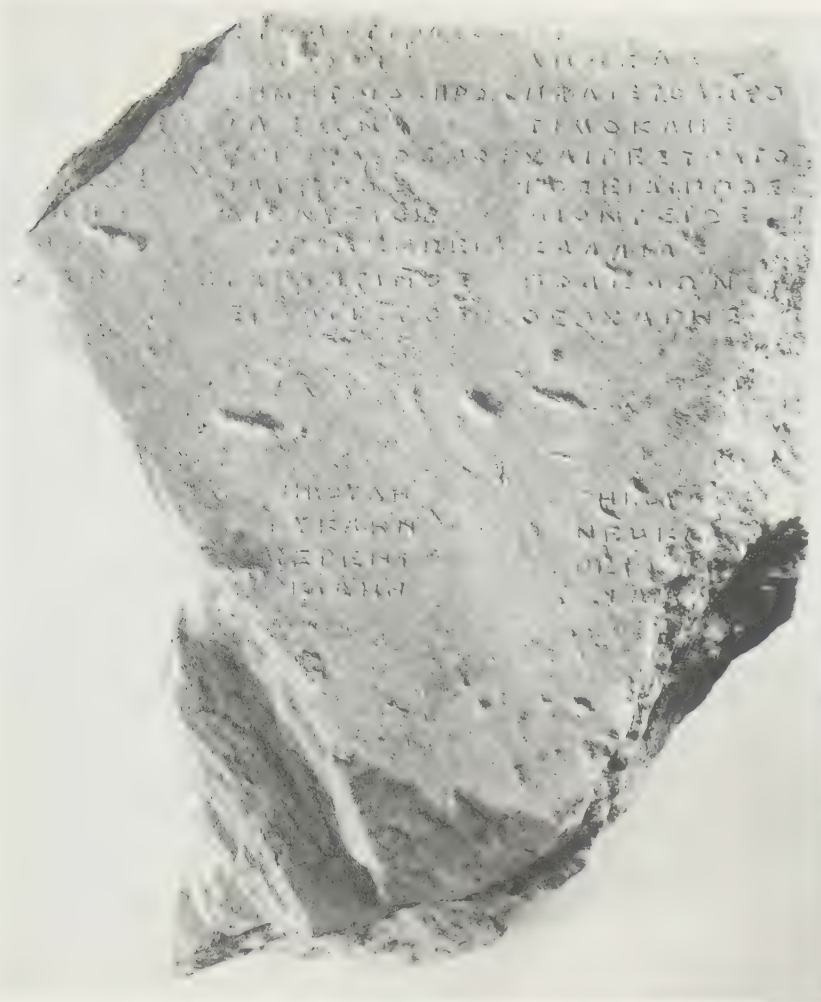


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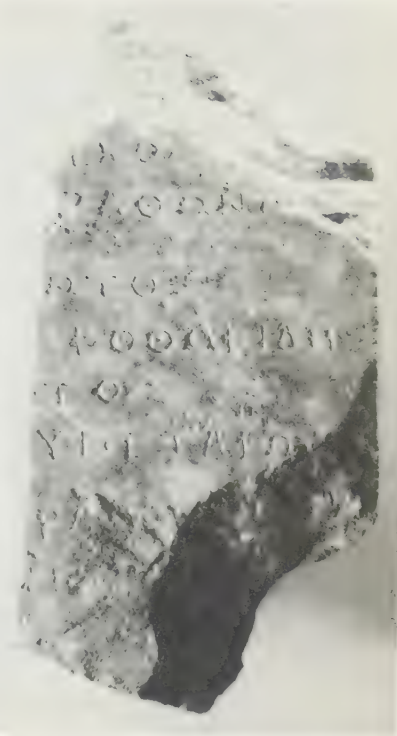


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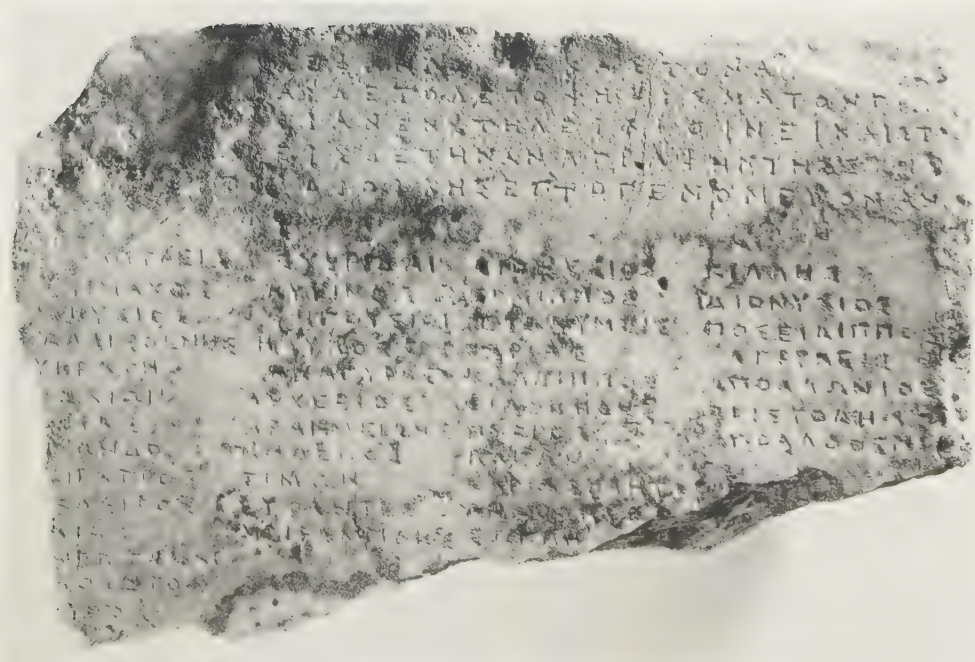




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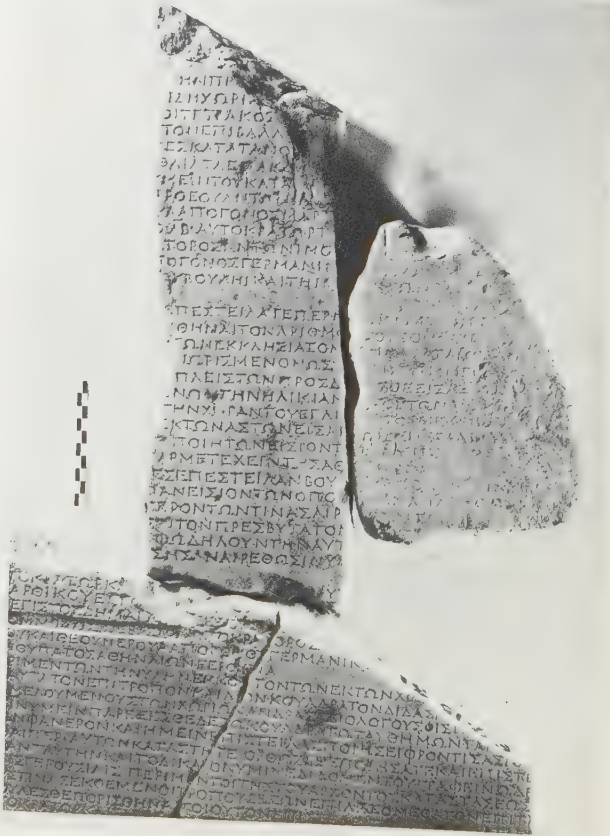
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No. 37  
BENJAMIN D. MERITT: GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

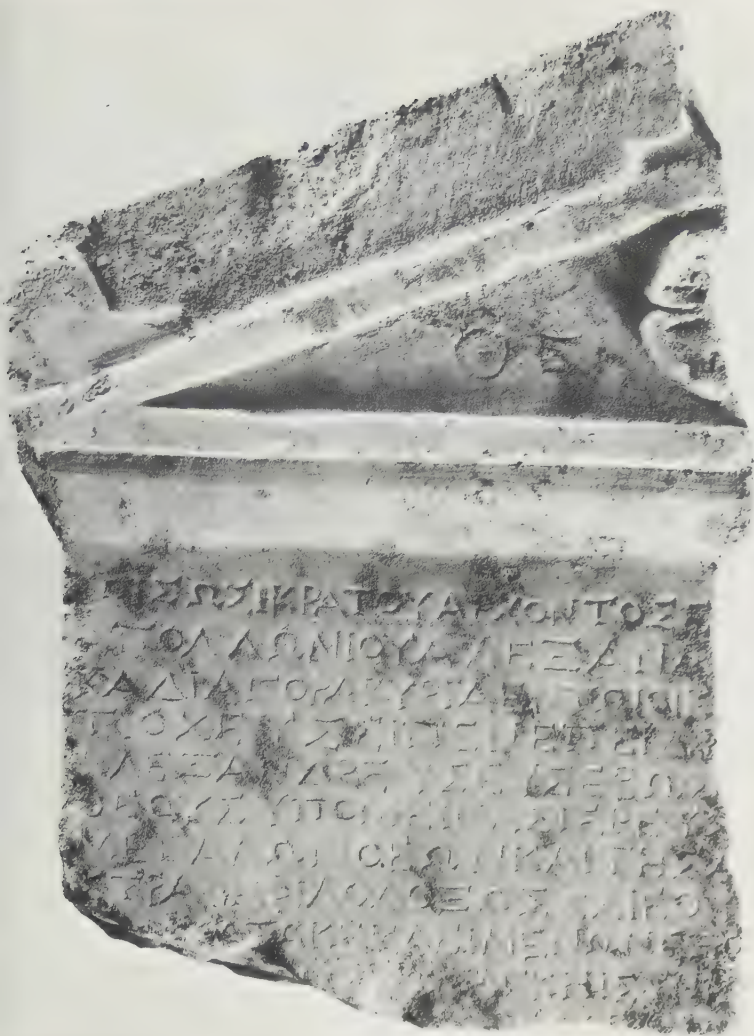


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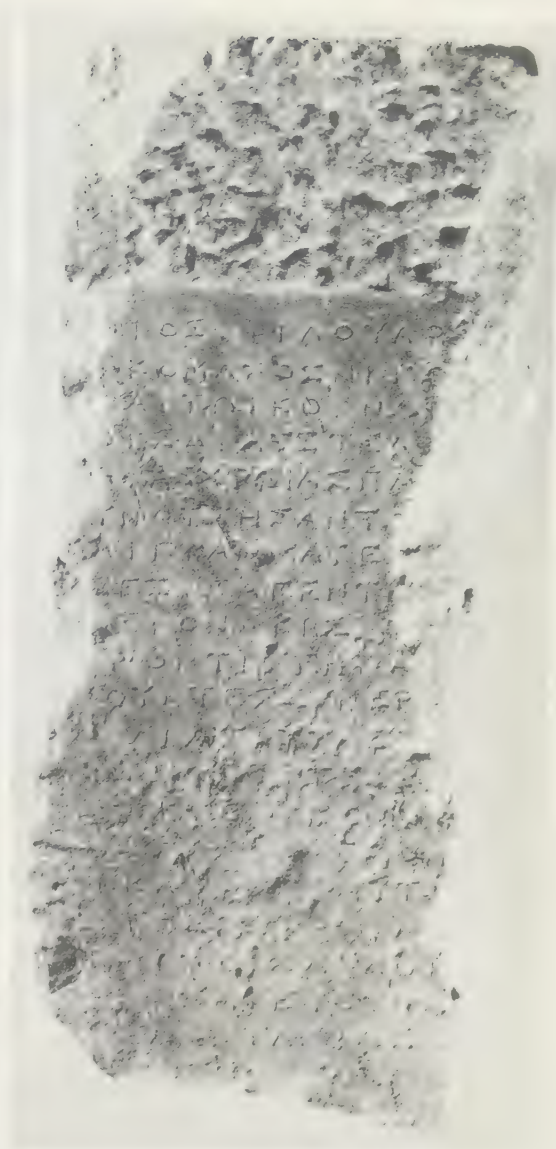


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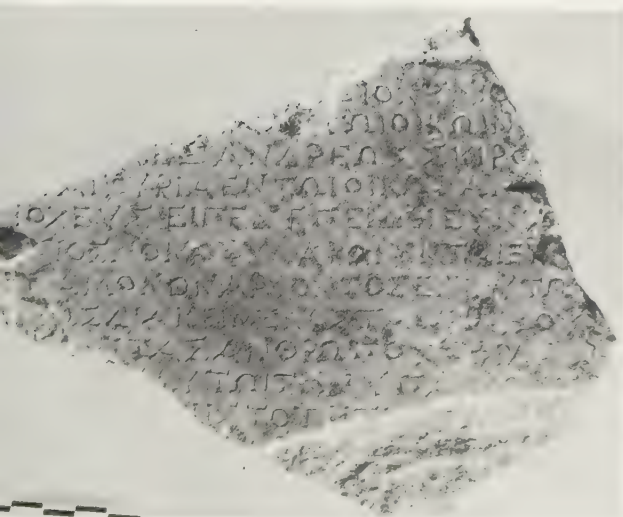




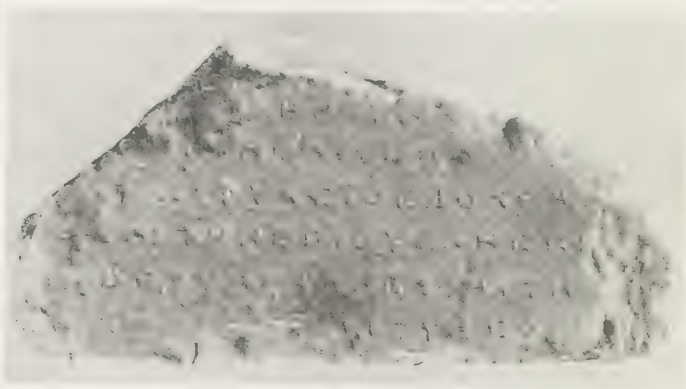
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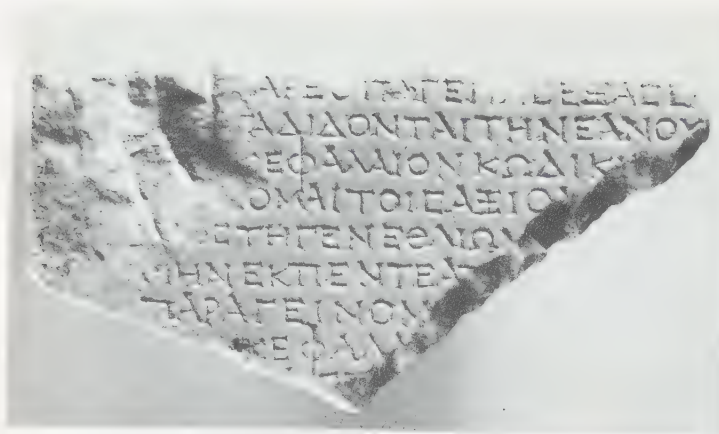


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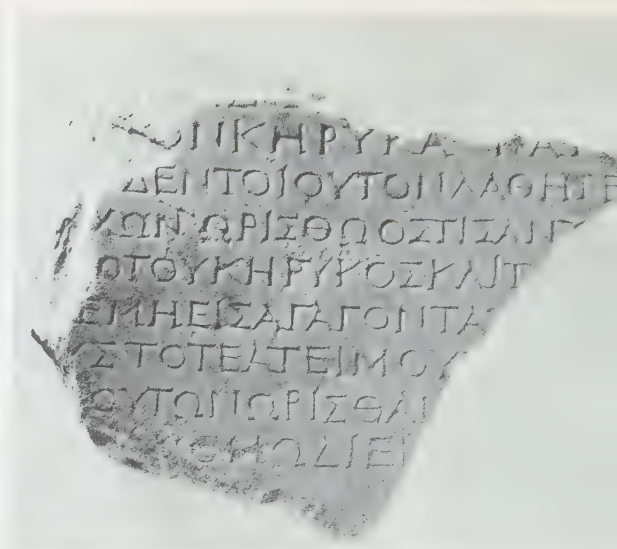


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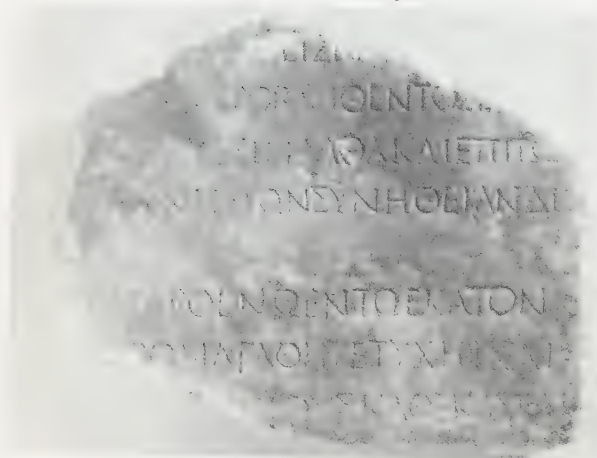




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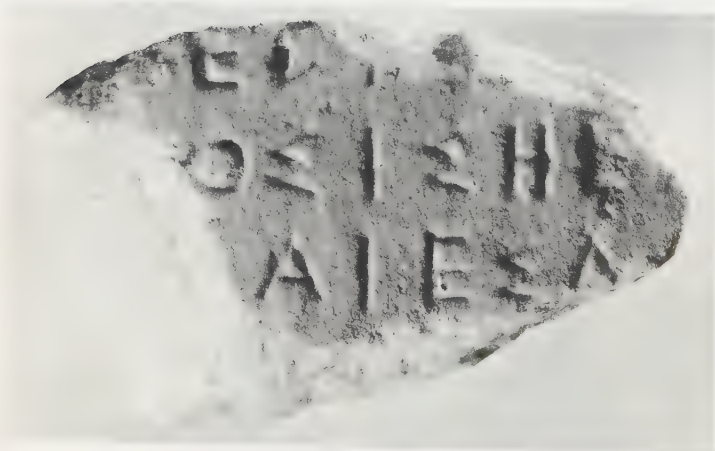
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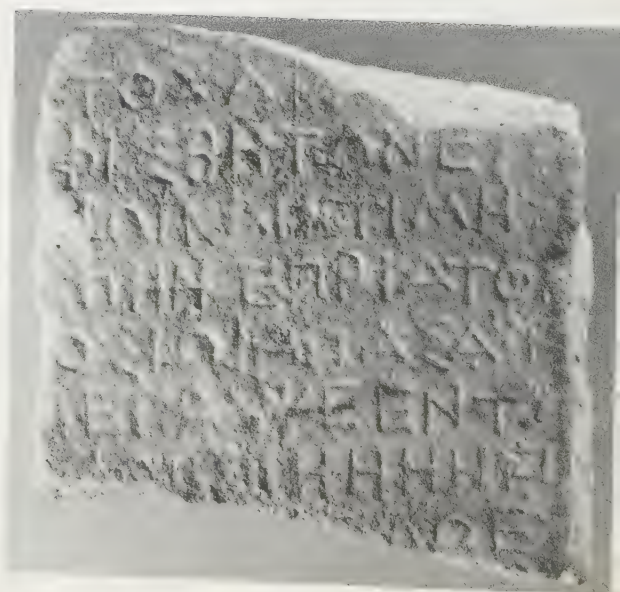
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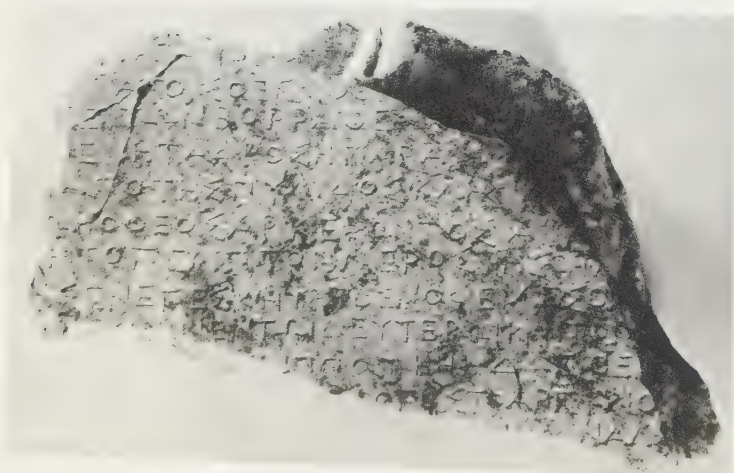
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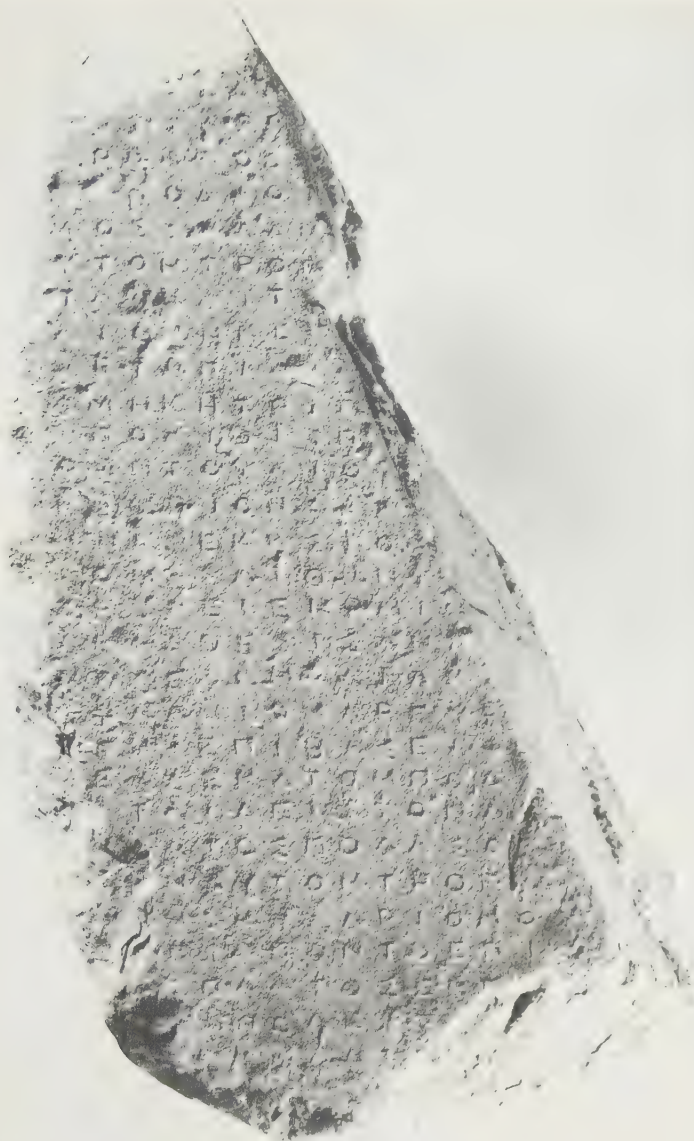
No. 36



No. 38



No. 39



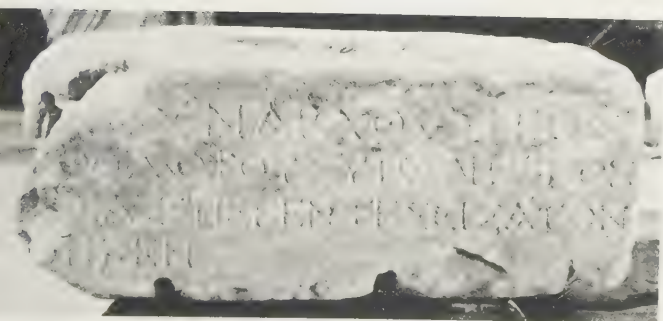
No. 41



No. 40



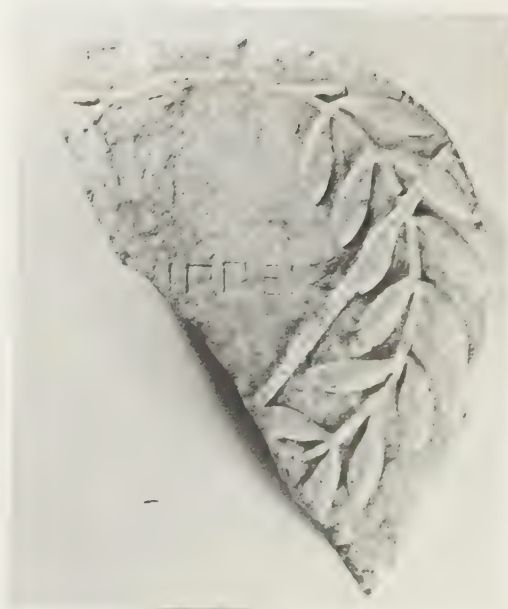
No. 43



No. 45

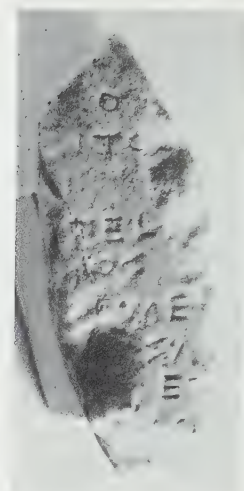
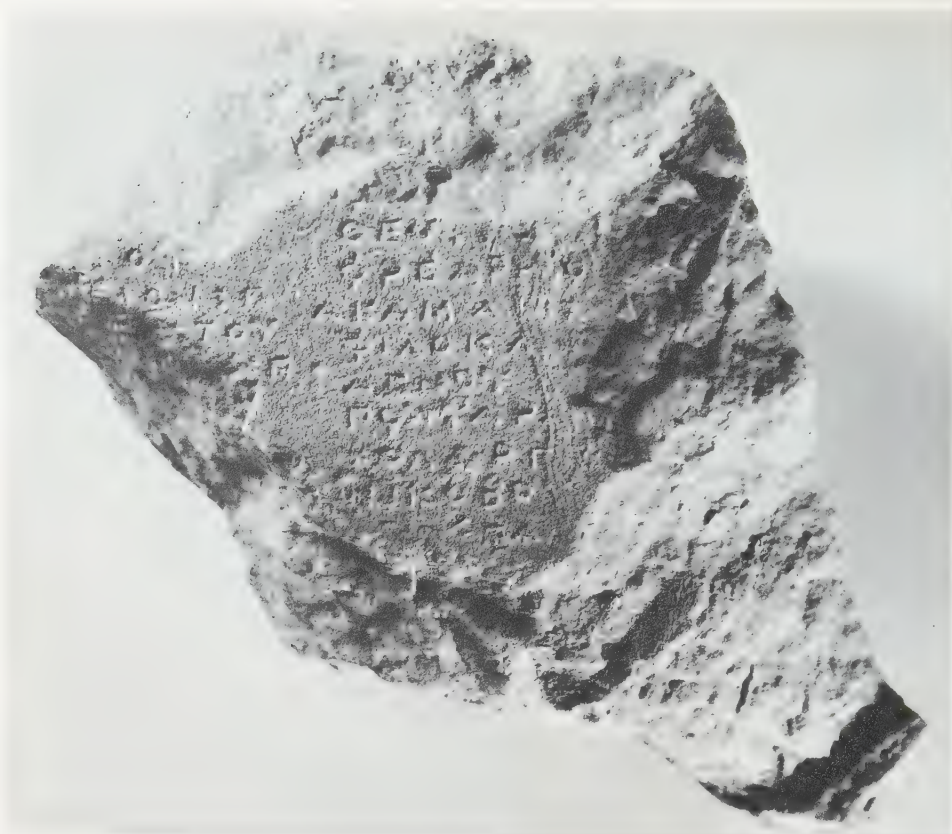


No. 44, Edge



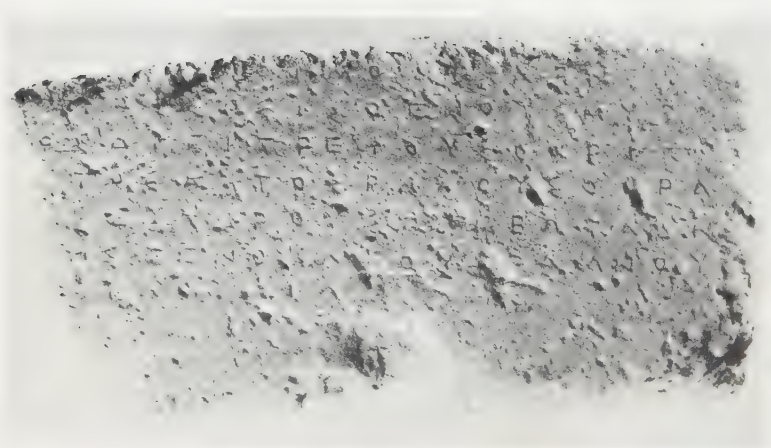
No. 44, Face





No. 46, Face A

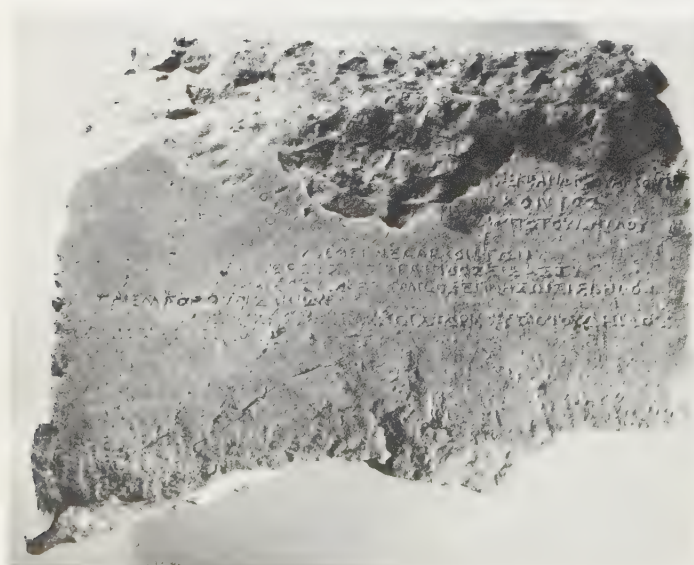
No. 42



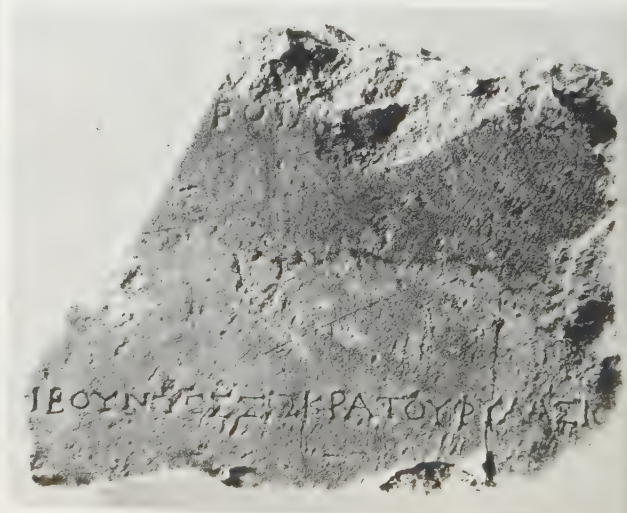
No. 47



No. 46, Face B

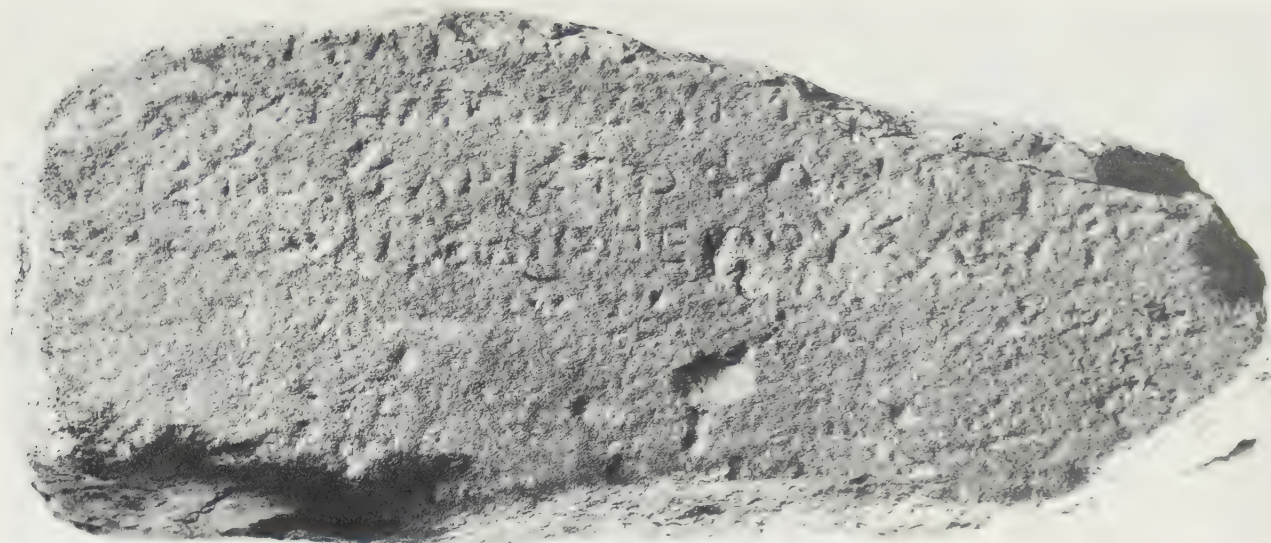


No. 51

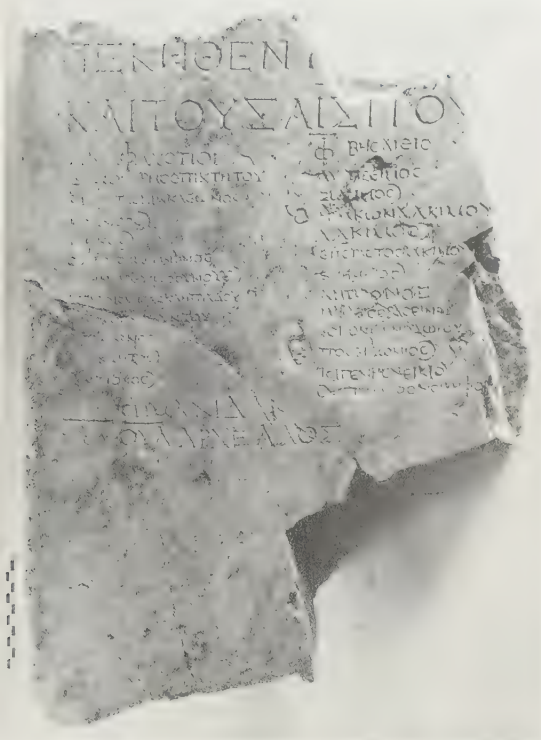


No. 50





No. 48



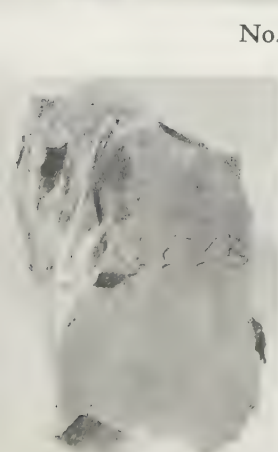
No. 52



No. 53



No. 56



No. 57, Frag. a

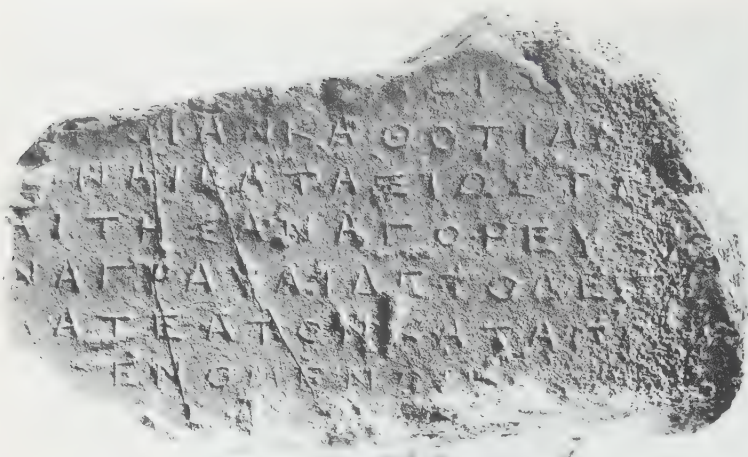


No. 57, Frag. b

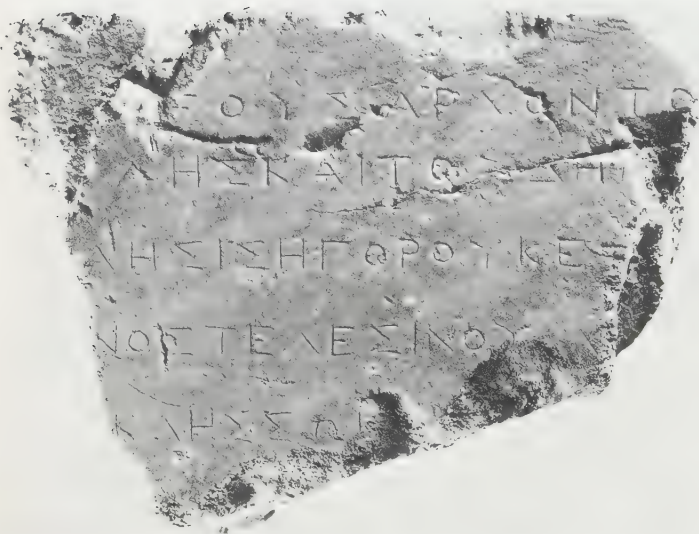


No. 57, Frag. c

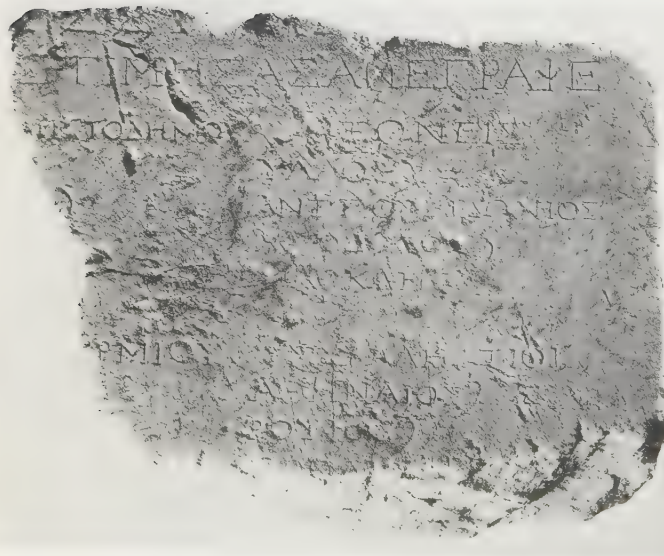




No. 16



No. 49



No. 55



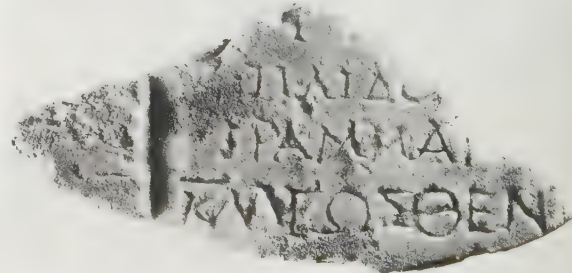
No. 71



No. 72



No. 74



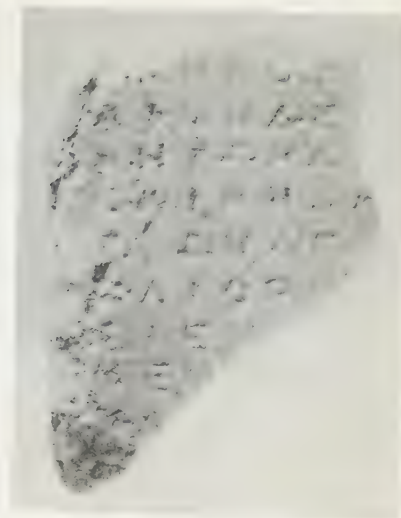
No. 54



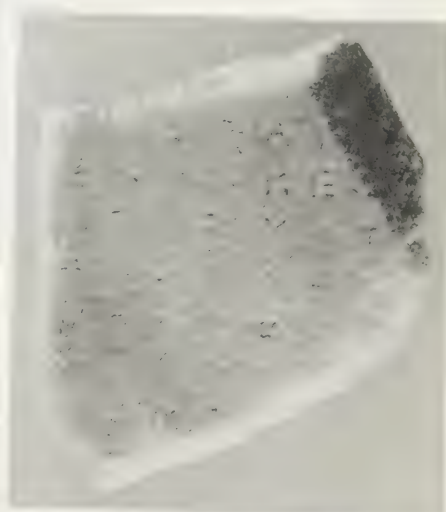
No. 85



No. 58



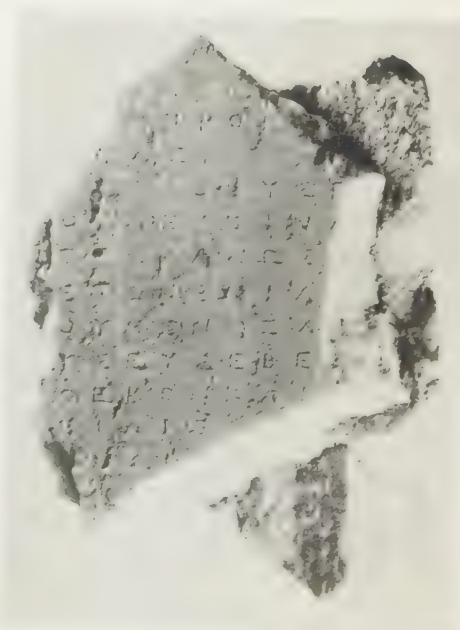
No. 59



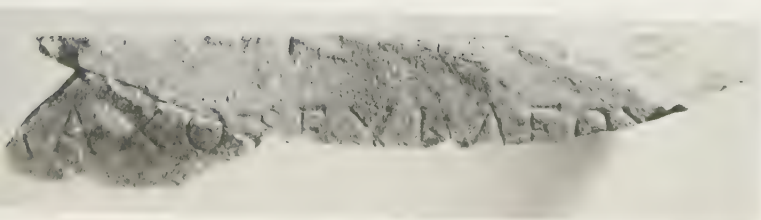
No. 62



No. 60

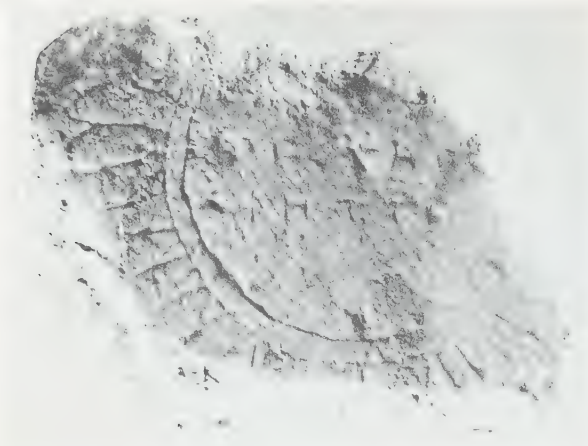


No. 61



No. 97

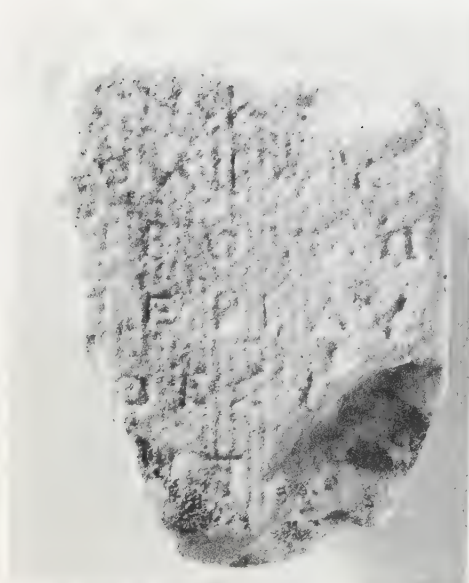




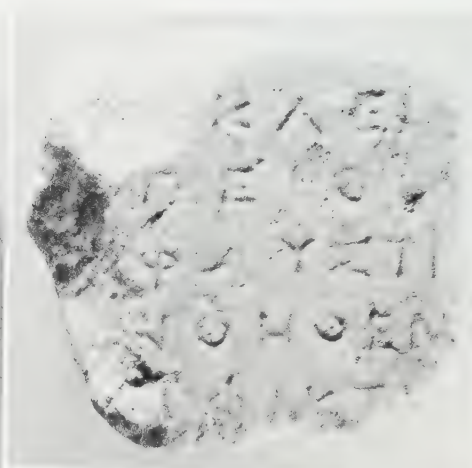
No. 65



No. 69



No. 66



No. 63



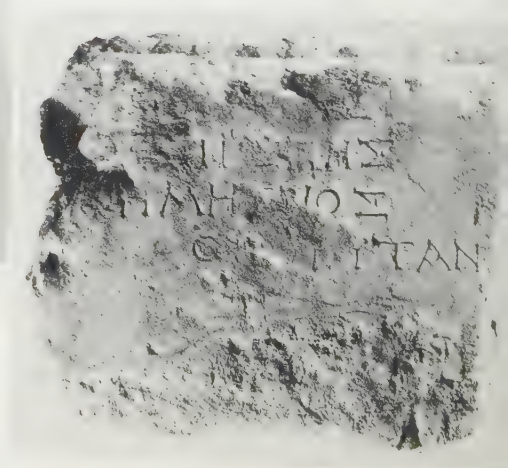
No. 67



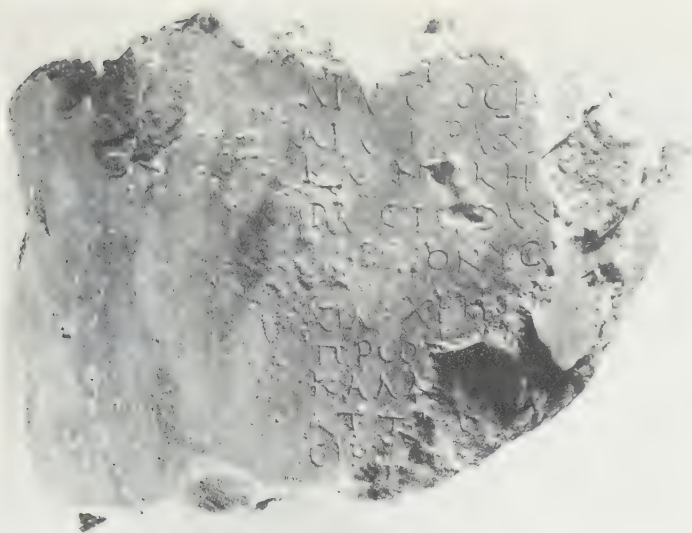
No. 68



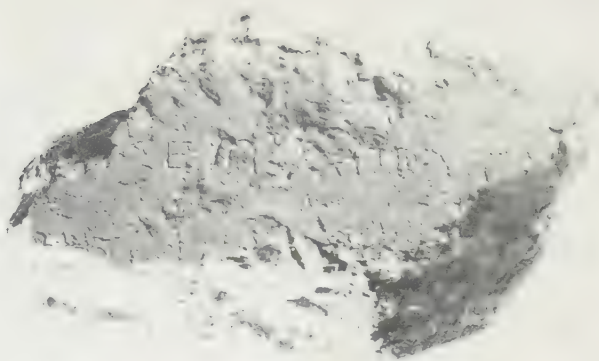
No. 64



No. 70



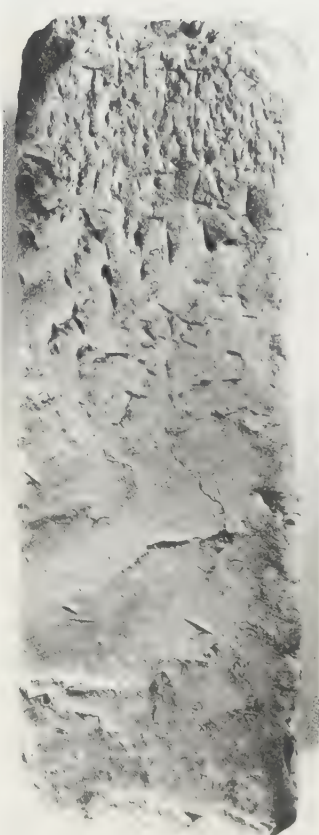
No. 73



No. 87



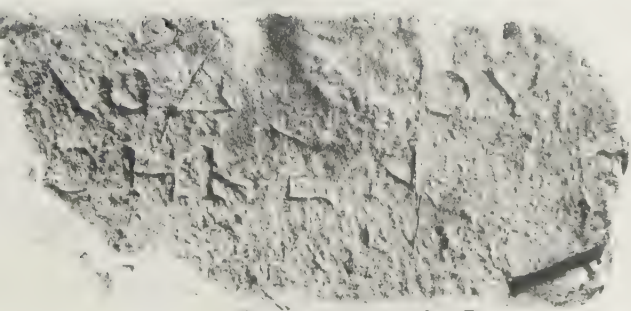
No. 81



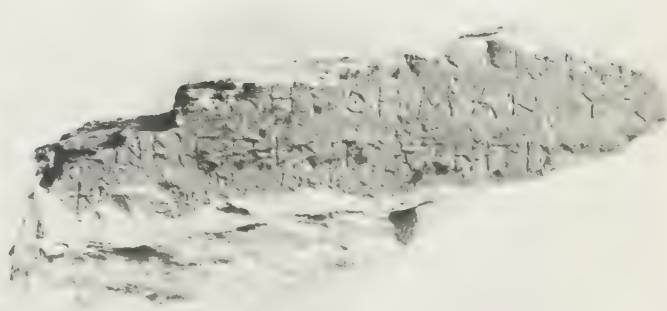
No. 82



No. 90

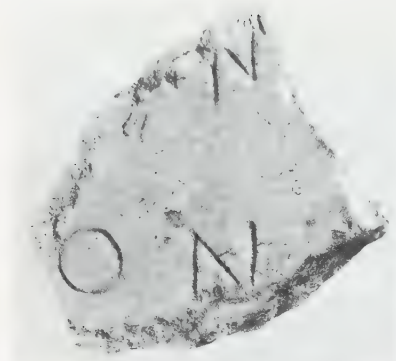


No. 94



No. 95

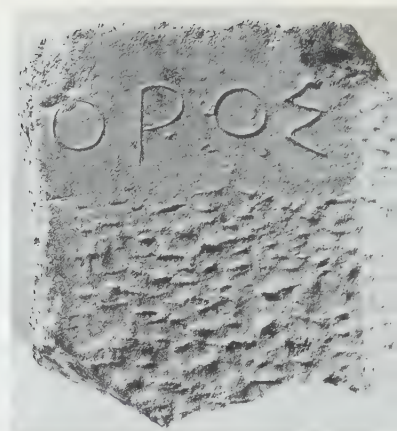




No. 75



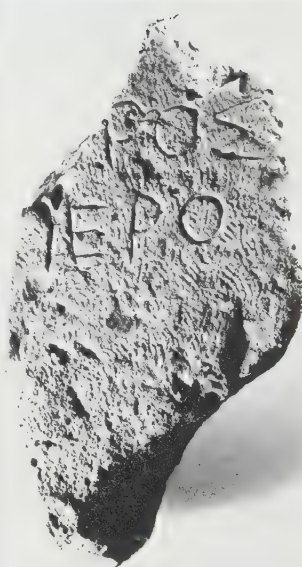
No. 76



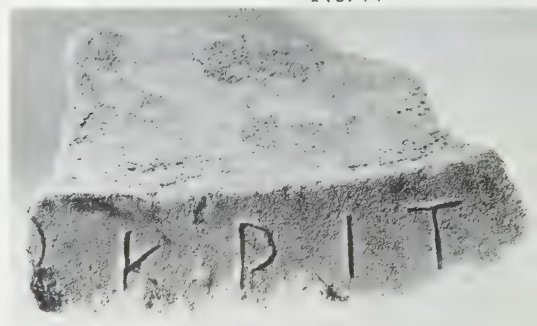
No. 77



No. 78



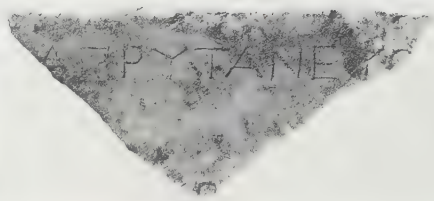
No. 79



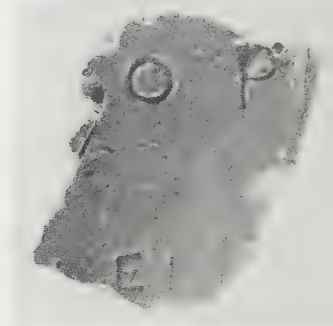
No. 84



No. 80



No. 88



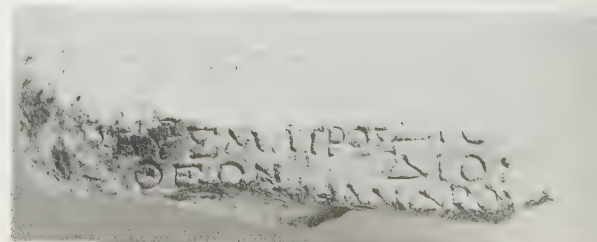
No. 86



No. 89

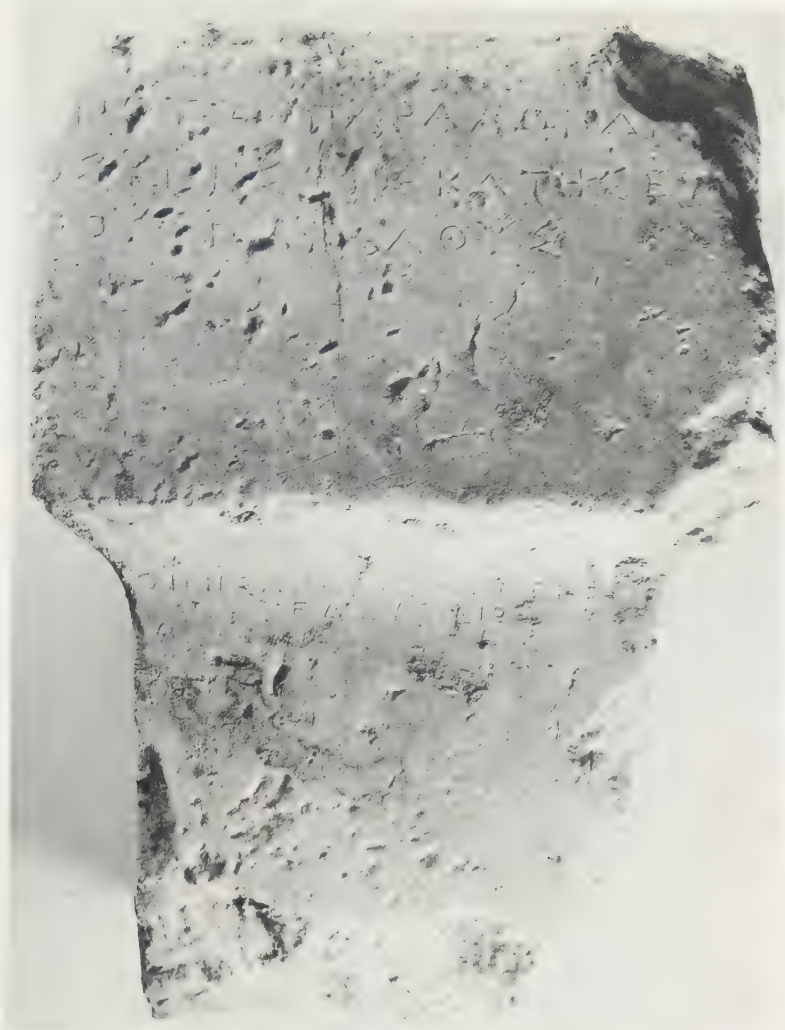


No. 83

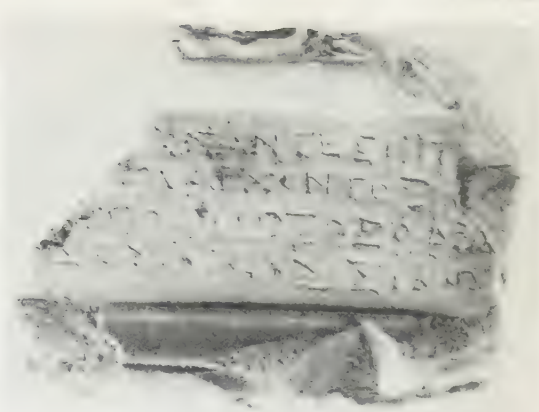


No. 101

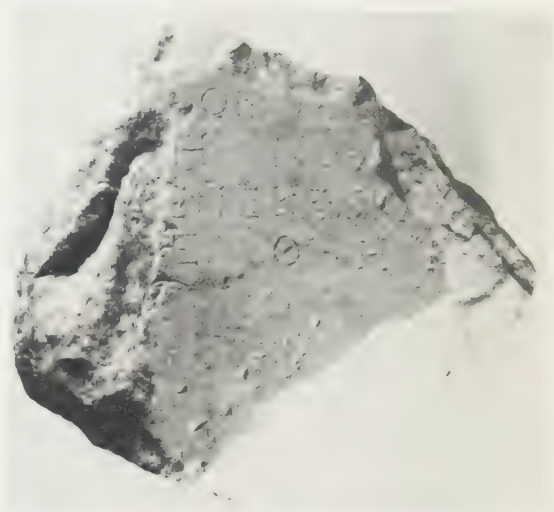




No. 93



No. 96



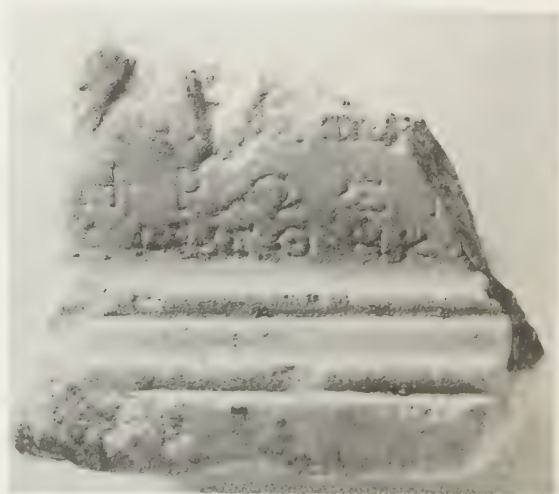
No. 99



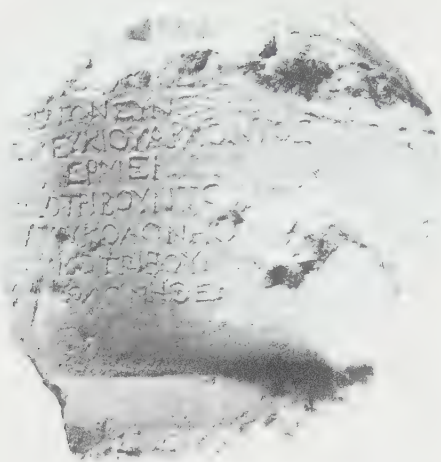
No. 91



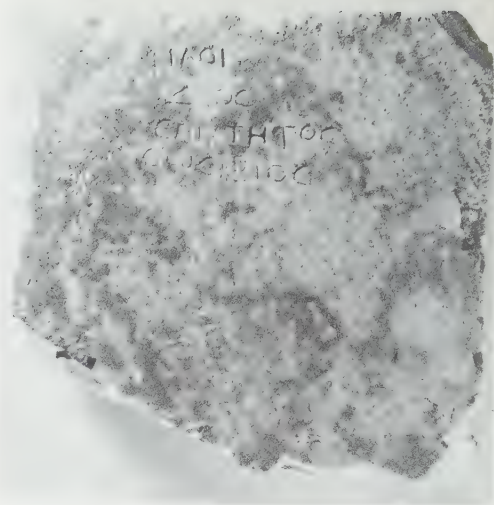
No. 98 top



No. 98 bottom



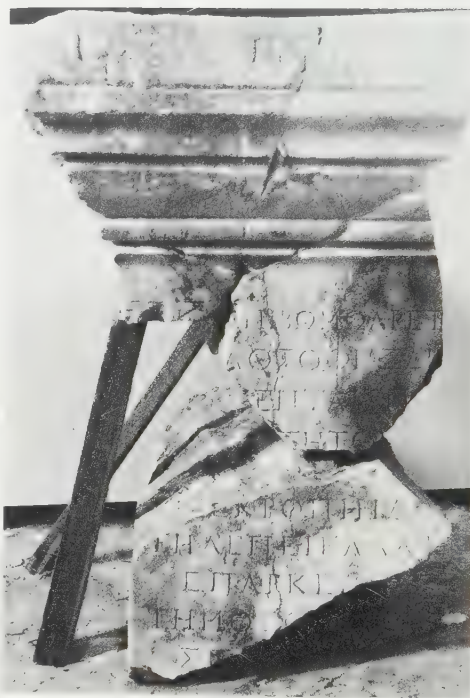
No. 100



No. 103



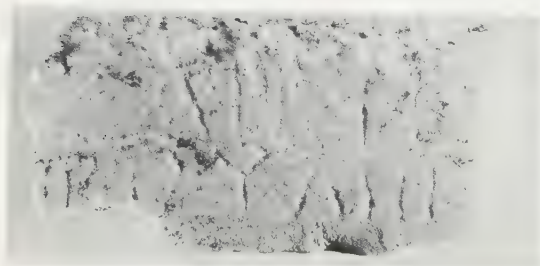
No. 104



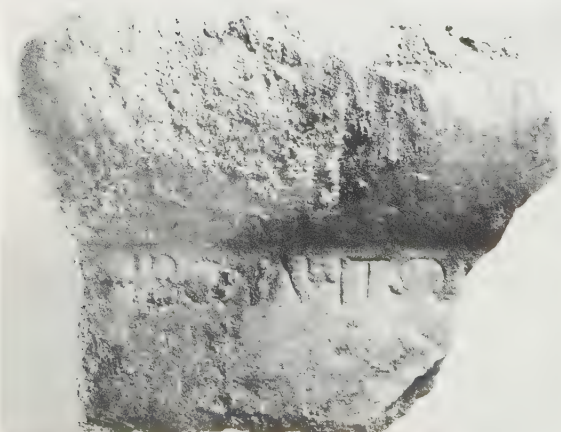
No. 110, Frag. a



No. 110, Frag. b



No. 108



No. 114

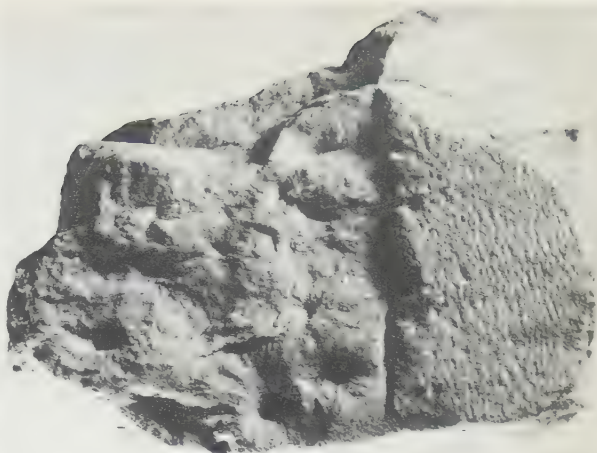


No. 115





No. 102



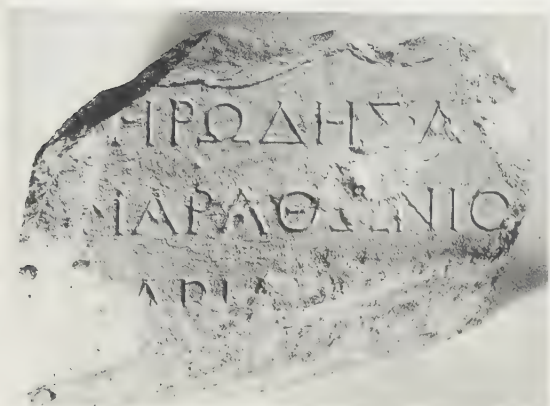
No. 92



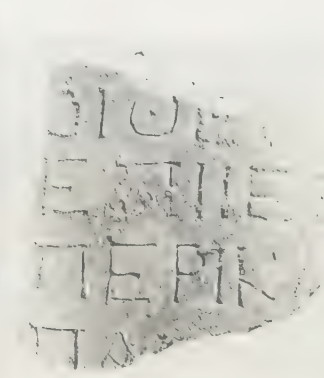
No. 136



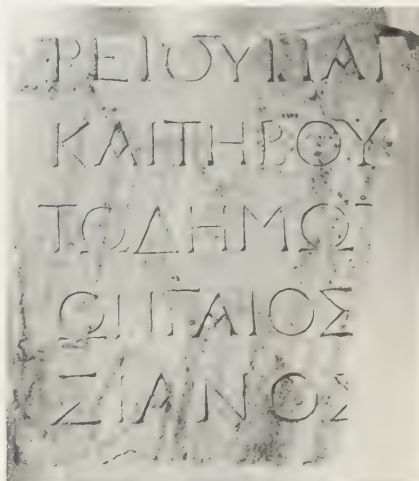
No. 105



No. 107



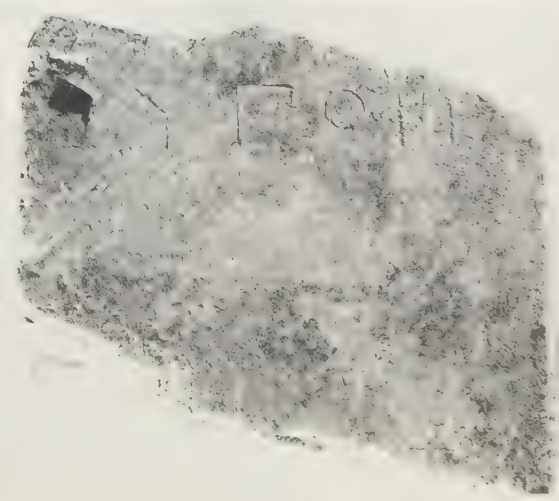
No. 113



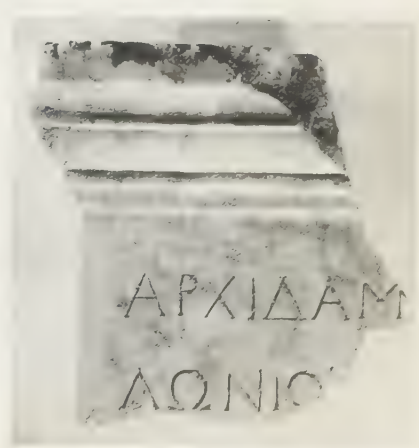
No. 109



No. 111

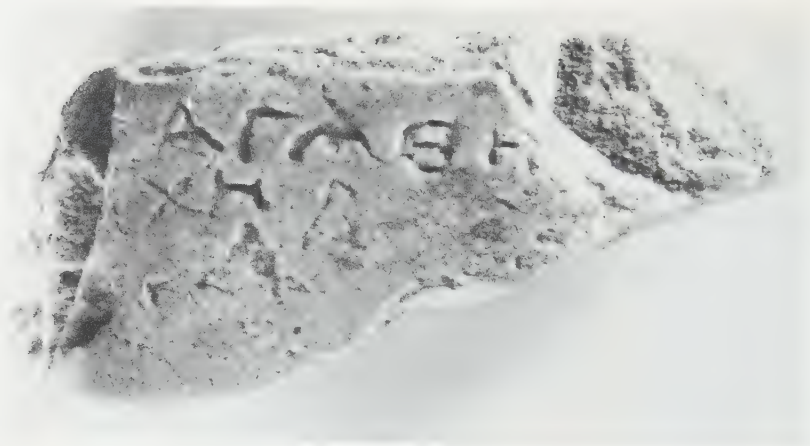


No. 126

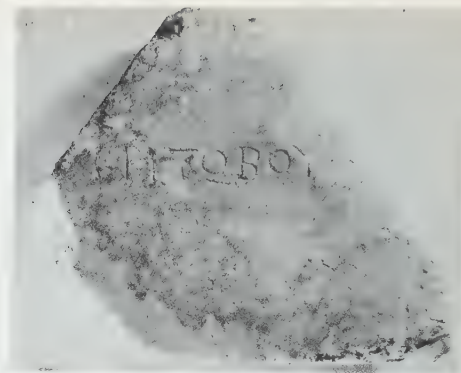


No. 112

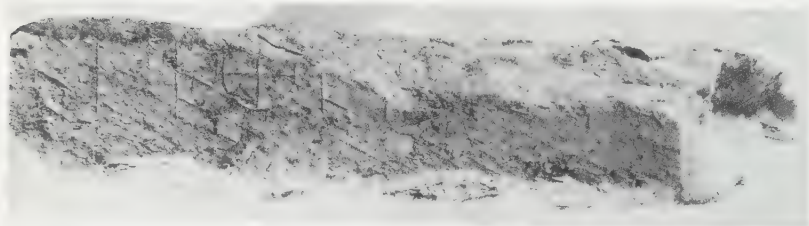




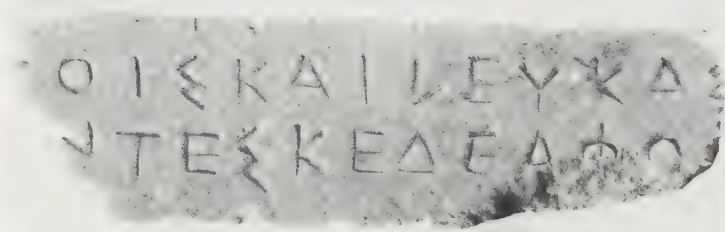
No. 116



No. 122



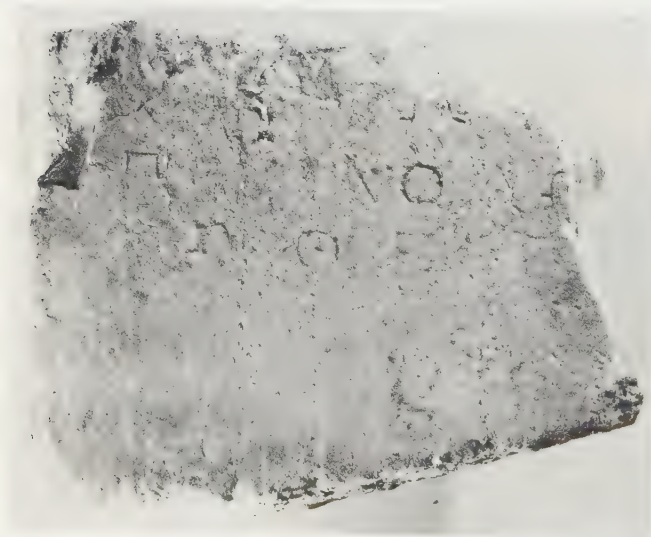
No. 117



No. 119



No. 118

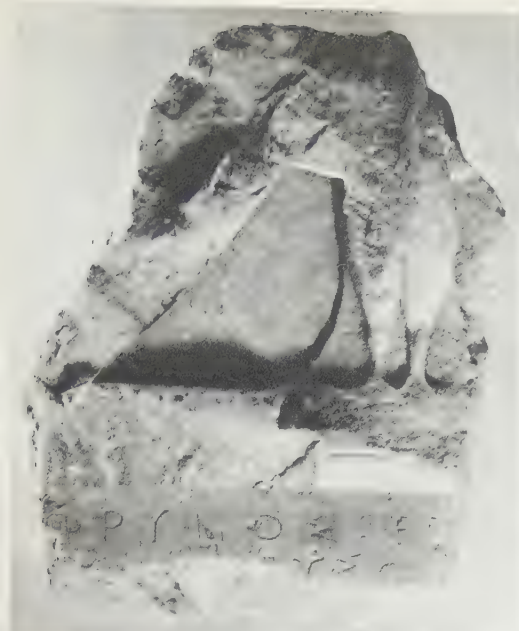


No. 121



No. 120

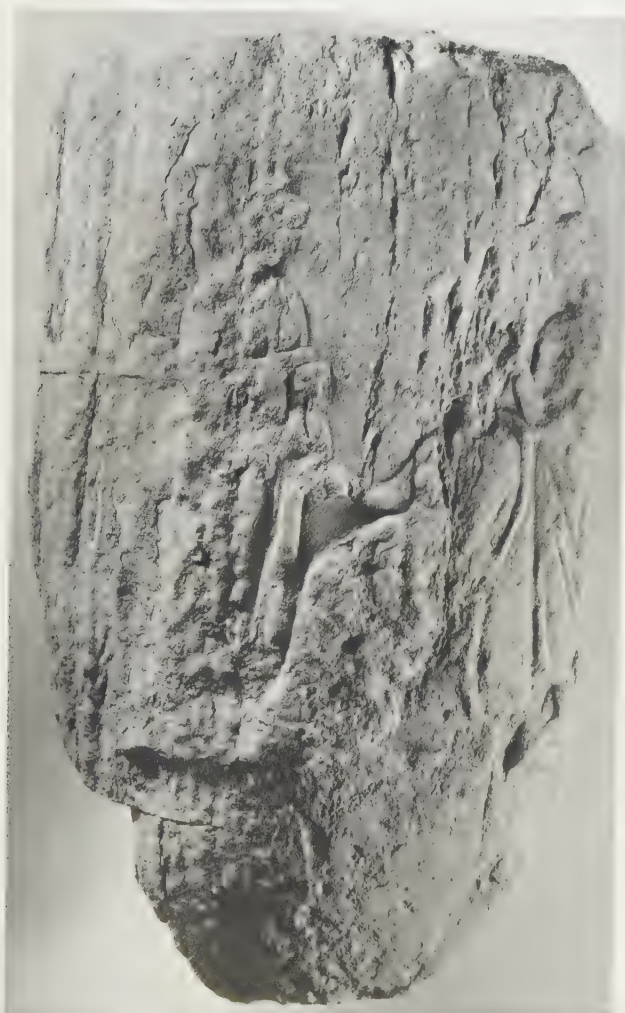




No. 123



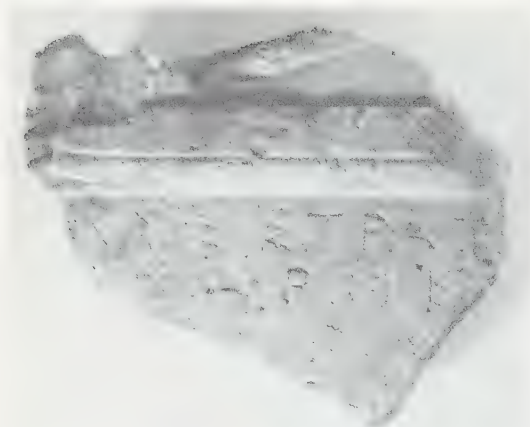
No. 127



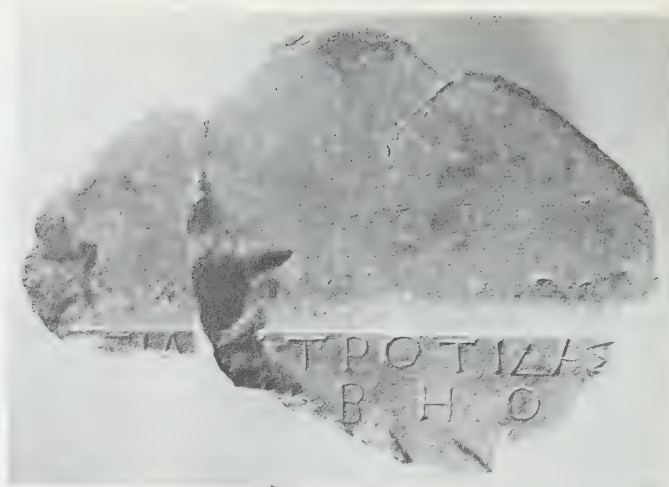
No. 132



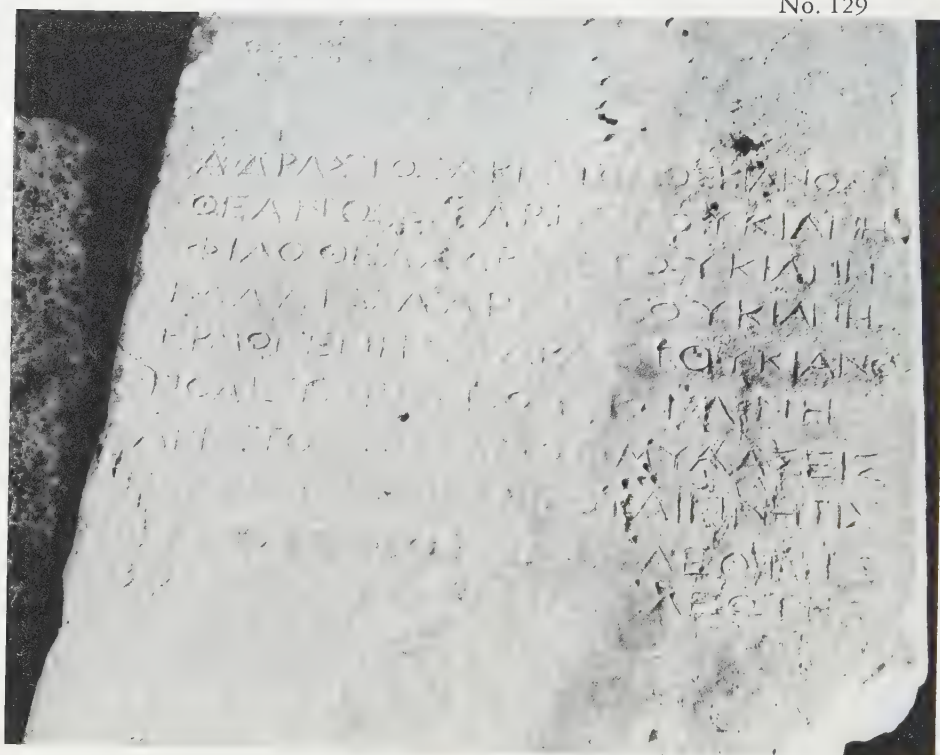
No. 124



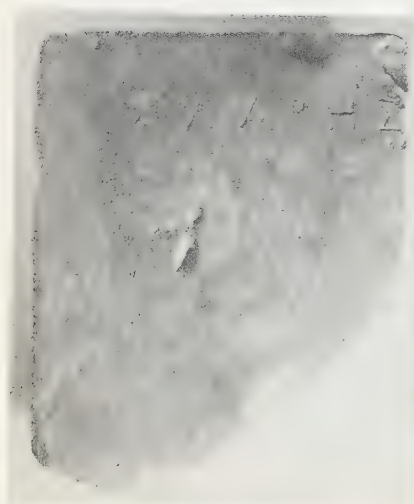
No. 128



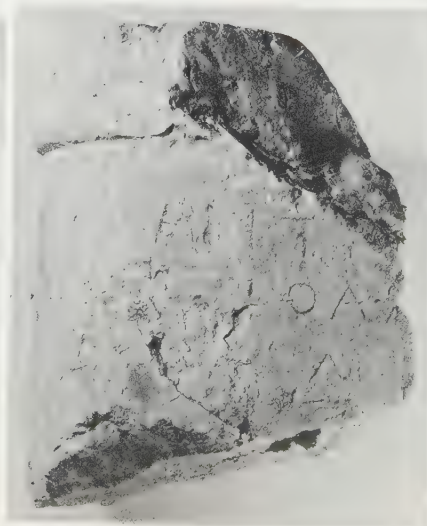
No. 129



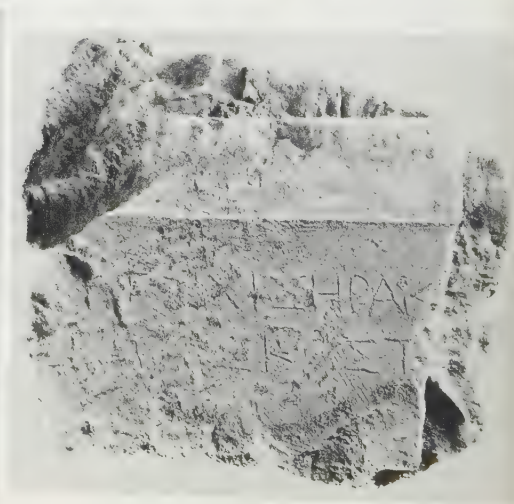
No. 130



No. 139

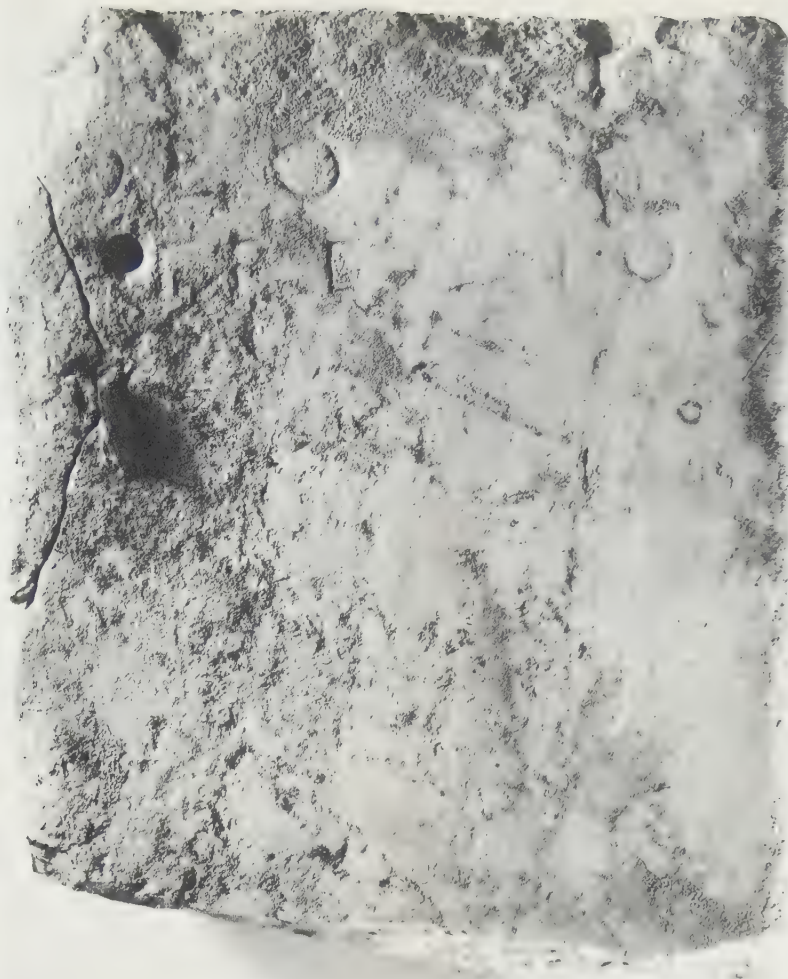


No. 143

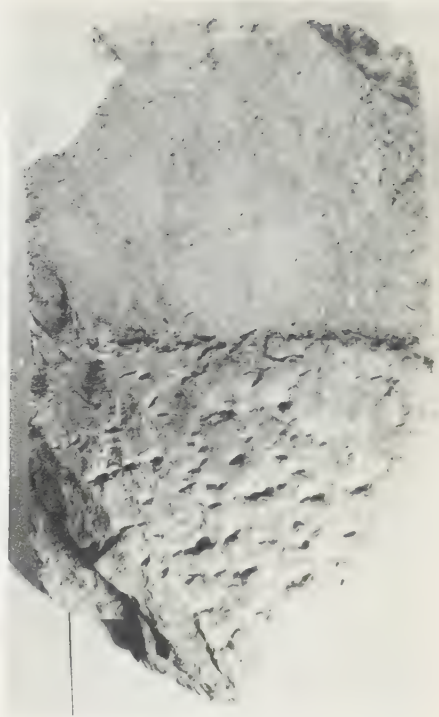


No. 145

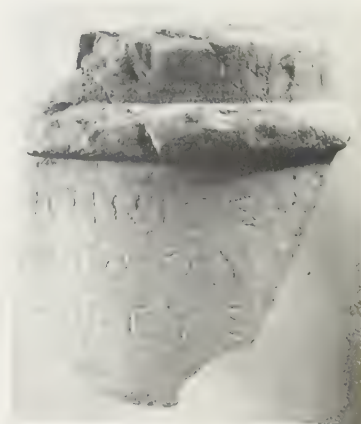




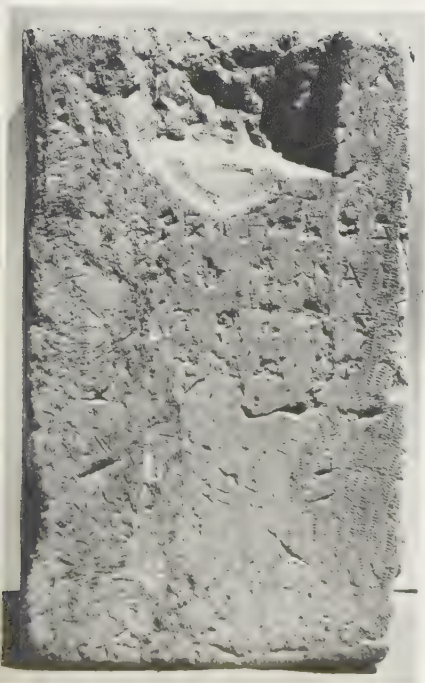
No. 131



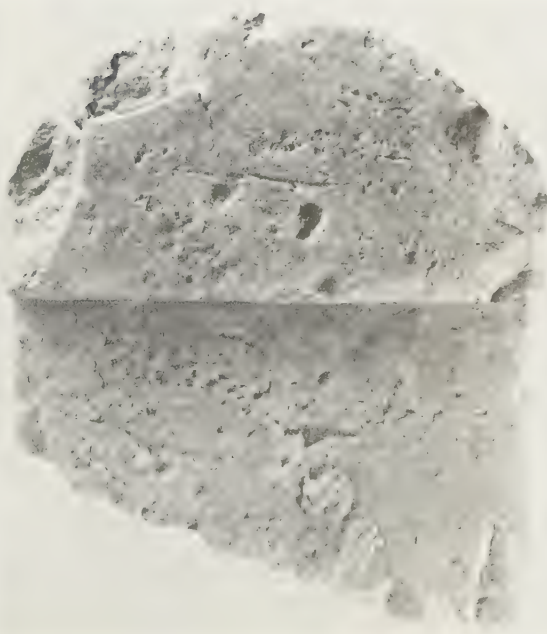
No. 134



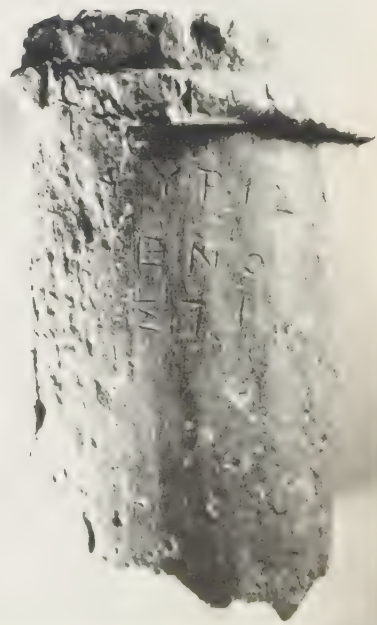
No. 141



No. 135

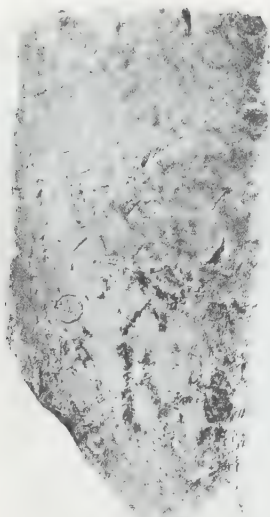


No. 138

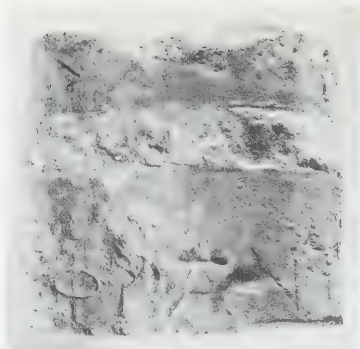


No. 149

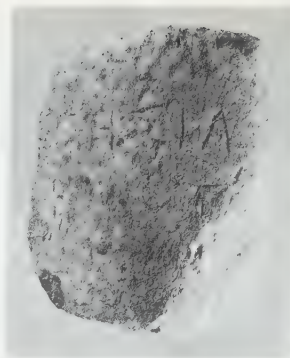




No. 133



No. 137



No. 146



No. 157



No. 142



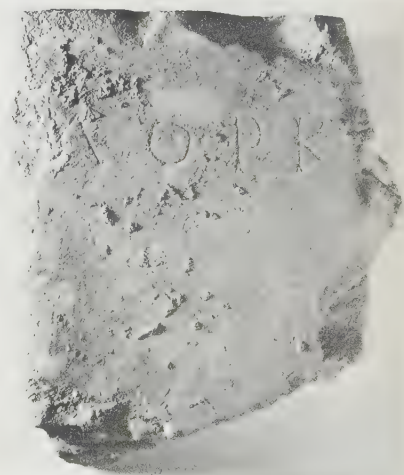
No. 148



No. 140



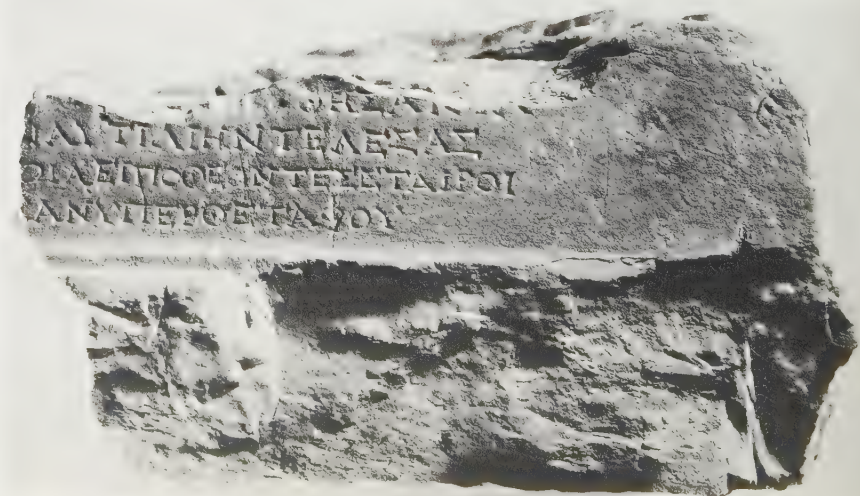
No. 144



No. 151

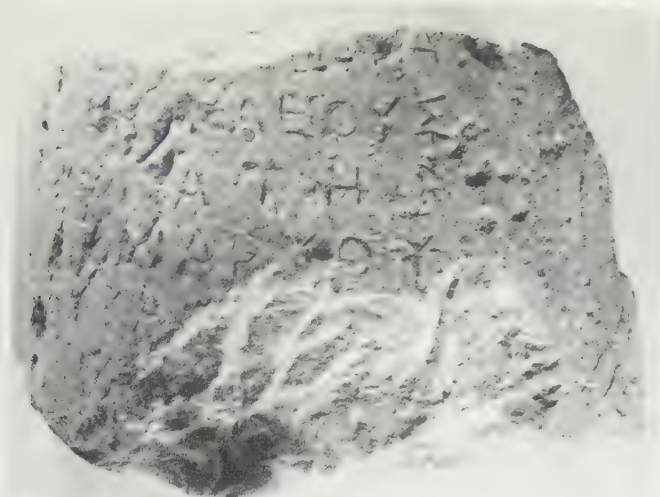


No. 150



No. 152

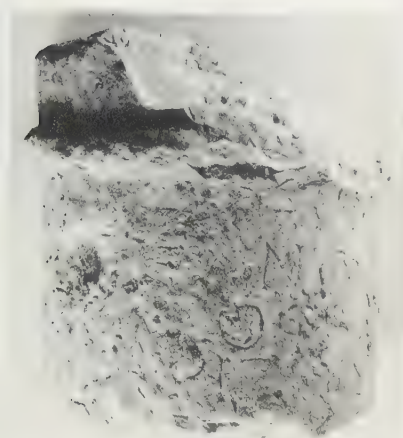




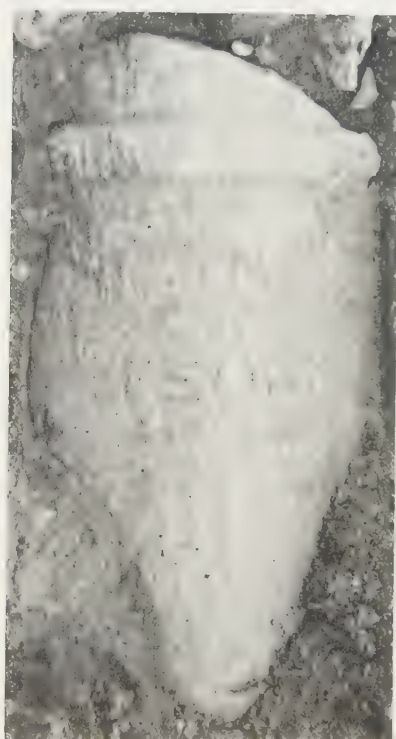
No. 147



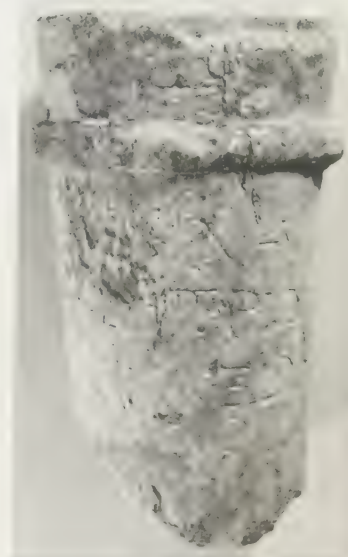
No. 184



No. 153



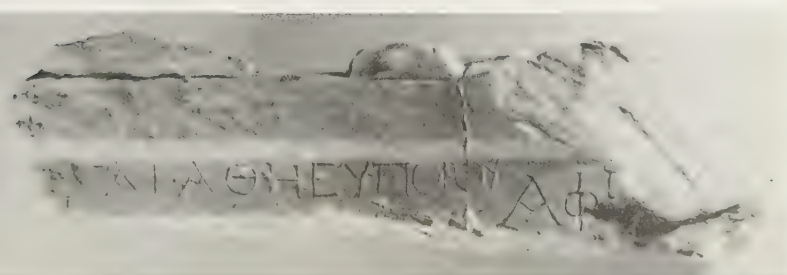
No. 162



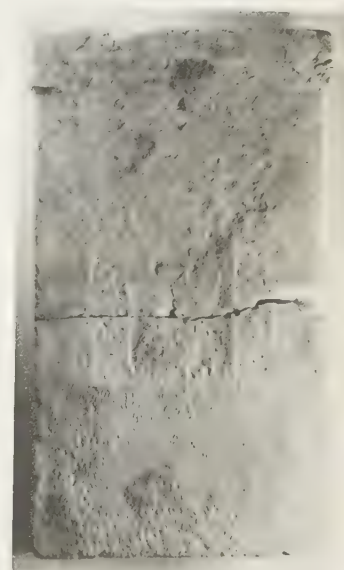
No. 154



No. 160



No. 161



No. 177





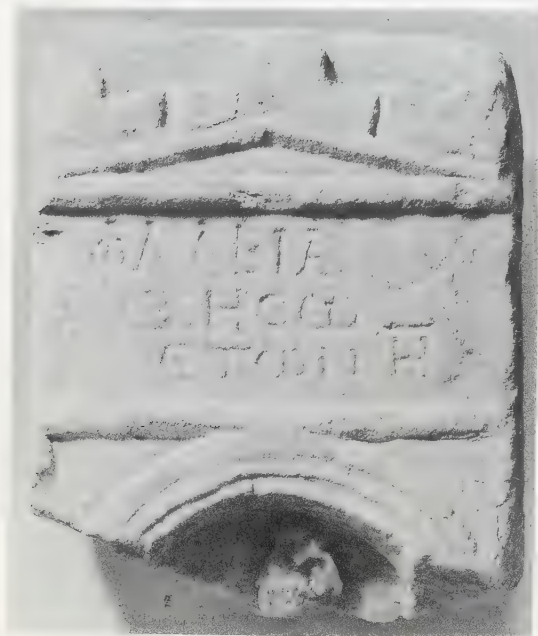
No. 155



No. 156



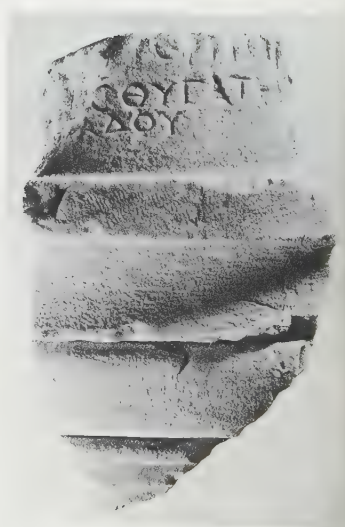
No. 159



No. 158



No. 163



No. 164



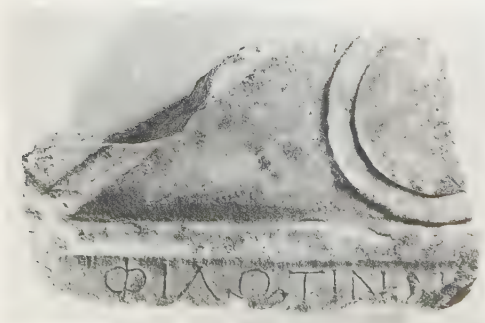
No. 166



No. 172



No. 171



No. 167



No. 170



No. 168

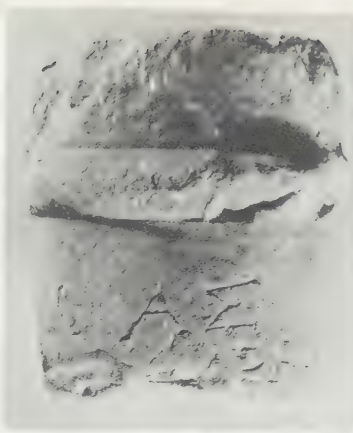




No. 169



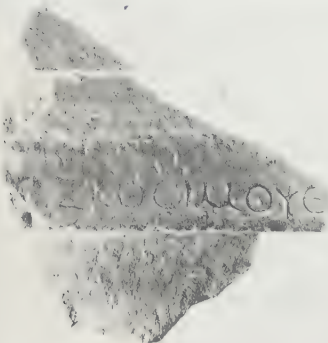
No. 173



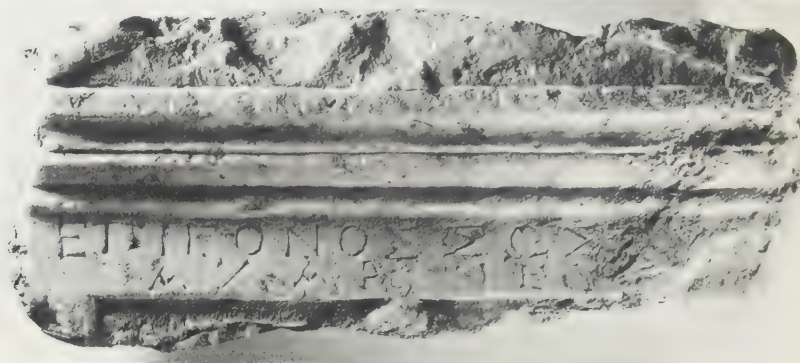
No. 174



No. 175



No. 176, Frag. *a*



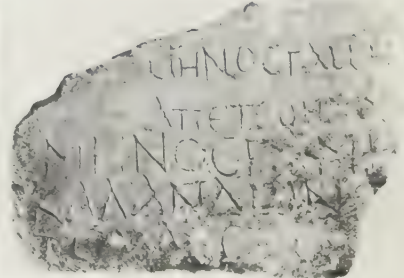
No. 178



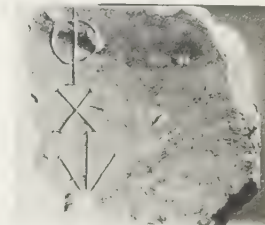
No. 176, Frag. *b*



No. 179



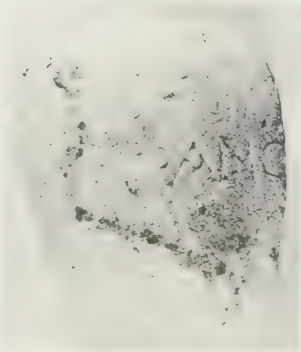
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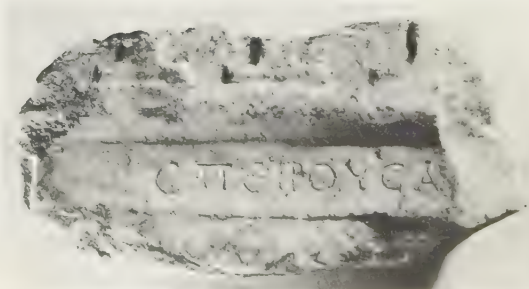
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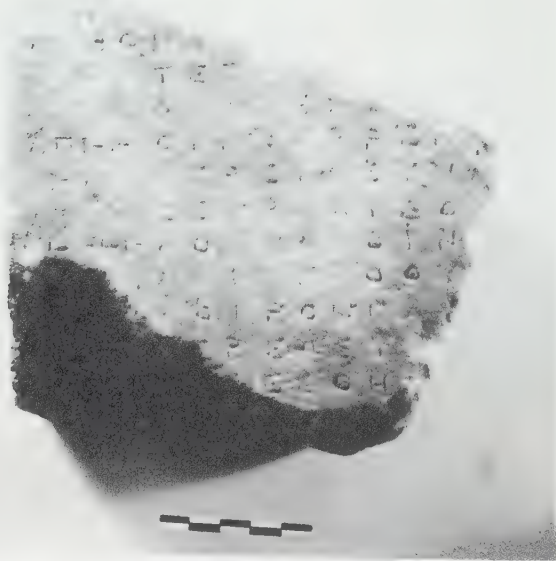
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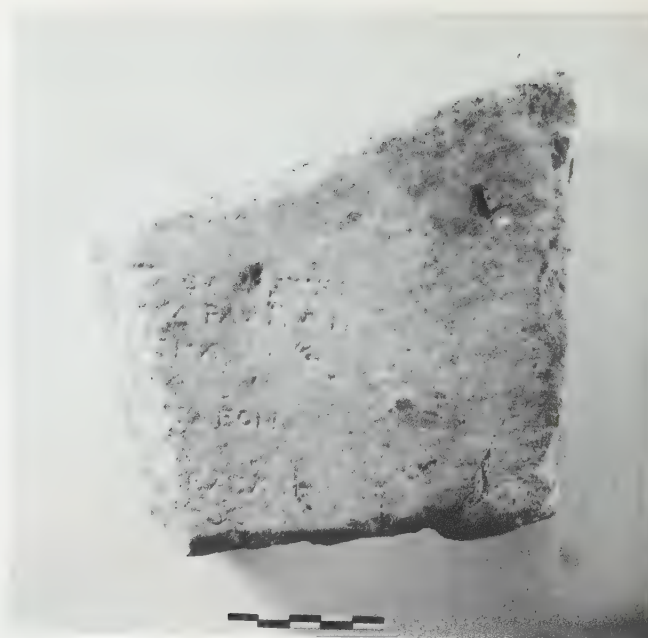
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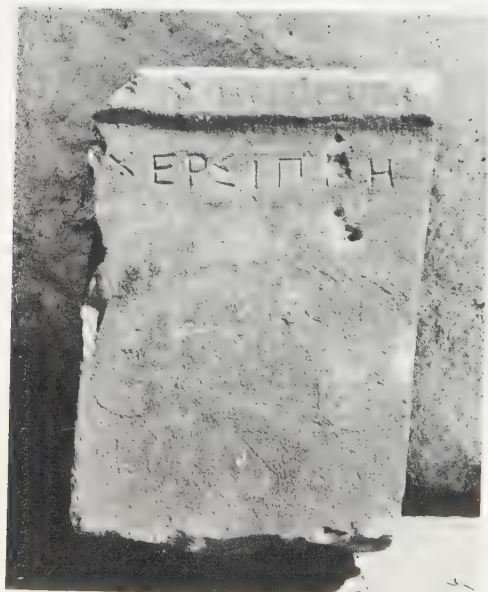
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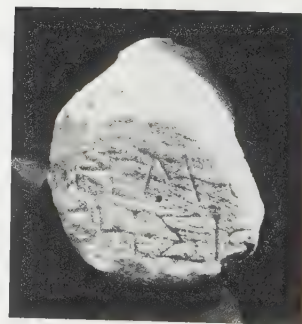
No. 1, Face A



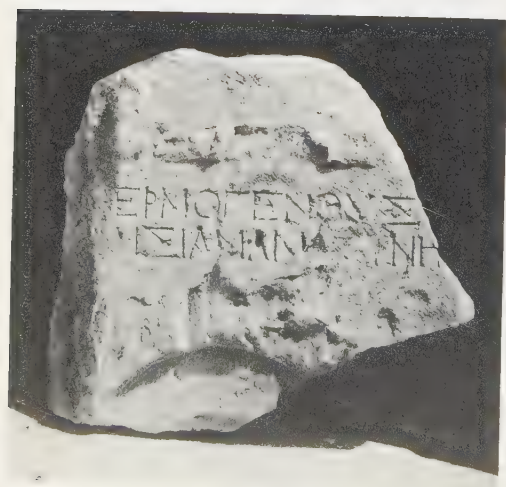
No. 1, Face B



No. 2



No. 3



No. 4



No. 5

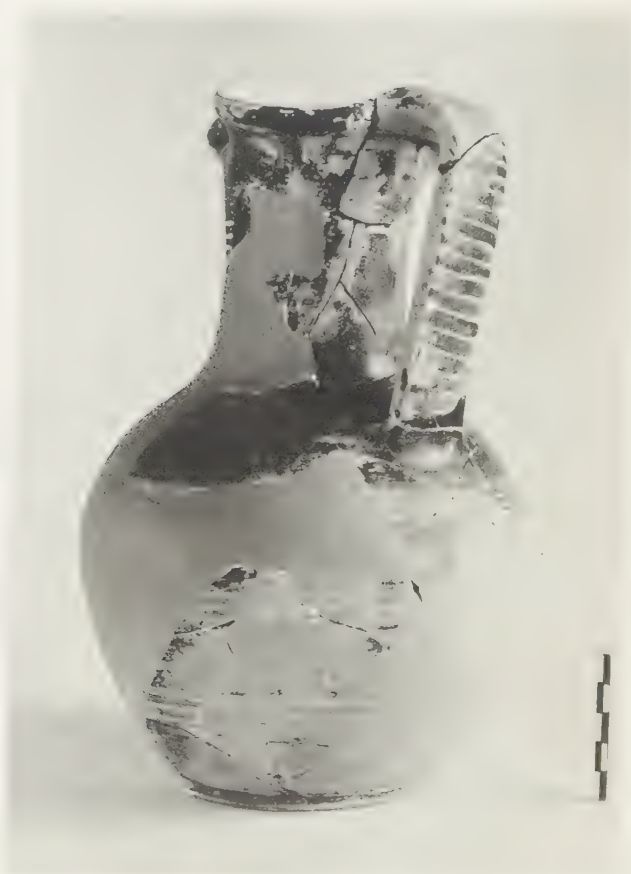




a. Pottery from the Grave, Nos. 1-4



b. No. 1. Amphora



c. No. 2. Oinochoe



a. Nos. 5-8. Dagger (*a*), Knife or Razor (*b*), Spear Head (*c*), Clay Lumps (*d*)



b. Nos. 3 and 4. Kantharoid Cup and Tripod Stand



c. Tripod Stand in Eleusis Museum



# PROTOATTIC WELL GROUPS FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA

(PLATES 65-90)

THIS is a study of the catalogued contents of four wells which were found in the Agora Excavations at Athens and yielded Protoattic, subgeometric, and imported, largely Protocorinthian, pottery, dating from the late 8th to the early 6th century B.C.<sup>1</sup>

The wells offer a sampling of the furnishings of the life of that time: grave-markers and nursery furniture, wash basins and libation bowls, votives and tools, containers of foreign delicacies, imported coarse ware, cooking pots, barrels, dippers, and, most numerous, drinking cups. Aside from fine additions to the Protoattic repertory, the material gives the details of the transition from Protoattic to black-figure, and especially from the subgeometric plain ware of the 7th century to the black-glaze ware of the 6th. The 7th century was a time of invention, and notable among the Protoattic innovations were the techniques which came to characterize classical Attic pottery.

## LOCATION AND DATE

The wells with which we are here concerned have been designated E through H. Well S, of the second quarter of the 7th century, was found after this manuscript had been completed and is therefore published in the Appendix, pp. 374-379. None was

<sup>1</sup> I studied these groups in Athens in 1953-1954 while holding the Mary Isabel Sibley Fellowship of the Phi Beta Kappa Foundation. I thank Professor Homer A. Thompson, Field Director of the Agora Excavations, for the opportunity of working with the material. The photography was done by Miss M. Alison Frantz.

Published Agora material is referred to by author and catalogue number only, e.g. Burr 277; Young XIII 1. Young lettered four 7th century groups A through D. In the present study Wells E through H continue Young's system. They run in chronological order but do not form a sequence with Young's groups.

The three pertinent publications of Agora material with the groups they discuss are listed at the head of abbreviations commonly cited, below, p. 320. Two important contemporary masses of material from outside the Agora have not yet been definitively published: the Protoattic from the Athenian Kerameikos and from Vari; they are on exhibit, the former in the Kerameikos Museum, the latter in the National Museum at Athens.

This study forms part of a dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Yale University in 1955 in candidacy for the degree of doctor of philosophy.



found in significant association with architectural remains.<sup>2</sup> The bulk of each well filling belonged to a short period in the 7th century: Well E, early in the century; Well F, third quarter; Well G, third and into last quarter; Well H, last quarter. However, only the small Well E was very compact, the other groups had enough surviving earlier sherds to fill out the sequence in the first half of the century. In the last two of the groups some later stragglers provided the lower terminus.<sup>3</sup> Much of the fine decorated pottery may be dated independently by style; the more modest wares which constituted the major part of the fillings are amenable to dating by context and association.

#### COMPOSITION

Aside from the intact water jugs, which must have dropped into the wells while they were in use, the fillings were probably obtained from rubbish heaps, and these, in turn, had served homes, graves, and sanctuaries alike. The ordinary table and kitchen ware which forms the greater part of the pottery, as well as the tools, was contributed by the private houses and workshops which in the 7th century still covered the area of the public square and to which the wells must have belonged. No well later in date than Well H which was filled early in the 6th century has so far been found in the central area of the Agora, which accords well with the supposition that at about this time the area was cleared of private establishments to be used as an open public square.<sup>4</sup>

The presence of grave refuse is attested by fragments of decorated pots, some very large. In the 7th century, as in the preceding period, there was still a wide rift between ceremonial and use pottery, and almost all elaborate pottery of known provenience comes from graves.<sup>5</sup> However, three works by a painter who has made no appearance outside the Agora have found their way, two in good condition, into Agora wells (**F 4**, **G 4**, P 18525 under **F 4**, Pls. 69, 70). If he supplied the local homes rather than the nobles' graves, this new demand is in itself remarkable.

<sup>2</sup> Circumstances of finding and exact locations head the catalogue of each well. The grid numbers refer to the Actual State Plan of the Agora, *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pl. 12 and in each volume of the series *Athenian Agora*. In terms of well known later buildings Well E may be thought of as within the later Heliaia; F is just east of and H within the Odeion; G is behind Shop XVIII of the Stoa of Attalos.

<sup>3</sup> E. g., Well G, **G 52**, Pl. 85, last quarter of the 7th; Well H, **H 13**, Pl. 75, early 6th.

<sup>4</sup> *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 37. The group there referred to is Well H.

<sup>5</sup> This is, of course, the reason why the Athenian Kerameikos has yielded so much more well preserved Protoattic pottery than the Agora which was at this date no longer a burial but a habitation area. For 8th century graves and 7th century evidence of habitation see *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 39. Grave plots near the Agora: *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, pp. 6 ff.; *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 69 ff. Several pairs of pots (**F 36** and **37**, **G 5** and **6**, **G 54** and **55**) may come from graves, where pairs are frequent; see *Kerameikos*, V, 1, p. 31, note 74.

The sanctuaries are represented by some miniature pots, plaques and figurines which are throw-away votives.

#### FIGURED POTTERY

The dates given in the catalogue are, with small adjustments, in accordance with a scheme proposed by J. M. Cook in the article in *B.S.A.*, XXXV, 1935, p. 205, which first traced a connected Protoattic development.<sup>6</sup> He worked out an initial date of about 710 B.C. for the Protoattic period and put the Analatos hydria, the name piece and an early work of a painter in whom he recognized the main master of the period, a little before 700.<sup>7</sup>

Confirmation of this dating is offered by Well E. The Protocorinthian kotyle (**E 5**, Pl. 85), because of its narrow shape and somewhat weak workmanship, cannot be earlier than the latest 8th century and is probably later. All the pots of this compact group must be closely contemporaneous, so that the figured amphora (**E 1**, Pl. 65) also dates about 700 B.C. This amphora is a sloppy abuse of the stock forms of the Analatos workshop: the stroke mane, three-stranded tail, facing spiral ornament; such a thing would be painted while the workshop was producing and well after its products had become current, that is at the turn of the century. The Analatos master was the most prolific painter of Early Protoattic and a large proportion of the sherds of that period in the Agora are by him or in his style; of these the finest piece is a lid with grazing horses (P 13264, under **E 1**, Pl. 65), easily recognizable from the spidery mannerism of his figures.

Another neck and shoulder fragment (**F 10**, Pl. 71) of the same date falls late in the series of snake-draped slim-necked amphorae and hydriai of which the Analatos painter's Louvre amphora is the masterpiece.<sup>8</sup> The figures on the neck, ample-bosomed

<sup>6</sup> Other discussions of the dating of Protoattic, after 1935: Young, 1939, pp. 231-236 (general); Kahane, *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pp. 478 ff. (upper terminus); Young, *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, p. 57 (general); Kübler, *Arch. Anz.*, 1943, pp. 417 ff. (lower terminus); J. M. Cook, *B.S.A.*, XLII, 1947, pp. 151 ff. (upper terminus); Hopper, *B.S.A.*, XLIV, 1949, pp. 254-257 (middle period and lower terminus); Dunbabin, *B.S.A.*, XLV, 1950, p. 196, notes 9, 10 (lower terminus); Cook, *Gnomon*, XXIII, 1951, p. 213 (general); Kübler, *Kerameikos*, V, 1, 1954, pp. 71 ff., pp. 141 ff. (upper terminus); Diepolder, *Festschrift Weickert*, 1955, pp. 118-119 (lower terminus); *A.J.A.*, LX, 1956, p. 73; Desborough, *J.H.S.*, LXXVII, 1957, pp. 218-219 (upper terminus). Dated Protoattic series are presented by Buschor, Matz, and Kübler (see abbreviations, pp. 320-321). Kübler, *Kerameikos*, VI, 1, which deals at length with the stratigraphy and chronology of this period, was published after the completion of this study.

<sup>7</sup> Cook, pp. 172-176, pls. 38,a-42.

<sup>8</sup> The Louvre amphora: M. J. Audiat, "Grande amphore protoattique du Musée du Louvre," *Mon. Piot*, XXXVI, 1938, pp. 27 ff. M. Audiat's doubts of Cook's attribution can, I think, be allayed by allowing for advance on the earlier stage of the painter's work. The earlier ways are visible on the amphora itself; compare in Kübler, pl. 30, the outline face of the left charioteer and the lapse into Geometric silhouette style on the right-hand driver.

and brightly gowned ladies stepping delicately to the music of the flute, might be the older sisters of the mourning women on a mug in a Kerameikos group.<sup>9</sup> There is the same thin arm held out before the breast, here in a mincing gesture of dance, there in a movement of mourning; like ornamental dress, the same decorous pace, and still no incision.

I think the hand of **F 10** is not that of the Analatos painter, since he himself turns out lesser things toward the end, but that of someone working in his tradition. The Kerameikos mug group which is well into the "Black and White" style of Middle Protoattic is closely linked up with this post-Analatan phase. The Kerameikos mug group preserves and elaborates the delicate knitted ornament which the Analatos workshop had inherited from the Late Geometric "close style,"<sup>10</sup> sprinkles a similar filling stock in the field, preserves the characteristic Analatan palmette, and retains the old-fashioned shapes.

A reminiscence of the older master is embroidered on a mourning woman's gown on one of the Kerameikos mugs,<sup>11</sup> a mourning Analatan with wire hair, triangular bust and dotted cross.

Only a few tantalizing scraps of the exuberant painting of large pots which goes along with this conservative near-miniature tradition come from the wells (Pl. 66). The grazing horse (**G 2**, Pl. 66) and the lion's legs (**F 7**, Pl. 66) represent the slapdash painting which either does not use incision or abuses it;<sup>12</sup> the mule (**F 8**, Pl. 66) shows the fresh briskness of the "Horse painter," whose work is now claimed for the "Polyphemos painter," the creator of the most astounding Protoattic piece known, the Eleusis Amphora. Its discoverer has attributed two Agora fragments to him;<sup>13</sup> an amphora fragment from an archaic cemetery on the outskirts of the Agora together with a krater in Munich should be added.<sup>14</sup> The fragmentary amphora (**H 1**, Pl. 67), whose figures are more carefully painted than its ornament, has details which lead up to the Polyphemos painter; compare the incision on the horses' tails and hooves, also

<sup>9</sup> Kübler, p. 17, fig. 9, pls. 35-40. The correction of the dating of "Opferrinne 2," whence they come, is given by Cook, p. 209. Kraiker attributes his no. 554 and compares no. 585. By the same hand, Agora P 5915; *CVA*, Berlin 1, A 44, pl. 36, no. 1. A recently published early krater by the Ram Jug painter ('Αρχ. Έφ., 1952, pl. 5) makes Cook's attribution of the Kerameikos group to that painter less likely, since the group, which might have passed as early work, looks quite different from the krater. Note particularly the faces, which are sharp and scraggly on the Kerameikos group, but smooth and rounded on the krater.

<sup>10</sup> *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, p. 480.

<sup>11</sup> Kübler, pl. 35.

<sup>12</sup> Two associated painters of the "exuberant" style, the "Checkerboard" painter and the painter of the "Wild Amphoras," have been named by Gebauer, *CVA*, Berlin 1, p. 7.

<sup>13</sup> Mylonas, *Eleusis Amphora*, pp. 111 ff., figs. a (P 1726) and b (P 4950).

<sup>14</sup> *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pl. 37,c, frag. J; *CVA*, Munich 3, pl. 132. There seems to me to remain a possibility that the "Horse painter" is really the early Ram Jug painter.



the arched shoulder lines. On these fragments and the Schliemann krater (Pl. 66) there are the crude beginnings of the monumental style in Attic vase painting.

The Polyphemos painter is considered to be the elder master of the Ram Jug painter<sup>15</sup> who worked in the mid century and did all that is most elegant and finished in Protoattic. An Agora oinochoe (Young B 1, Pl. 66, detail) has sphinxes with faces most like those of the Ram Jug heroes themselves; this oinochoe is surely by him in his middle years.<sup>16</sup> A little lion's head near the rim of a bowl (P 7984, Pl. 86) has been attributed to him;<sup>17</sup> a similar fragment (**F 21**, Pl. 86) seems very close.

Later lions are the creatures of an increasingly bland, sure line produced by a blunt brush. A lion protome in an olpe panel (**G 5**, Pl. 69) has such brush work. The head differs in many details from those on the Burgon lebes and the Athens lion jug;<sup>18</sup> these have long contours, pointed ears, stubby noses, lolling tongues, while the Agora protome has a squarish head, rounded ear, the tip of the tongue dripping from the fang, and noseless muzzle. The former are similar to Cycladic lions, the latter has Protocorinthian features, especially the ornamental spiral-line under the eye.<sup>19</sup> It is certainly the latest of them, and not only because of the olpe shape on which it is painted and because of its use of added red on a large surface, but also because it concludes the process of turning into a cold design the bright-faced beast which has stalked through Protoattic for half a century. In addition the date of its context group, which is largely of the third quarter of the century, might be invoked. It is possible that one man is responsible for all these lion pots.<sup>20</sup> In that case the olpe is late Ram Jug painter; his youth is gone and only his line is left, and it takes youth to paint Protoattic.<sup>21</sup> The lions of the following period are newly invigorated by the black-figure technique.<sup>22</sup> The decorative scheme of the pot is most interesting, for this

<sup>15</sup> Attributions: Cook, pp. 192-193; *CVA*, Berlin 1, p. 7; *J.H.S.*, LIX, 1939, pp. 151-152; Beazley, *Development*, pp. 8-10; Kraiker, under nos. 582, 584; *B.S.A.*, XLV, 1950, p. 201; *J.H.S.*, LXXII, 1952, p. 93, pl. VI 4b. I would add, besides the jug Young B 1, a wing fragment Πρακτικά, 1935, p. 182, fig. 16 and perhaps Burr 133 which employs the "brown flesh" technique of the Ram Jug. The latest collection of his work is by Semni Karouzou in 'Αρχ. Έφ., 1952, pp. 149-166, figs. 12-25.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. the earlier sphinxes on the Athens krater, 'Αρχ. Έφ., 1952, pl. 5.

<sup>17</sup> *CVA*, Berlin 1, p. 7.

<sup>18</sup> Pfuhl, pl. 17, nos. 82 and 83.

<sup>19</sup> Payne, *J.H.S.*, XLVI, 1926, p. 207 and *P.V.*, pl. 18.

<sup>20</sup> The two little lions P 7984 and **F 21** show exactly the difference in type that obtains between the Burgon lebes and the Athens oinochoe on the one hand and the olpe **G 5** on the other, i.e., pointed ear and dotted gum for the former, rounded ear and dotted muzzle for the latter. Mrs. Karouzou has attributed our olpe to the Ram Jug painter as his earliest work ('Αρχ. Έφ., 1952, p. 165). For the reasons set out above, I would rather imagine it as his latest.

<sup>21</sup> These characteristics are of course sometimes elusive. To Buschor (p. 45) the Burgon lions are "terrifyingly alive"; to Kübler (p. 11) "lifeless," "rhythmic decoration"; with this latter description in mind we might think of this pot too as late.

<sup>22</sup> E.g. the Lion painter's work, *B.S.A.*, XLV, 1950, p. 195, pl. 18.

innovation becomes a black-figure type: a panel picture and an eye set on either side of a neckless oinochoe (Pl. 75). The side panel demands the profile view which is most advantageous to the baggy new shape; if one turned the pot, a great round eye stared from under the glaze, a little uncanny, but protective. This is a hundred years before Exekias first put eyes on cups in Athens.<sup>23</sup>

From the third quarter of the 7th century there are also a few trailers of the Phaleron style (**F 5**, **F 15**, **F 27**, Pls. 70, 73, 74), in which impishness and incompetence are hard to distinguish, and two meticulous reproductions of Corinthian black-polychrome (**F 12**, **F 28**, Pls. 75, 74) which in their technical and typological dependence on Corinth serve to underscore the freedom of the Protoattic figure style.

Of the last quarter of the century, besides scraps of the imposing floral units (**H 8**, **H 9**, Pl. 70) which decorate the "grand" style of Latest Protoattic, there is an early black-figure work which clearly owes much to the Ram Jug style, the lovely lady in the panel of the earliest known woman amphora (**H 6**, Pl. 72). Everything has been prepared in the Middle Protoattic development discussed above: the seamless shape, the picture panel, the brush work; but now a living woman is substituted for fanciful lions. And she appears more in the round; the transverse line at the inner corner of her mouth is made by lips drawn up in an archaic smile and the downward curve of the inner tip of the almond-shaped eye indicates that it slants in the frontal view.<sup>24</sup> The facial type is near that of a Vari krater stand of the late 7th century.<sup>25</sup>

There remains to be discussed a new amphora painter whom the Agora wells have given us (**F 4**, **G 4**, P 18525, under **F 4**, Pls. 68, 69). A late contemporary of the Kynosarges painter,<sup>26</sup> he precedes by a little the painter of the Protome Amphorae,<sup>27</sup> and is therefore to be dated in the thirties of the 7th century. His technique is more completely black-figure than that of the Kynosarges painter, but his florals and loose filling ornament are at the Kynosarges stage. The Protome Amphorae belong to the next period which likes the maeander cross in the field; furthermore the horse on one of them has the wisp mane used in early black-figure; it recurs on another amphora

<sup>23</sup> H. Bloesch, *Formen attischen Schalen*, Bern, 1940, p. 2.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. the Ionian head vases *CVA*, Oxford, II d, pl. 7. The Agora profile is, of course, completely Attic, but proper female parallels in the round are lacking. There are Corinthian counterparts of the Agora face on the Eurytios krater, Payne, *NC*, pl. 27.

<sup>25</sup> Kübler, pl. 68. Close dating is impossible till the Vari finds are published. For the full discussion of the Agora vase, see Diepolder, *Festschrift Weickert*, pp. 111-120, especially p. 119, figs. 5-7 for the Ram Jug painter connection.

<sup>26</sup> See Cook, pp. 196-198, pls. 57-58; *Arch. Anz.*, 1943, pp. 418-420, figs. 42-44. Kübler, p. 26, dates the Kynosarges amphora to the mid-century as against Cook's dating a decade later. The Agora amphorae serve to confirm the tie of the Kynosarges amphora with the black-figure technique and make the later date preferable. Since Kübler's dating depends on that of the polychrome vases (Kübler, pls. 53-55) with which some Kynosarges works were found, and their dating, again, awaits the publication of the magnificent Vari polychrome which is hinted at in *Arch. Anz.*, 1937, p. 123, one cannot yet be sure.

<sup>27</sup> *CVA*, Berlin 1, p. 7.

of the period (Young B 68; here Pl. 70).<sup>28</sup> Although this painter's stock-in-trade, single and facing protomes, soon after became very popular,<sup>29</sup> it is hard to think of this bluff and simple fellow as an influence. Rather he was caught up in a trend; Cycladic inspiration has been remarked in early Attic painting mainly at two periods, in Early Protoattic,<sup>30</sup> of which **F 3** (Pl. 66) is representative, and at the Kynosarges period,<sup>31</sup> but it has also been pointed out that the trend may have been the other way.<sup>32</sup> Protoattic pottery of Island provenience is almost unknown. One fragment from Thera (Pl. 67) closely comparable to a Kerameikos krater and of just the period of the Agora amphorae shows that Attic exemplars did travel.<sup>33</sup> On the other hand a neck ornament on one of the Protome Amphorae which looks like two eyes placed against the edges of the neck panel occurs, to my knowledge, only this once in Protoattic but often in Cycladic ware, and that indicates Athenian borrowing.<sup>34</sup> However, until the Cycladic datings are more secure, priorities will be hard to fix. The amphorae (**F 4**, **G 4** and P 18525 = *Agora*, VIII, 574) have two points of similarity with Cycladic: strong and regular spiral ornament running around the body in a broad zone and the use of protomes on necks and bodies. The latter captured the painter's imagination completely. On the three pots, fourteen protomes can be reckoned up, including four pairs.<sup>35</sup> The borrowing is, however, confined to motifs; his tamed ornament and his jocund figures illustrate one mood of Protoattic on its way to black-figure.<sup>36</sup> We might call him the "Pair" painter since he loves these friendly juxtapositions.

<sup>28</sup> The restoration of such a mane on the Kynosarges amphora, *J.H.S.*, XXII, 1902, pl. III, is probably incorrect.

<sup>29</sup> Especially in Corinthian, e.g., Buschor, p. 66, figs. 66-67. From the Agora, P 12208, stage of the Protome Amphorae.

<sup>30</sup> Cook, p. 180; Kübler, p. 8.

<sup>31</sup> Matz, p. 320.

<sup>32</sup> Amyx, *A.J.A.*, LVII, 1953, p. 295.

<sup>33</sup> I am allowed to show Mr. John Boardman's photograph by the kindness of the Ephor of the Cyclades, Mr. Kontoleon. The fragment is in the local museum in Thera. The Kerameikos krater: *Arch. Anz.*, 1943, p. 421, fig. 47.

<sup>34</sup> *Délos*, XVII, pl. 25 and *passim* for the suggested similarities.

<sup>35</sup> The pair on P 18525 (Pl. 69) may be erotic; cf. a red-figure hydria in Chicago, J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, Oxford, 1942, p. 399, no. 82 with a youth and a girl rubbing noses; also Pfuhl, pl. 136, no. 417.

<sup>36</sup> Because "Protoattic" denotes a style and "black-figure" a technique and because the black-figure technique is employed as early as Middle Protoattic, it happens that the later period of Protoattic is deprived of pots in favor of the earliest stages of black-figure (Cook, p. 166; Beazley, *Development*, p. 12). L. Quarles van Ufford (*Bulletin van de Vereeniging tot Bevordering der Kennis van de Antieke Beschaving*, XVII, 1942, pp. 40 ff.) carries the matter to its logical conclusion by using the terms Early Protoattic and Ripe Protoattic and ending the style after the Kynosarges vase, a usage canonized by the appearance of *ABV* which includes the post-Kynosarges phase characterized by the Women painter (*CVA*, Berlin 1, p. 7), i.e., "semi-black-figure." But Late Protoattic continues to serve for this stage as seen from within the 7th century.



## PLAIN PAINTED POTTERY

Undecorated or very simply decorated pottery is best represented in the well groups. A large part of it is subgeometric, that is to say, it repeats, for everyday use, the now degenerate forms and decorative schemes of Geometric pottery (amphorae, **F 6**, **H 5**, **H 7**; oinochoe, **E 3**; plate, **F 6**; skyphoi, **F 33-34**, **G 23-24**, **H 31**; cups, **F 35-38**, **H 38-39**, Pls. 77, 79). The subgeometric pottery series of the Agora down to the third quarter of the 7th century has been fully described and closely dated by R. S. Young.<sup>37</sup> The present mass of material covers an additional fifty years and offers evidence of new shapes and new techniques which allows one, in effect, to watch the introduction of the black-glaze pottery which captured the world market in the next century.

Before considering the plain black-glaze, a sparsely decorated but distinctive group of pottery which occurs throughout the 7th century deserves mention. Many fragments of a ware employing a slight linear decoration of white or yellow on the glaze background have been found in the Agora. It was pointed out that this "Light on Dark" linear technique is at home in Crete.<sup>38</sup> Of the larger shapes only oinochoai had previously been found complete; it is gratifying now to be able to add a full-scale egg-shaped krater (**F 14**, Pl. 73) and two spouted bowls (**F 20**, **H 17**, Pls. 73, 76). Ancient customers, as modern scholars, must have deplored subgeometric quality. It seems likely that this ware, which employs the forms of the Protoattic masters without their expensive figure decoration, using only fine lines to set off the parts of the pot, was one shop's modest answer. Though the technique of the earlier pots is faulty (both **F 14** and **F 20** are warped and misfired), capaciousness combined with nicely finished details makes a pleasant contrast with the shrunken subgeometric ware.<sup>39</sup>

New skill is first apparent in the one-handed cups (with round shoulder, **G 25-29**, **H 32-35**, Pl. 79; with angled shoulder, **G 30-32**, **H 36-37**, Pls. 76, 79, and numerous uncatalogued fragments). These develop out of the subgeometric cups (see above), but in the second half of the 7th century they are made to meet new standards, to look and feel as much like metal as possible. To make marvelously large pots had been a special Attic skill in the Geometric period. What was lacking was the ability to provide fine small vases to be used at home, and under the discipline of the metal model this skill is now acquired. The fabric is thin and hard and rings like metal. The glaze becomes smooth and firm by design, and in the most successful examples has a high sheen. The shapes, low slung and sharply articulated, can be shown to have

<sup>37</sup> See bibliography, p. 320.

<sup>38</sup> Burr, p. 629.

<sup>39</sup> As in the case of the amphorae **F 4**, **G 4**, and P 18525 there is something so alike about both the potting and the painting of **F 14** and **F 20** that one man would seem to have made and decorated both. It is possible that in the 7th century there was as yet little specialization in the potter's workshop.

metal counterparts which may be fairly assumed to be their prototypes.<sup>40</sup> At least, in a period when all the independent series develop quickly the cups remain the same over a quarter century at least, retaining their neat proportions; they are about half as high as they are broad at the rim, and the cups with angled shoulder have the break at half height. Such conservatism is usually an indication that imitation is at work. A small feature shows that these cups were indeed in the vanguard of black-glaze pottery; on two of them the under side of the foot is intentionally reddened (**H 33**, **H 37**, Pl. 79), a practice unknown before this but common on black-glaze cups.

As early as the last quarter of the century shapes which will become the mainstays of the black-glaze repertory of the 6th century appear in number (belly amphora, **H 7**, Pl. 73; oinochoai, **G 8**, **H 10-12**, Pl. 75; jug, **H 50**, Pl. 81; bowls, **H 20-21**, Pl. 77; skyphoi with offset rims, **G 11-12**, **H 25**, Pl. 78; kotylai, **G 19-21**, **H 26-30**, Pl. 78; kalathoi, **G 34-36**, Pl. 81).<sup>41</sup> They give a general impression of precision and care. Some shapes gain feet and rims, and in these every feature is clearly set off while the jointless shapes like belly amphora and olpe are well rounded. The glaze begins to be black and shiny rather than streaky and dull as heretofore, though not always successfully. The Corinthian fashion of black polychrome banding, broad purple and fine white lines over the glaze is substituted for subgeometric banding.<sup>42</sup> Two little oinochoai (**H 11-12**, Pl. 75) show the transition; they have a purple band on a reserved zone around the body. Some typical subgeometric shapes also continue; but they are stiffened and spruced up; thus preserved they survive into the 5th century and later.<sup>43</sup>

Corinthian influence is patent. The kotylai (**G 19-21**, **H 26-30**, Pl. 78), covered with glaze except for a short collar of rays around the base, are faithful reproductions of the standard Early Corinthian form. The skyphoi with offset rims (**G 11**, **H 25**, Pl. 78), the earliest known from Athens, are inspired by the Corinthian "cup with offset rim." These are the ancestors, via the komast cups, of the standard Attic kylix which is to 6th century Athens what the kotyle was to Corinth in the 7th.<sup>44</sup> The two-handled cups (**G 13-18**, Pl. 78) are from a type current in the Early Corinthian period.

It has been shown that a Corinthian potter worked in Athens a generation before

<sup>40</sup> See catalogue, under **G 25** and **G 30**. Of metal cups in Attica, which undoubtedly existed, nothing is left; see Young, pp. 223-224. An indication that metal drinking vessels were in vogue at this time appears on the Eleusis amphora (Mylonas, *Eleusis Amphora*, pl. 5). The cup which Polyphemos, on the neck panel, drunkenly extends before him is clearly a composite of such bronze cups as Payne, *Perachora*, pl. 58, nos. 1 and 2. Miss D. K. Hill cautions against inventing metal prototypes (*A.J.A.*, LI, 1947, pp. 249 ff.); perhaps one should think that the potter tried to achieve a metallic effect, rather than that he tried to copy a metal vase.

<sup>41</sup> *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 248 ff. for 6th century black-glaze.

<sup>42</sup> *Corinth*, VII, pl. 72.

<sup>43</sup> *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 74, under no. 31 for the subgeometric skyphos; also *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pls. 50-51.

<sup>44</sup> Beazley, *Development*, p. 20.

Solon's invitation to skilled foreign craftsmen.<sup>45</sup> The accuracy and facility of the reproductions *could* be due to immigrant potters who had, after all, long known the techniques described above. Several other bits of evidence point to the migration of potters. For instance, use of many small metallic features would be natural to potters from one of the metal working centers of Greece.<sup>46</sup> Again, at an earlier date the native Attic potter had shown aversion to accurate copying; close imitations like the oinochoe, **F 12** and the lid, **F 28**, Pls. 75, 74, are rare (these are even late enough to be, possibly, immigrants' work); rather Attic copies of Protocorinthian are almost deliberately careless, sometimes to the point of burlesquing the model.<sup>47</sup> The last and strongest point is the strange falling off in the quantity of imported pottery in this last quarter of the 7th century when Corinth was reaching its commercial acme.<sup>48</sup> Perhaps, then, toward the end of the 7th century potters were coming to Athens as pots had come earlier in the 7th century.

The revitalizing of the plain class of pottery made for mass consumption rather than on order is of interest for Athens' economic history. The decline of Athens from the late 8th century on, of which the poor quality of subgeometric pottery is a symptom, and the economic distress of the lower classes which mounted throughout the 7th century were perhaps aggravated by external factors (a naval defeat at the hand of Aigina, Corinth's crushing superiority in colonies and naval technique, and so on),<sup>49</sup> but the real fault lay at home in the land-owning nobles' refusal to become entrepreneurs in a commercial age, for the Agora finds show that as early as two generations before Solon there was readiness and enterprise among the craftsmen; the new finds also support Dunbabin's suggestion that "the distress that Solon had to relieve was due not solely to poverty, but to economic growing pains."<sup>50</sup>

#### POTTERY USED IN CULT

An early terracotta libation bowl (**F 24**, Pl. 75) may have been used in the service of some courtyard cult like that of Zeus Herkeios (for libations were poured to Olympians); a public sanctuary could presumably have afforded a metal phiale.<sup>51</sup> A fragment of a kernos (**H 41**, Pl. 81), covered with the characteristic white slip, is among the earliest examples known from Athens of a vessel that was commonly used

<sup>45</sup> Dunbabin, *B.S.A.*, XLV, 1950, p. 196.

<sup>46</sup> Payne, *NC*, pp. 210 ff.

<sup>47</sup> Young, pp. 146 ff.

<sup>48</sup> See p. 319.

<sup>49</sup> See Dunbabin, *B.S.A.*, XXXVII, 1936, p. 89, for a discussion of Athens' commercial backwardness in the early 7th century; W. J. Woodhouse, *Solon the Liberator*, Oxford, 1938, pp. 117 ff. for social conditions in Attica during this century.

<sup>50</sup> *B.S.A.*, XLV, 1950, p. 202.

<sup>51</sup> M. P. Nilsson, *Greek Popular Religion*, New York, 1940, pp. 66-67.



in later times in the cult of Demeter. This solitary fragment, however, can scarcely be regarded as secure evidence for the history of the cult.<sup>52</sup>

The spouted bowls (**F 19-20**, **H 17**, Pl. 76) have been identified as the prototypes of certain cult vessels, called "louteria" by archaeologists, which stood on graves and held a bath offered to the dead. The basis of this identification rests on their similarity to the spouted kraters of the late 7th century from Menidi which have been shown to have served such a function in an ancient hero cult. It has been pointed out that there is only slim evidence for this identification, and that these bowls were probably merely receptacles for the libations poured over graves.<sup>53</sup> No doubt these pots were used either in a religious or a secular capacity, as they happened to be needed, in the earlier 7th century; special shapes were worked out in the later 7th and 6th centuries. Thus the Menidi kraters which set the form for the later "louteria" <sup>54</sup> were probably inspired by the spouted bowl; the loutrophoros is the descendant of a 7th century amphora shape, and the lebes gamikos has the main features of the egg-shaped krater.

Young suggested that the open basins with handles set on broad rims (**F 22**, **H 18-19**, Pl. 76) which are found in quantity in the Agora from the second half of the 7th century may sometimes have functioned as cult vessels. Later on they actually occur as grave markers in South Italian vase painting where they are also shown in everyday use, while their expensive metal prototypes as well as elaborate clay copies were offered as votives in sanctuaries.<sup>55</sup> Those from the Agora, considering their quantity and their utility glazing, were usually, no doubt, the wash basins of the living in a period which liked good reproductions.

A krater of Corinthian or Argive fabric (**F 74**, Pl. 86) on a narrow fenestrated foot was clearly not made for household use; other examples have indeed been found at sanctuaries. It resembles the Menidi kraters in several features, in its cauldron shape, its stand and its arched band handles, though there is no evidence of a spout. It may have had a similar use; note that it comes from the manufacturing center from which Athens later imported its terracotta *perirrhanteria*, stood open basins used at

<sup>52</sup> The earliest certainly identifiable structural remains in the Athenian Eleusinion are of the early 5th century B.C. (*Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, pp. 334-338). A votive deposit of the 7th century found at the north foot of the Areopagus for which an association with the Eleusinion had been tentatively considered (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 637) has more recently been connected with a cult of the dead (*Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, p. 153).

<sup>53</sup> Wolters, *Jahrb.*, XIII, 1899, pp. 125 ff., for the Menidi cult; H. Kenner, "Das Louterion im Kult," *Jahresh.*, XXIX, 1939, pp. 125 ff., and *Kerameikos*, V, 1, p. 34, note 77, for the spouted bowls.

<sup>54</sup> The use of this term for the spouted bowl should now be discontinued, since the ancients seem to have used it rather for a stood open wash basin; the spouted bowls of the 7th century were more often without stand and had probably no specialized function. See D. A. Amyx, "The Attic Stelai, Part III," *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, pp. 221-228.

<sup>55</sup> See catalogue, under **H 18**.

sanctuaries for lustral water. The fragment **G 39** (Pl. 84) may come from an early homemade *perirrhanterion*.

#### FURNITURE

Two babies' commodes (**F 18, H 16**, Pls. 74, 90) made to a baby's scale, to my knowledge the earliest examples of a type of nursery furniture still in use, are monuments to 7th century ingenuity.

#### SEMI-GLAZED WARE

Broadly spaced banding with a wavy line below the rim or in the handle zone is the hall mark of the cheapest utility ware. The shapes are mostly simple and seamless (all on Pl. 81): amphorae (**G 38**), water dippers (**F 43-45, H 47-49**), wash basins (**H 52**), and bowls (**H 53-54**). The pottery is termed semi-glazed because for economy's sake the glaze is sparsely applied. The decoration recurs in the simple pottery of most sites.<sup>56</sup> In Athens, though it continued to be used later, the wavy line is most in evidence in the 7th century. In the 6th century the device of glazing the entire interior of pots designed to hold liquids, which is first seen in a bowl (**F 23**, Pl. 76) and in basins (**F 19, H 18-19**, Pl. 76), becomes current.

#### COARSE WARE

A type of pottery which the Athenian woman used for cooking and water drawing, called "household ware" in the catalogue, is made of a highly micaceous, gritty clay which varies in color from brick-red to grayish buff and sometimes contains white impurities. Its chief characteristic is that it is never thrown on the wheel nor, by the 7th century, formed by hand, but that a different process, possibly slip casting in a sand mould, is employed in the manufacture.<sup>57</sup> As a result of its special make it has several invaluable qualities: it heats quickly,<sup>58</sup> it is not unduly porous, and it is surprisingly light. Coarse cooking pottery is found on most habitation sites from the earliest times, but it has never been given special study.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>56</sup> See, for example, the very similar "Gebrauchskeramik" from Samos, *Ath. Mitt.*, LIV, 1929, pp. 29 ff. A similar decorative system occurs on Mycenaean pottery, e.g. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 354, fig. 28,a, but the solution to the general question of revival from the Mycenaean period versus re-introduction from the Orient awaits J. L. Benson's forthcoming study; some parallels like *ibid.*, fig. 34,f and the framing of the Schliemann krater panel, Pl. 66, are strikingly immediate. On the wavy line see Burr, p. 572; *Ath. Mitt.*, XLIII, 1918, p. 145; *Kerameikos*, V, 1, index, p. 306, q.v. "Wellenband."

<sup>57</sup> A preliminary study of the technical aspects of the ware, in particular how the special clay and the casting process bear on its usefulness, has been made by Mary Eliot.

<sup>58</sup> We experimented with water over a primus stove.

<sup>59</sup> *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, pp. 51-53 for the ware in Attica; A. Furtwängler and others, *Aigina, Das Heiligtum der Aphaia*, Munich, 1906, pp. 441 ff., for a large sampling from another site. A study of the coarse ware found in the Agora is being made by Lucy Talcott and will appear in a volume of the *Athenian Agora* series.

In Athens the ware, represented mostly by cooking jugs, is crude, heavy and clearly handmade until the late 8th century. Then the fabric begins to become thinner and more even.<sup>60</sup> New shapes appear which form the select and standard inventory of this ware (Pls. 82, 83): amphorae (F 46, G 40-41, H 55-57), hydriai (F 47, G 42, H 58), deep basins (F 53, H 61) and round-bottomed cooking pot (F 52). The forms, at first slim, round out throughout the 7th century.<sup>61</sup> The rims are spread and crisply finished off, and the handles are shaped with the contours of the bodies. These pots must have been constantly in evidence in the daily life of the 7th and 6th centuries, and one must imagine a girl raising one to her head in a live counterpart of the fountain scenes which are so frequent in 6th century vase painting.<sup>62</sup> I think it quite possible that these simple, seamless shapes, clearly the result of their special manufacture, played a part in the invention of similar wheelmade types like the belly amphora in the 7th and the belly hydria in the 6th century.<sup>63</sup> The household ware basin (H 61, Pl. 83), at any rate, seems to have been the model of the semi-glazed basin current in the 6th and 5th centuries.<sup>64</sup>

The cooking jugs (F 50-51, H 59, Pl. 83), which are the *raison d'être* of the ware, may be identified as the pots called *χύτραι* in ancient literature. They are made for the cooking of soft and liquid foods which evidently were the staple diet of the lowly; an occasional piece of meat would be roasted on the spit.<sup>65</sup> The jugs are regularly scorched down the front, away from the handle, which shows that they stood against the open hearth which was in the middle of the house, probably against its curb. The semi-cylindrical support, Young C 165, is a 7th century invention which allows safer and quicker cooking. The open side faces into the fire, and the jug, which is securely placed on the flange at the top, is heated by a flame which can lick its base as well as its side. In the round-bottomed pot (F 52) which comes into general use only in the following century cooking on a support is perfected, for the pot must be used with a support and is entirely heated from below. Frying was a later invention.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>60</sup> *Kerameikos*, V, 1, p. 139.

<sup>61</sup> The trend of the shapes of this new ware can be summarized: from slim to rounded body, from band to rolled handles, from plain to flattened and profiled rim, from lower to higher foot. This trend continues in succeeding centuries.

<sup>62</sup> E. Folzer, *Die Hydria*, Leipzig, 1906, pp. 4-10 for these scenes.

<sup>63</sup> Richter and Milne, *Shapes and Names*, figs. 1, 76.

<sup>64</sup> *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 254, no. 326, fig. 57.

<sup>65</sup> H. Dragendorff, *Thera*, Berlin, 1903. Vol. II, p. 231. The *panspermia* which was offered to Hermes on the feast of the Chytrai seems to have been a kind of primeval fruit porridge, and Aristophanes, *Ecclesiazusae* 845 speaks of *χύτραι ξίττους*, pots of pea soup. These must be the foods that were most often cooked in the chytrai.

<sup>66</sup> *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 495.



## RELATIONS WITH THE OUTSIDE

The well groups show what is for the 7th century an impressive variety of foreign pottery (Pl. 86): a wine amphora from Chios (**F 79**) and another perhaps from Lesbos (**F 80**), goblets from Chios (**G 54-55**), East Greek lamps (**G 56, H 81**), an Etruscan kantharos fragment (**G 57**), a krater possibly of Argive origin (**F 74**), and, of course, a large amount of Corinthian pottery.

It is unlikely that there was direct communication with all these places. There is no evidence of Attic sea-going in the 7th century, and foreign ships carried what Attic trade there was. Until the very end of the 7th century the export of Protoattic pottery was limited both in volume and in distance, to Boeotia on the mainland, to the Argolid in the Peloponnese, to Thera in the Cyclades.<sup>67</sup> One item, however, is found from at least the last third of the century on, from Etruria to Al Mina—the balloon amphora with the ΣΟΣ marking on the neck which contained oil, the one Attic surplus product and medium of exchange.<sup>68</sup> There is now no longer any doubt that these are Attic. Six, whole and fragmentary, are catalogued here (**F 40-42, G 37, H 45-46**, Pl. 80), but fragments of several more were found in the wells. They follow the Protoattic shape development. Like spouted bowls, basins, and cooking pots, they grow low-slung, squat, and bulbous in the second half of the century. These, found at home at Athens, no doubt served as storage jars;<sup>69</sup> the modern Attic household also lays in a year's supply of oil in pithoi.

The imports from the east side of the Aegean (**F 79, F 80, G 54-56, H 81**, Pl. 86) may very well have passed through the emporium of Aigina where Chian and other East Greek wares have been found in significant amounts. On the other hand, strong Protoattic influence on Rhodian ware shortly before 600 B.C. has been observed; this speaks for a direct connection with East Greece.<sup>70</sup> The piece from Italy (**G 57**, Pl. 86) must have reached Athens through Corinth, for Etruscan bucchero of the late 7th century, rare in the rest of Greece, has been found at Corinth

<sup>67</sup> Cook, p. 204; Bailey, "The Export of Attic Black Figure Ware," *J.H.S.*, LX, 1940, pp. 60 ff. with historical remarks.

<sup>68</sup> Burr, pp. 570-571 and Young, pp. 210-211, who identified these amphorae as oil jars; see under **F 40**. Both in the west and in the east this export indicates a reopening of relations which had lapsed at the end of the 8th century. A study of the distribution of these jars would be of basic importance to the early economic history of Athens. Much unrecognized material may well be lying in excavation storage around the Mediterranean.

<sup>69</sup> The fact that these amphorae are glazed and therefore relatively non-porous makes them suitable export containers as well, hence, from Attica, oil jars. The oinochoe Young D 17, which has a somewhat similar amphora painted on its body, suggests however that wine may also have been kept in them. Like other large jars, they were also occasionally used for infant burial.

<sup>70</sup> *B.S.A.*, XLIV, 1949, p. 160. The relations of Athens and Aigina in the 7th century are discussed by Dunbabin, "Εχθρη παλαίη," *B.S.A.*, XXXVII, 1936-1937, pp. 83 ff. C. Kardara, *A.J.A.*, LIX, 1955, pp. 59-61 for Protoattic influence in Rhodes.

and Perachora, while Attic oil jars in Etruria are found in association with Corinthian pottery.<sup>71</sup>

From all these quarters Athens learned something, either from the imported objects themselves or from an occasional visitor who had taken passage on one of the carrier ships. There are cups which may have Italian prototypes (see under **G 30**), and a skyphos which looks like the Ionian cups (**G 12**, Pl. 78); Cycladic influences have been remarked above. The Corinthian contribution (all of Pl. 85) both in actual pottery and in inspiration is paramount. Of more interest than the often observed fact of 7th century import is the decline in the imports of the latter part of the century which has been noted above and for which a tentative explanation has been offered.<sup>72</sup> It is striking because it comes at a time when Corinthian export to other parts is being stepped up.<sup>73</sup> The groups are large and representative enough to afford some rough statistics. Well F of the third quarter of the century contained what is a normal proportion of Corinthian imports in Attic groups between 725 and 625 B.C., about one-tenth. The later wells, G and H, contained two pots each; considering that in both cases one of these was a container probably not bought for its own sake, this is a negligible percentage.

#### SUMMARY OF MAIN TRENDS SUGGESTED BY THE AGORA GROUPS

From the late 8th century B.C. through the first quarter of the 7th century one Attic workshop preserved geometric excellence in its orientalizing products. Side by side with this conservative atelier thrived others who painted with almost dissolute abandon. During the second quarter of the 7th century the best of both schools combined to produce the Protoattic acme of the mid-century.

The minor vases of these years were of poor quality. Protocorinthian subgeometric ware was preferred to the homemade kind by those who could afford it.

In the third quarter of the 7th century new techniques from Corinth began to be at home in Attica.<sup>74</sup> The chief new acquisition in figure painting was black-figure; in plain pottery, improved craftsmanship.

By the end of the last quarter of the seventh century Athens had finished her

<sup>71</sup> Dohan, pp. 97-98, pl. 51; Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks*, pp. 240 ff. Etruscan products came to Greece from the 8th century on, Karo, "Etruskisches in Griechenland," *Arch. Eph.*, 1937, pp. 317-318.

<sup>72</sup> See p. 314.

<sup>73</sup> See Benson, p. 101 for Corinthian export statistics. These were compiled for figured pottery only. A look through the publications convinces that there is no reason why this should not hold true of subgeometric and other plain pottery also, a full line of which was always made alongside the more elaborate products.

<sup>74</sup> "In the creation of *types*, or say of *standard forms*, Athens did not take the lead; a greater part was played by seventh century Corinth." Beazley, *Development*, p. 13.

apprenticeship. The minor products of the Corinthian and the Attic potter's quarter look very much alike now; the Attic pots are, in fact, about to win the day.

## CATALOGUE

## ABBREVIATIONS AND SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY:

|        |          |        |           |
|--------|----------|--------|-----------|
| H.:    | Height   | Th.:   | Thickness |
| diam.: | diameter | est.:  | estimated |
| W.:    | Width    | P.:    | preserved |
| L.:    | Length   | Rest.: | restored  |

Restorations are noted only where they affect the profile. The Attic pottery, unless otherwise noted, is made of the ordinary slightly micaceous Attic clay the color of which is conventionally described as pinkish buff, though it actually ranges from yellowish buff to brownish red, with occasional impurities. In the seventh century it is lighter in color and coarser in texture than that familiar from later black-glazed pottery.

The Corinthian pottery is made of a well levigated clay almost free of mica which varies in color from light buff to green, and in the 7th century is thin and hard.

The coarse wares are described in the introduction, pp. 316-317.

Material cited from the following Agora publications is listed by author and catalogue number only:

- D. Burr, "A Geometric House and a Protoattic Votive Deposit," *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 542-640.  
 R. S. Young, *Late Geometric Graves and a Seventh Century Well in the Agora*, *Hesperia*, Supplement II, 1939 (Graves I-XXV, Groups A-C).  
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For other references frequently cited, the following abbreviations are used:

- ABV*: J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters*, Oxford, 1956.  
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*Beazley, Development*: J. D. Beazley, *The Development of Attic Black-Figure*, University of California Press, 1951.  
*Benson*: J. L. Benson, *Die Geschichte der korinthischen Vasen*, Basel, 1953.  
*Böhlau*: J. Böhlau, "Frühattische Vasen," *Jahrb.*, II, 1887, pp. 33 ff.  
*Buschor*: E. Buschor, *Griechische Vasen*, Munich, 1940.  
*Cook*: J. M. Cook, "Protoattic Pottery," *B.S.A.*, XXXV, 1934-1935, pp. 165 ff.  
*Corinth*: *Corinth, Results of the Excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*. Cited by volume number:  
 VII=VII,i: S. Weinberg, *The Geometric and Orientalizing Pottery*, Princeton, 1943.  
 XII: G. R. Davidson, *The Minor Objects*, Princeton, 1952.  
*CVA*: *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* (*CVA*, Berlin 1, Munich, 1938, is entirely devoted to Protoattic material).  
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 X: C. Dugas, *Les Vases de l'Héraion*, Paris, 1928.  
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## WELL E

The well (J 15:1) was 6.50 m. deep, with a diameter of 1.10 m. to 1.20 m. The shaft was roughly cut. The filling was of greenish mud, containing very little pottery.

**E 1** Amphora, Protoattic. Pl. 65.

P 24032. *Agora*, VIII, 13 = 415. P. H. 0.32 m.; greatest diam. 0.165 m. Neck and one handle missing.

Long, oval body, band handles looping out. Very slightly flaring ring foot.

On neck, a panel enclosed by three lines on each side. Panel A: two marching warriors with round shields and two spears each. Shield devices: a circle with whirling hooks, a line circle inside a dotted circle. Parts of helmet crests and raised arms. Heads missing. Panel B: three marching warriors, each carrying two spears; the one on the left has a small round shield with dot circle device, the others wear short chitons with zigzag ornaments and a fringe of oblique strokes. Ends of helmet crests preserved. Heads missing.

Handle zone reserved. Under missing handle the start of a lattice ornament. On handle, horizontal bands and St. Andrew's cross. Under handle, hanging rays flanked by bands. In the rest of this handle zone, standing spirals.

Below, a zigzag band enclosed by three lines. In figure zone, grazing horses with stroke manes, below horse large diamond and facing spiral patterns. In neck panel and on body, vertical and horizontal zigzags. Banded below, with one zigzag zone. Solid glaze on and above foot. Dull brownish black glaze.

The tall slim "upright" shape is Early Protoattic (see Cook, p. 213). The customary plastic snakes have been omitted, at least on the neck joint and handles.

The file of marching warriors with blazoned shields and the grazing row of horses come down from Geometric (cf. the Benaki amphora, *B.S.A.*, XLII, 1947, p. 87, pl. 19), so also the handle decoration (cf. *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 151). The rendering of the men's limbs, the horses' manes, and the ornamental repertory is however entirely Protoattic. For the whirligig,

*Antiken in deutschem Privatbesitz*, ed. K. A. Neugebauer, Berlin, 1938, pl. 59, 141.

It would be hard to assign so poor a piece to a workshop, but a comparison of the horses with those of the Analatos lid (P 13264, Pl. 65)<sup>1</sup> will at least show what this apprentice had seen.

Early 7th century.

**E 2** Kotyle, imitation of Protocorinthian. Pl. 77.

P 24085. H. 0.056 m. Handles missing.

Pointed body. False ring foot. Body glazed half way up. Crude banded zone above. Under rim verticals and a panel of squiggles. Inside glazed with reserved line below rim. Dull black glaze, worn.

A careless imitation of an Early Protocorinthian kotyle like **E 5**. Other Attic copies: 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1898, p. 93, no. 12, pl. 2, from Eleusis; Young C 19-22; *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, grave 56, no. 3, p. 28, fig. 5; *Kerameikos*, V, 1, grave 99, pl. 132, found with a Protocorinthian kotyle like **E 5**.

**E 3** Oinochoe, subgeometric. Pl. 75.

P 24084. H. 0.09 m. Handle missing.

Unbroken profile from neck to trefoil mouth. Band handle. Flat base. Dull streaky glaze.

The well (O 12:1) was 6.70 m. deep with a top diameter of 1.10 m. It was carefully dug, with a series of eleven steps, 0.50 m. apart, on one side of the shaft and ending 1.00 m. above the bottom. The inflow of water during excava-

A small example of the neckless Attic oinochoe; see Young IX 15; *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 81 and under **G 5**.

**E 4** Cover. Pl. 74.

P 24086. Diam. 0.076 m.

Saucer shape with a conical knob inside. The upper side is banded. Dull black glaze.

These usually go with the Geometric jug shape, e.g. A. Lane, *Greek Pottery*, London, 1943, pl. 8; Young XXV 2.

Late 8th century.

**E 5** Kotyle, Protocorinthian. Pls. 85, 89.

P 24083. *Agora*, VIII, 155. H. 0.098 m.; diam. at rim 0.11 m. Continuous profile preserved.

Deep pointed body; disk foot. In handle zone, vertical squiggles; below, banding and solid glaze at bottom in equal parts. Reserved line in solid part.

For this linear subgeometric type see *CVA*, Munich 3, pl. 142, no. 6, p. 38 (with references), dated in the early 7th century. Cf. also *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, grave 47, no. 1, p. 25, fig. 1, dated about 700; *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 211, C 12, pl. 75, dated late 8th century; *Kerameikos*, V, 1, grave 99, pl. 132, dated in the early last quarter of the 8th.

Turn of the 8th to the 7th century.

## WELL F

tion was rapid. The bulk of the pottery came from the top two and a half meters; there was no stratification.

Noted in *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 39.

<sup>1</sup> P 13264. *Agora*, VIII, 396. No relevant context. Max. dim. 0.197 m.; est. diam. 0.23 m. Knob and large parts of body missing.

From a high domed lid with flattened rim.

In main zone, grazing horses to right; the horses with stroke manes and stringy tails in dilute glaze. Under one pair of forelegs a crook-necked pecking bird, under another a long-necked bird. Under the horses' bellies various facing spiral ornaments with hanging beaks, upright triangles, drooping palmettes. Over the horses a zigzag line. Figure zone enclosed by three fine lines. Above, parts of a tongue zone. Below, hanging hooks and reserved zone. Double line at bottom. Black glaze with thinned lines for manes and tail.

By the Analatos painter. Cf. the earlier lid by him in the British Museum (Cook, p. 174, pl. 42).

**F 1** Amphora neck, Geometric. Pls. 66, 90.

P 23795. P. H. 0.13 m.

Gently tapering neck without rim; small part of shoulder.

Two bands at base of neck, the rest unglazed. In center of neck, on one side a small deer, and head and neck of a grazing doe; on other side body and legs of a stallion (?) with his neck curving back. Under rim a long-legged bird in outline. Black glaze, very worn.

Probably from a banded amphora like the neck of Young VIII 1. Two other unpublished neck fragments have similar features: Agora P 12434, a reserved neck with two bands at the base and a remnant of some random embellishment hanging in the center of the field; Agora P 21707, a fan-tailed bird with lattice pattern over the body. Birds under horses' bellies and grazing does are Late Geometric stock-in-trade (many cited in A. Roes, *Greek Geometric Art*, Haarlem-London, 1933, *passim*). Note the deliberate frontality of the horse's forelegs. Deer are usually represented grazing (on a gold band, *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 158; D. Ohly, *Griechische Goldbleche*, Berlin, 1953, *passim*; on fibulae and a situla, Hampe, pls. 7, 21), but compare one sniffing the air on a pyxis panel (*CVA*, Cambridge I, III H, pl. I, no. 20, better in A. Roes, *op. cit.*, p. 101, fig. 82). The deer on the neck is later, and, being without frame or filler, has something of the charm of the bronze deer of the period. For early deer see also E. Kunze, *Kretische Bronzereliefs*, Stuttgart, 1931, pp. 156-157.

Third quarter of the 8th century.

**F 2** Handle of large amphora, Geometric.

Pl. 66.

P 22689. P. H. 0.30 m.; W. at base 0.105 m.

Broad band handle broken at top just above curve. Lower attachment preserved. Rib down length inside.

On top of bend, beginning of cross. Three lines below. Down center of handle, three lines, wavy line to each side of these. Sides of

handle, bottom attachment glazed. Brownish black glaze.

Several fragments of such handles have been found in the Agora (Burr, p. 131, and Agora P 18271, inscribed on inside). These belong with such large "Dipylon" style amphorae as Wide, *Jahrb.*, XIV, 1899, p. 194, fig. 57 and *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 39, pl. 18a. The motif occurs also on the shoulder zone of a krater from Eleusis, Wide, *Jahrb.*, XIV, 1899, p. 213, fig. 93.

On the wavy line cf. Schweitzer, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLIII, 1918, p. 140; Burr, p. 572; Young, p. 215; *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pp. 132, 167, 169 note 148 and *passim*. Whether surviving from Mycenaean times or newly acquired from the Orient, it becomes frequent both on bodies and handles in the second half of the 8th century. On the latter it is added to or replaces straight line ornament (Young C 136, C 138, C 139; *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pls. 152-153). It is the favorite ornament of the lesser wares of the 7th century.

These girder-like handles are almost indestructible and seem on occasion to have served as scratch pads.

Second half of the 8th century.

**F 3** Fragment of amphora neck, Protoattic.

Pls. 66, 90.

P 22690. P. H. 0.18 m.; Th. 0.012 m.

Thick rounded flaring rim; broad handle attachment.

Vertical glaze bands on rim. Handle zone glazed below handle; above, double St. Andrew's cross with dot in each field. Three bands to each side of the handle zone. Hourglass motif in panel at left. Horse's rump and tail to right. The horse took up about one-third of the field; filling ornament of beaked spirals and set of diamonds. Black glaze.

From a large amphora like one in Boston (A. Fairbanks, *Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan Vases*, Cambridge, Mass., 1928, Vol. I, pl. XXI, no. 262). The horse with its spiky



mane, elevated rump and angular tail matches those on the Boston amphora. Strong Cycladic influence is visible on both pieces, on the fragment especially in the dotted St. Andrew's cross above the handle which occurs regularly on Cycladic pots.

End of the 8th century.

**F 4** Amphora, Protoattic. Pls. 68, 69.

P 22299. *Agora*, VIII, 19=572. H. 0.50 m.; H. of neck 0.15 m.; diam. at rim 0.20 m.; greatest diam. of body 0.29 m.; diam. of foot 0.125 m. Large parts of lower wall restored in plaster.

*A.J.A.*, LVII, 1953, p. 25, pl. 26, fig. 1; *Archaeology*, V, 1952, p. 149, fig. 4; *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 39, pl. 18, b.

Egg-shaped neck amphora on flaring ring foot, bevelled at bottom. Broad flaring rim; slightly curved neck; lip tilted in. Rolled handles, slightly flattened.

On foot, two row checker pattern. Tall double tiered rays from base, meeting a zone of simple open step-maeander, bounded by three narrow lines above and below. A zone of floral ornament ending below handles: reverse spirals joined to each other by solid link with a palmette with light petals above and below; this ornament extended under the handles where

the palmette heart is reserved and has a dot in it. Each spiral head joined to its stem by a palmette. Above a band of glaze.

On shoulder, tongues alternately light and solid; divided from neck panels by three narrow lines. In the panels, identical on both sides, bull protomes to right with a foreleg on base line and filling ornament of swastikas, sets of horizontal zigzag lines, sets of diamonds, triangles standing on the base line, hanging hooks. On lip, solid standing triangles. Handles and section under them glazed. Two glaze bands inside rim.

Applied purple, fugitive, on bulls' necks, band below tongues, hearts and palmettes.

Incised: shoulder, jaw line, eyebrow, muzzle of bull; two lines above neck panel. Red glaze, worn.

The shape is shared by several amphorae of the middle and early third quarters of the 7th century: *CVA*, Berlin 1, A 8-10, pls. 4-6, no. 2; **H** 4 and Young B 68, here Pl. 70; unfortunately no lower bodies preserved.

The type with cylindrical neck, egg-shaped body and high straight handles derives from the classical Geometric amphora. It is superseded in the third quarter by the burgeoning shapes of the belly amphora and of **F 5**.

The amphorae P 18525<sup>2</sup> (human protomes,

<sup>2</sup> From well (A 17:1) largely of the early 6th century B.C., but there is pottery from Late Geometric on.

P 18525. *Agora*, VIII, 574. Max. dim. a) 0.178 m.; b) 0.099 m.; c) 0.185 m. Nine other non-joining fragments.

a) Shoulder fragment. Back part of the head of a bearded man to right, including part of eye and eyebrow, wavy hair at temples, volute ear, scalloped hair in back. On the left, part of a spiral and palmette ornament, palmette with light petals. On top a double band and ends of tongues.

b) Back part of a head of a man to left. Scalloped hair. Same spiral and palmette ornament on right. Below, faint narrow lines.

c) The lower part of two facing bearded faces with noses touching each other. Between the beards, a set of four dots.

d) Lower wall fragment, showing tips of two rays meeting banded zone, part of step maeander above.

e) From neck attachment with part of shoulder. On shoulder, upper parts of light and solid tongues. To right a handle attachment and glazed zone. Three glaze lines at joint. In neck panel, small forward part of protome, triangular ornament, hoof to right.

Various fragments: part of nose, mouth and beard and dot set. Neck fragment: back outline

Pls. 69, 71) and **G 4** (horse protomes, Pl. 68) have exactly the same proportions as **F 4**. They were probably turned by the same potter who may very well have been their common painter, to judge from an equal neat simplicity of shape and painting. On like bodies, this painter placed his design in a similar way. The bottom is enclosed in a basket of double tiered rays, finished off with a maeander zone; on the shoulder there is a collar of tongues; in between a broad ornamental zone; on the neck a picture panel. The protomes on the body are posed in friendly heraldry; neck panels have a single protome. Everything is repeated on the other side. Furthermore the same ornamental stock served all three. Strong circles and spirals with bold links, "stuffed" palmettes with slender, reserved petals, tiny swastikas, dot sets, zigzag sets. It is interesting to note that in his love for bull protomes he had a Mycenaean predecessor; see S. A. Immerwahr, "The Protome Painter and some Contemporaries," *A.J.A.*, LX, 1956, pp. 137-141, pls. 52-55. For the painter's style and date see pp. 310-311.

**F 5** Amphora, Protoattic. Pls. 70, 90.

P 22687. *Agora*, VIII, 20. Rest. H. 0.54 m.; diam. at shoulder 0.34 m. The foot is entirely, the body largely, restored.

Collared rim; flaring, high neck. Double rolled handles. High shoulder; thick, pointed body. Two separate mending holes near bottom.

Rim and handles probably glazed. Neck: on one side alternately hanging and standing rays; on other, alternately hanging and standing spiral hooks. On shoulder, net pattern of irregular ovals. At center, banded zone. At base, standing rays and spiral hooks in alternation. Reddish brown, streaky glaze. Very worn.

Only three large amphorae, all Early Protoattic, are covered on both sides with ornament; *CVA*, Berlin 1, Inv. 31007, pl. 41, nos. 3 and 4; *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, p. 34, fig. 18, from Phaleron; 'Αρχ. Έφ., 1912, p. 33, fig. 14 (Cook, p. 186). In Middle as in Late Protoattic, amphorae are often figured only on one side; the other is covered with ornament, mostly loops and tendrils, but such decoration is strictly secondary.

The ornament of this amphora comes from Phaleron stock (for Phaleron ware, Böhlau, pp. 44 ff. and Young, "Graves from the Phaleron Cemetery," *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, pp. 23 ff.). Cf. the jug *Arch. Anz.*, 1935, p. 417, fig. 5, for a number of elements: rays on the neck, banded zone on body, spiral hooks standing from base; the mug, Böhlau, p. 51, fig. 11, for alternately hanging and standing spiral hooks; for alter-

of a horse to right; at left, palmette flower, above vertical zigzags. Top outline of a figure; palmette flower at left. Lower wall fragment showing part of two large rays with a line between them on which stands a small ray. Lower wall fragments. (Not illustrated.)

Applied purple on beards, banded zone above figures, back part of neck figure. An incised line for the mane of the horse; the pupil of the man's eye incised. Black glaze, much pitted.

By the same hand as **F 4** (*q.v.* for shape; this amphora was somewhat smaller than **F 4**) and **G 4**. Cf. a neck fragment by the contemporary Protome painter, *CVA*, Berlin 1, pl. 6, no. 1, A 10 and p. 7 for the human protome. J. M. Cook remarks its rarity on Protoattic pots (*J.H.S.*, LIX, 1939, p. 151, a review of *CVA*, Berlin 1) and suspects Cycladic inspiration. Certainly proper protomes are at home earlier on Cycladic pots (e.g. *Délos*, XVII, pl. IV b, pl. XIX 6a) while in earlier Protoattic there are only a few absurd severed heads (two together on the neck of a Phaleron type jug, *Jahrb.*, II, 1887, p. 46, figs. 6-7; the third on the unpublished Eleusis fragment mentioned by Cook, Inst. phot. El. 361).

The disposition of the hair, with reserved lines separating beard, scalp and bob is paralleled on the Kynosarges amphora (Kübler, pl. 57), but the profile is closer to the siren amphora (Cook, pl. 60). The short, cheekpiece-like beards and the large nose recall faces seen in Proto-Cypriote sculpture. This bold-nosed facial type has a plastic illustration in the plaques from Olympos (*Bull. Met. Mus.*, I, 1942-1943, pp. 81-84, figs. 4-6, dated 630-620 B.C., i.e. about a decade later than the amphora fragments).

nate rays and hooks cf. Young C 31. Two neck fragments covered with hanging and standing rays were found at the Agora, one in a well of the early 7th century (Agora P 10620), the other in the same well as the amphora under discussion. The net-pattern on the shoulder alone performs the proper duty of cover-all ornament, to emphasize the shape of the vase. So far as I know, it is the painter's invention, painted almost before planned.

In decoration, then, this is a minor pot writ large. The shape, however, is quite advanced. Amphorae around the mid-7th century still owe a certain upright simplicity to their Geometric ancestry (cf. the New York amphora; **F 4**). Our amphora, with its flaring neck and short turnip body, has a new energy. This is one of the shapes which the masters of the "grand" style of Late Protoattic used: the Bellerophon painter, *Arch. Anz.*, 1950, p. 134, fig. 8; the Lion painter, *B.S.A.*, XLV, 1950, p. 195, note 7, pl. 18, a; *Arch. Anz.*, 1939, p. 230, fig. 2. The "ornamental" amphora is still somewhat more upright than these; the collar of the rim is more meager, the handles higher and thinner, the neck longer. The foot has been restored flaring on the model of the Lion painter's amphora, but it was, perhaps, in this earlier piece somewhat steeper.

Third quarter of the 7th century.

**F 6** One-piece amphora, subgeometric. Pls. 73, 89.

P 22714. *Agora*, VIII, 22. P. H. 0.32 m.; greatest diam. 0.155 m. Neck missing.

Short handles; body swelling in the middle; high flaring ring foot.

Covered with glaze except for small neck panel, banded zone below handles and a single band at greatest diameter. Glaze inside neck. In the panel, an ornament composed of triangles leading from the tips of a "stuffed" diamond. Streaky glaze, much worn.

Glaze on the inside of the neck is usually a sign that the rim was moulded; a collar rim is probably to be restored.

The amphora shares its subgeometric banded system as well as unbroken contours with an oinochoe of the third quarter of the 7th century from Phaleron (*A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, grave 78, no. 1, p. 40, fig. 24). In shape it is much like the first figured one-piece amphora, the siren amphora (Cook, pl. 60), but slimmer. A still simpler earlier version of the modest ornament in the panel (Pl. 89) on a neck-amphora, *Ἀρχ. Εφ.*, 1911, p. 247, fig. 4.

Third quarter of the 7th century.

**F 7** Fragment of closed vase, Protoattic. Pl. 66.

P 22688. Max. diam. 0.106 m.; Th. of wall 0.015 m.

Wall fragment of large pot. Forelegs of lion, one raised at right angle to other. Filling ornament of sets of diamond, zigzag lines and chevrons. Vegetable ornament in front of lion. Signs of burning. Reddish glaze.

The wheel marks on the inside indicate that the leg of the animal is extended horizontally. This position is a favorite one with Protoattic lions, indicating a parade-step (Hymettos amphora, *Jahrb.*, II, 1887, pl. 5), a paw reaching for its prey (*CVA*, Berlin 1, A 22, pls. 12-13) or a friendly shake (Burgon lebes, Buschor, p. 140, fig. 47). The bag-like extremities of our example show it to be early (Cook, p. 190) in the Middle Protoattic period. Cf. the Hymettos amphora for the careless, breezy brush-stroke ornament and the krater in the Fitzwilliam Museum (*CVA*, Cambridge 1, pl. 2, no. 7).

Second quarter of the 7th century.

**F 8** Fragment of a closed vase, Protoattic. Pls. 66, 90.

P 22691. *Agora*, VIII, 562. Max. dim. 0.15 m.; P. H. 0.13 m.

Body fragment, slightly convex.

Front part of mule to right. Jaw line, nostril and teeth incised. Filling ornament of hanging spiral, open guilloche with dots and set of zigzag lines. Black glaze, worn.



The animal is known to be a mule by its long ears and short mane, the only patent Protoattic example.

The slight curve and great thickness of the fragment show it to have come from a very large vase, probably an amphora. Large animals on large pots, given a new pungency by incision, come in the later Early Protoattic period (Graef, pls. 11, 12, no. 345; **H 1**). This mule, with bolder and more natural forms, is ahead of those. A good counterpart: the doe on a krater in Munich (*CVA*, Munich 3, pl. 131, no. 2, pl. 132, nos. 1-2, pl. 133, no. 2, text pp. 30-31) which must be added to the works of the Polyphemos painter (Mylonas, *Eleusis Amphora*, pp. 102 ff.). Note the similarity in filling ornament, the selective incision used for inner details, the almond-shaped eye. For the mane of semicircles, cf. Young C 145.

Second quarter of the 7th century, by the Polyphemos painter.

**F 9** Fragment of closed vase, "Black and White" style. Pl. 74.

P 22686. Max. dim. a) 0.088 m.; b) 0.05 m.; c) 0.054 m.

Wall fragments of medium-sized vase. Slightly oblique rays, alternately solidly glazed and outlined and filled with white. Three glaze lines over tips. b) shows a solid ray on the other side of the lines.

Brownish black glaze. The white where it covers the glaze gives a bluish effect.

Together with the guilloche of a white and black strand and the palmette with black and white petals, the alternating rays are the staple ornament of the style. A krater covered with "Black and White" patterns: Berlin A 30 (*CVA*, Berlin 1, pl. 16, no. 3).

Second quarter of the 7th century.

**F 10** Fragments of hydria, Protoattic. Pl. 71.

P 22685. a) P. H. 0.21 m.; Th. 0.007 m.; b) max. dim. 0.058 m.

Fragment a) preserves the high narrow neck

with applied snake band at the bottom and a part of the slim shoulder with the beginning of a rolled horizontal handle; b) preserves the upper attachment or middle support of the vertical handle; c) is from shoulder and neck.

On neck a procession of women facing center with a flautist in the middle; garments with panelled skirts, white applied to one panel. The other panel of the skirt of the woman at the right preserves distinct traces of added purple; purple on clay ground on the shoulder of fragment c). The flautist wears a solid chiton, painted white. Filling ornament of guilloche, S-lines, dot rosettes, diamond set and sets of zigzag lines. Below, a band of hatched lozenges. At base of neck traces of a Z-line and some purple ornament. The vertical handle zone glazed solid. On shoulder vertical banded decoration of spiral chain, zigzag line, concentric half circles, concentric triangles. Blob-and-circle ornament on handle. Very worn.

In ornament, shape and plastic decoration the hydria goes with the Early Protoattic Analatos group (Cook, pp. 172-176, pls. 38-42; the name piece, *Jahrb.*, II, 1887, pl. 4; the Louvre amphora, *Mon. Piot*, XXXVI, 1938, p. 28, fig. 1; p. 29, fig. 2; pl. 11) and its affinities (see pp. 307-308). For the spiral-band note the Phaleron jug in Munich (*CVA*, Munich 3, pl. 134, nos. 1, 2, 3).

Our piece differs from those cited in the use of a two-color scheme. White alone sometimes occurs in Early Protoattic, e.g., from the Agora (P 10229, P 13269). It becomes increasingly frequent in the transition to Middle Protoattic, e.g. Cook, pl. 51. Purple does not occur generally in Early Protoattic though the varnish of the period tends to weather so as to suggest purple (Cook, p. 168, note 2 and *Mon. Piot*, XXXVI, 1938, p. 32; apparently true of the purple noted on the Late Geometric amphora *Kerameikos*, V, 1, p. 247, pl. 40, though I was not able to examine this vase at close hand). This is the earliest use of purple on a large surface known to me, but cf. Young C 145, purple also applied in part on the clay ground.

The faces of the women, with their large oval eyes set into the forehead, are still near the Louvre amphora. The eye soon grows more human; on the krater in Berlin (*CVA*, Berlin 1, A 21, pl. 11) Nessos still has the Cyclopean look; Herakles has a man's features. For the volute ear cf. the Menelaos stand (*CVA*, Berlin 1, A 41, pl. 32).

The painter encloses the women's bosoms in a single line leading from the front of the skirt, his own device for making them *βαθύκολλοι*, the extreme in elegance. The panelling of the skirt is in some early representations clearly a purely ornamental device (cf. Burr, pp. 607-608). At other times, however, a real garment seems indicated, and one worn only by women. One side of it appears as a stole, hanging from the shoulder (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXXII, 1907, p. 561, c; Levi, "Early Hellenic Pottery of Crete," *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, p. 24, pl. XVI; Burr 277); the other looks like a sort of overskirt, open in the front (Cook, pl. 55 d and the present piece). The whole is probably a mantle (*ῥάπος*) thrown over one shoulder and tucked in at the belt on the other side, in the manner of the Hera of Samos (Buschor, *Altsamische Standbilder*, Berlin, 1935, pls. 86-89). The underdress is apparently a peplos, H. L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*, London, 1950, pp. 394 ff.

The diaulos occurs first on a Late Geometric sherd (Graef, pl. 11, no. 303), then, together with the phorminx, on an amphora in Berlin (A 1, *CVA*, Berlin 1, pl. 1, nos. 1-2), next on the Louvre amphora (*Mon. Piot*, XXXVI, 1938, p. 48), fourth on the present hydria. These early representations must closely follow the introduction of the instrument from Phrygia (cf. Wegner, *Das Musikleben der Griechen*, pp. 138 ff.). As on the Louvre amphora the tubes have a glaze blob at the end which must represent a sort of bell (cf. Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. "Tibia," figs. 6943, 5948, 6981).

The flautist wears an unbelted chiton, the regular apparel for flautists on later vases (Wegner, pls. 5 b, 6 b, 27 b). Just such a

gown is worn by a Cretan goddess (Levi, *op. cit.*, pl. IX, 1); she may be an *auletris* (Wrede, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLI, 1916, p. 256, refers to the flautist on the Acropolis sherd cited above as a woman; she has long hair). On **F 10**, as on the Louvre amphora, she is placed in the center of her chorus, both couples facing her.

Early in the second quarter of the 7th century.

**F 11** Rim fragment, Protoattic. Pl. 74.

P 23793. P. H. 0.076 m.; est. diam. 0.26 m.

The fragment comes from an amphora or a hydria.

Hanging hooks in rim zone. Below, head and shoulders of a figure to right, carrying a branch. Another branch behind him. Star in field.

The huge round eye and Pinocchio nose are paralleled almost exactly by the sphinx on an amphora or hydria in a private collection (Cook, pl. 49 c). Notice also the star filling ornament.

The row of hooks is a common motif on amphorae and hydriai of the early period (cf. the newly published hydria from the Empedocles collection, now in the National Museum in Athens, *B.C.H.*, LXXVII, 1953, pl. XXXIII, b and XXXIV; the hydria in Berlin, *CVA*, Berlin 1, A 1, pl. 1, nos. 1 and 2; a sherd in *Δελτ.*, I, 1915, p. 38, fig. 8). Curiously, the hooks are drawn differently on either side of the vertical lines. Perhaps the pot was turned over to an apprentice to be worked on.

First quarter of the 7th century.

**F 12** Oinochoe, imitation of Transitional Corinthian. Pl. 75.

P 22683. *Agora*, VIII, 56. H. to lip 0.205 m.; diam. 0.192 m.

Body bulges above middle. Tapering curved neck. High handle with flanges along the sides. Ring foot.

At base, widely spaced rays. Body glazed above, three broad bands of applied purple edged with white; between the top two, three

narrow purple lines. On shoulder a collar of double verticals, fields have applied purple, plain glaze and a double row of dots in succession. Base of neck and trefoil lip set off by incision. On lip, two concentric incised circles, the inner one purple. Attic clay, worn black glaze.

Payne (*NC*, p. 298) remarks on the curious absence of this shape in Athens in the latter part of the 7th century. This full blown copy of the Corinthian black polychrome trefoil oinochoe of the day is the exception which proves Payne's point. The shape is like that of a Würzburg oinochoe (Langlotz, pl. 9, no. 113) called by Payne Early Corinthian (*NC*, p. 299), or perhaps a little earlier (cf. Payne, *NC*, p. 33, fig. 10 c, Transitional; *Corinth*, VII, no. 181). The concentric circles on the lip probably represent an amulet, the apotropaic eye. The circular shape is accounted for by Wrede's observation (*Ath. Mitt.*, XLI, 1916, p. 244) that certain disk and circle ornaments occur on pots in places where eyes later appear; see the respective handle designs of the Eleusis and the Kynosarges amphorae (Mylonas, *Eleusis Amphora*, pl. 6; *J.H.S.*, XXII, 1902, pl. II). For the apotropaic eye on the lips of Corinthian vases see Kraiker, under no. 378. It occurs on a couple of earlier Protoattic oinochoai (*Jahrb.*, II, 1887, p. 46, fig. 6 and p. 52, fig. 13), and is almost the rule on Cycladic.

This narrow-footed type, a favorite of the Corinthian repertory, was of course imported (cf. *Arch. Anz.*, 1943, p. 424, fig. 50, a Proto-corinthian piece) so that a potter might stay at home and copy accurately. There are several strongly corinthianizing oinochoai in the second half of the 7th century (*A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1942, grave 50, no. 4, p. 42, fig. 23; grave 33, no. 6, p. 45, fig. 24; Young B 42). Actual imitation is, however, usually reserved for kotylai. One slip: the potter does not understand the ways of "white dot" style, that the dots should follow the incision as in metal work (Payne, *NC*, p. 284).

Third quarter of the 7th century.

### F 13 Jug, Protoattic. Pl. 75.

P 22305. P. H. 0.062 m.; diam. 0.065 m. Mouth and handle missing.

Tall tapering neck. Conical bottom, bevelled at base. Base flat. A band handle attached at shoulder.

On neck, wavy vertical lines. Running S pattern on shoulder, banded below. Brown-black glaze.

Small oinochoai with long necks are common in Late Geometric. A number with conical bodies have bevelled bases: *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1898, pl. 4, no. 7; *Δελτ.*, VI, 1920-22, p. 134, fig. 8; Young IX 14; *Kerameikos*, V, 1, Inv. 855, pl. 83; Agora P 8211 (*Agora*, VIII, 76). A trefoil mouth is to be restored.

The decoration is as on Phaleron jugs (*Δελτ.*, II, 1916, p. 39, fig. 38) but running S lines and bands are prominent also in Corinthian subgeometric (*Johansen, V.S.*, pl. XVIII). There is a connection with the Protocorinthian squat conical oinochoe, but clearly the "Platschkannen" effect was not to Attic taste, therefore the bevelling. Another such jug from the first half of the 7th century, *Agora*, VIII, 77 (P 12601).

Such jugs were copied in Boeotia (Böhlaus thinks from Corinth) already in the 7th century (*Jahrb.*, III, 1888, p. 353, fig. 32). In the 6th century they have a foot under the bevelled base and become a standard type in Boeotian pottery, cf. *Ure, Boeotian Pottery of the Geometric and Archaic Styles*, Macon Frères, 1927, pp. 7-8; and, close to ours in decoration, *CVA*, Cambridge I, pl. II, no. 4.

First half of the 7th century.

### F 14 Egg-shaped krater. Pl. 73.

P 22693. *Agora*, VIII, 95. H. at rim 0.455 m.; diam. 0.304 m.

Deep ovoid body. Broad groove on rim to receive lid. Double rolled handles (one inside the other) standing upright on shoulder and overlooking rim. High, flaring base perforated



by two staggered rows of elongated triangles with points downwards and meeting a groove.

Solid glaze except for zones inside handles which have solid loops standing on the glaze line with leaves at their base. Bands on handles. Decoration in yellowish white: on the sides of the handles, vertical spiral chains, meeting two lines below the handle zone. Black glaze. One side of body misfired to red, much flaked.

The egg-shaped krater is the chief vase of the "Black and White" style. For the earlier history of the shape see Young, under B 64; for the Middle Protoattic examples, Cook, p. 170, note 4, written before the publication of *CVA*, Berlin 1, which contains the fullest series of the shape including its masterpiece, the Aegistheus krater (cf. Beazley, *Development*, p. 8).

The krater with the fenestrated foot and upright handles does not show much development in form during Middle Protoattic, and our krater is not really much nearer in shape to the latest (*CVA*, Berlin 1, A 22, pl. 12) than to the earliest (*CVA*, Cambridge 1, pl. 2, no. 7) of the figured pieces, but its body is a more attenuated oval; it looks later.

The "Dark on Light" technique in Athens in the 7th century was first remarked by Burr, p. 629. The use of yellowish white paint goes back to Late Geometric (*Kerameikos*, V, 1, pp. 174-175). The linear use, which is plentiful in the Agora (Burr 32, 159, 172-173, 211-212; Young B 19, C 123 and **F 20**), was undoubtedly encouraged by Protocorinthian examples (Young, p. 197 and C 32 which is an Attic copy of an Early Protocorinthian kotyle type). Cretan influence is not to be discounted; see J. K. Brock, *Fortetsa*, Cambridge, 1957, pp. 218-219. The Late Protocorinthian "black polychrome" style (Payne, *NC*, p. 19) had its effect on the Attic painter; red was introduced (Burr 159; **F 20**) and finally incision with the red (**G 17**). Nevertheless, this slight but satisfactory decoration system, used on larger vases with fully glazed bodies merely to define the shoulder and handle zone, is quite different

from copied Corinthian "black polychrome" (cf. **F 12**). It is probably the specialty of a workshop (cf. under **F 20**).

Early in the third quarter of the 7th century.

**F 15** Fragmentary openwork stand, Protoattic. Pls. 73, 90.

P 22692. P. H. 0.145 m.; diam. at bottom 0.105 m.

Three tiers of panels, the panels separated by slits and the tiers separated by grooves. Flaring base offset by groove. The tapering wall thickens at the top.

In panels are water birds, tendrils, facing spiral ornaments, horse and rider, rows of dots and dot rosettes. Much red, added on the horse's mane but painted on the clay ground in the bird, on the dots and around base. Red glaze, in some places completely worn off.

The stand very likely bore an open bowl of subgeometric type with high rim and ribbon handles (cf. Young XI 8 for early ones; the later types have, as ours, higher stands). It corresponds closely in form and ornament to a pair of standed bowls from the Kerameikos (*Arch. Anz.*, 1934, p. 217, fig. 14, the larger; *J.H.S.*, LIV, 1934, p. 187, fig. 2 shows both): the same high tapering, slotted stand, panels filled with like facing spiral and standing spiral ornament, joined dot rosettes and demure geese. The cup found together with these (*Arch. Anz.*, 1934, p. 218, fig. 15), which has the facing spiral ornament, also adds red and the streamers of dots.

A rider similar to the one in the panel occurs on the stand of a bowl from a small Kerameikos group dated by Kübler "towards 680" (Kübler, p. 14, pls. 31-34). The group shows much white and added red. I would put it not earlier than the second quarter on grounds of technique which in Protoattic marches more steadily than style; our late little rider shows how long subgeometric drawing survived. The single leg that dangles under the horse's belly is explained by Cook (p. 172) as a Protoattic repudiation of the Geometric "multiplication of forms by a

repetition of the outline," but the earliest Protoattic representation, the apocalyptic horseman of the krater in the National Museum (*Ath. Mitt.*, XVII, 1892, pl. X) rides with two legs while the Menelaos stand riders (*CVA*, Berlin 1, pls. 31 ff.) show none. (Cf. also the Proto-corinthian kotyle, Kraiker, no. 191 for various styles of riding on one vase.) The cause seems rather sheer puzzlement at the still new art of putting a horse between one's legs (on the earliest horsemen on vases cf. *Kerameikos*, V, 1, p. 176, note 168). Our rider's legs are attached to the waist out of pure carelessness. On his head he appears to wear a helmet with "tooth-brush" crest, cf. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*, pp. 230 ff.

Kübler associates the *Kerameikos* bowls, to whose workshop our stand undoubtedly belongs, with the gangling lot of post-Kynosarges date (*Arch. Anz.*, 1943, p. 419; cf. **F 27**). The use of much red particularly points to this date. On the stand it falls, in places, beside the glaze area it may be meant to cover, with the effect of a bad photogravure, but red directly applied to the clay ground occurs a great deal at this time. The technique is later much employed in Boeotian ware, cf. especially the stand, Graef, no. 395, pl. 15.

Middle of the third quarter of the 7th century.

**F 16** Fragments of stand, Protoattic. Pl. 74.

P 22694. P. H. a) 0.11 m.; b) 0.09 m.; c) 0.065 m.; est. diam. at base 0.22 m. Three non-joining fragments.

a) Panel and part of rolled, glazed, standing base, flaring panel separated on top and bottom by grooves, at the sides by long slits rounded at the ends. Beaked spiral in field, surrounded by line. b) Bottom panel about twice the breadth of a). Double St. Andrew's cross with the angles enclosed by double corners. c) Panel from upper zone. Decoration as in b). Thickening at the top. Red glaze, worn.

This stand was two-tiered with staggered slits and had on the bottom two narrow and two wide panels. It ended above the second tier

perhaps in an open bowl like *CVA*, Berlin 1, A 35, pls. 25-26, perhaps in an egg-shaped krater. Fragments from stand vessels are found in number in all 7th century collections (e.g. Burr 142 ff.; *CVA*, Berlin 1, many whole vases and fragments on pl. 39, lower left; and many fragments in the present well). The St. Andrew's cross with some sort of connective filler in the angles is a preferred panel ornament. The most conspicuous use of the beaked spiral occurs on the duck krater, Young B 64, where it caricatures the birds, as it well may on ours, for birds are common in panels (cf. **F 17**).

Second quarter of the 7th century.

**F 17** Fragments of stand, Protoattic. Pl. 74.

P 22695. P. H. a) 0.07 m.; b) 0.10 m.; diam. est. at base 0.195 m. Two non-joining pieces.

a) Thickened standing base, glazed. Above, a ray zone downwards, points of rays meeting a line. Remains of a panel separated at bottom by a groove, at sides by slits. In panel, which is edged by a double line, a floating swan. Small plumage incised on neck and breast, larger feathers for wings. Tail cut off by panel. b) Somewhat broader panel, thickening on top. St. Andrew's cross with diamond over it. In each angle field a small diamond with a dot. Part of ray preserved at bottom. Black glaze, no traces of color.

The one-tiered open work stand of a bowl or krater. Birds and St. Andrew's crosses are favorite fillers for panel fields (cf. **F 16**); the birds are usually walking ducks or geese. Standing rays at the base are common ornament on stands.

Outline incision, though known much earlier (Graef, pl. 12), becomes popular in the period between the Kynosarges and the Nessos amphorae (Cook, p. 199, pl. 57 b for plumage of the former), to which period belong the swimming swans and the krater rim in Athens (Cook, pl. 54, no. f; Kübler, pl. 62, cf. also the krater fragment *Arch. Anz.*, 1943, p. 421, fig. 47). In the fullness of its plumage the swan in

the panel anticipates the Vari birds (Kübler, pls. 76-78).

Third quarter of the 7th century.

**F 18** Fragmentary standed bowl, babies' com-mode. Pl. 74.

P 22738. a) P. H. 0.16 m.; b) max. dim. 0.19 m.; c) max. dim. 0.08 m. Three non-joining pieces.

a) Body fragment of a bowl. Thickened, plain rim. Finished edge on one side preserved to 0.02 m. from the top. Small part of floor on the inside, outside flaring attachment of a stand. Slightly convex, of very uneven thickness. b) Two joining parts of bowl including the rim. c) Almost flat piece of stand with part of a handle attachment curving upward.

The clay is very soft and chalky so that the breakage joins are worn smooth as if finished; but the finished edge on a) is assured by traces of glaze on it and edging it on the outside. There is also a broad band inside the rim and a narrow one on the outside 0.025 m. below the rim.

Brown glaze; soft grayish buff clay with a white surfacing on the outside.

The fragments suggest an unevenly thrown and badly fired bowl on a stand with handles. The bowl had an opening which began *ca.* 0.025 m. below the rim and continued to the floor. An identification and reconstruction of the object are discussed under **H 16**.

**F 19** Spouted bowl, Late Geometric. Pls. 66, 76.

P 22715. *Agora*, VIII, 99. Rest. H. 0.25 m.; rest. diam. at rim 0.33 m. Handles and most of body restored.

Narrow vertical ring foot, flaring deep body drawn in to short, upright rim. Sloping spout, separately attached at rim. Outlet bored below rim.

Lower wall and outer face of foot glazed solid; glazed disk at center of underside. In shoulder zone below spout, small standing loops, larger ones, dotted, to either side. Fragment of

the panel beside the handle: the ends of arcs of the handle space to left, thin verticals with a zigzag in between. Fragment from figured panel: running dogs (at least three) with verticals to the left. Considerations of space make it certain that this panel was on the back of the bowl. Bird's neck and beak at top left; rows of vertical squiggles and hanging hooks near spout. Line below rim running over spout. Top of rim in part glazed (?), but with cross-banding near spout. Glazed inside. Worn black glaze.

On the shape of the deep spouted bowl see H. Kenner, *Jahresh.*, XXIX, 1935, p. 126; Young C 99; *A.J.A.*, XLIV, grave 29, no. 5, p. 32, fig. 11; *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 24, Inv. 1329; and **F 20**. Besides those referred to in these publications and in the following discussion, add, from the *Agora*, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pl. 29 c, and *Agora*, VIII, 339 (P 22440), a large Late Geometric piece similar to the foregoing figuring long-horned oxen; from Aigina, Kraiker, pl. 3, no. 53.

Coursing hounds are a favorite motif for the long shoulder panels of these bowls. This particular type of coursing hound with long contours and a boar-like snout has been classified by Cook as belonging to the style of the amphora Athens 897 (see J. M. Cook, "Athenian Workshops Around 700," *B.S.A.*, XLII, 1947, pl. 20 b, and *ibid.*, p. 146, note 1 for a list of examples of this type. Cf. particularly pl. 20 a, a krater fragment in Bonn on which birds also occur). Kübler dates a spouted bowl fragment with coursing hounds to the "first half of the thirties" of the 8th century, too early. The amphora Athens 897, as well as the coursing hound fragments Young C 30, C 99, C 143, B 16, are dated by Young (p. 170) around 700 B.C., a somewhat late dating as compared with Kahane's scheme (*A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, p. 480). Cook (*op. cit.*, p. 145, no. 1) seems to prefer the last which allows for continuity of development from Late Geometric to Early Protoattic (Cook, p. 167). The Athens amphora would then be dated about 725 B.C. Our



fragment shows the typological advance in the dogs, the one-piece look, remarked by Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 146. Furthermore, the hanging hooks are a sign of lateness in the series.

The coursing hounds of our bowl are now confined to the back. The front, around the spout, shows the Protoattic loops which appear in the Early Protoattic bowl from Phaleron, dated in the first quarter of the 7th century (*A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, p. 31, fig. 11). Our bowl is therefore transitional from Late Geometric to Early Protoattic and its date is the late 8th century.

**F 20** Spouted bowl. Pls. 73, 90.

P 22716. *Agora*, VIII, 100. H. 0.19 m.; diam. at shoulder 0.39 m.

Straight pointed body with high shoulder, flaring ring foot; the body comes to a point inside it. Rolled upright handles attached at shoulder. Rim gently rounded on inside. On outside, groove, but pot was probably lidless (see *Arch. Anz.*, 1940, p. 127). Bridged spout attached at rim and rising above it.

Glazed inside and outside except for zone inside handles which has wavy line above straight line.

Linear decoration in yellowish white, fired bright red in places. Widely spaced single lines; the one just under the handle is double and encloses an added purple band. The handles set off by straight vertical lines. Back handle zone divided in two by vertical line; in each panel a double spiral, the spirals connected to the stem by loops. In corresponding front zones, double M ornament. Streaky brown-black glaze fired solid red inside and on parts outside.

For the early examples of the shape, see **F 19**. Early Protoattic bowls: *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, grave 29, no. 5, p. 32, fig. 11; somewhat later, the Thebes krater, *Jahrb.*, II, 1887, pl. IV. Middle Protoattic: figured fragments not preserving the profile in *CVA*, Berlin 1, A 44-45, pl. 36; fragments from unfigured bowls like ours, Burr, pp. 172-173; Young D 15, from a

well of the third quarter of the 7th century (the Menidi bowls there cited are stand vessels with vertical band handles and upright rims. Payne dates *Jahrb.*, XIV, 1899, p. 111, fig. 17, to just before 620 but not so the vase in fig. 28 which is earlier. Contemporary with the later Menidi bowl, *CVA*, Berlin 1, A 45, a true spouted bowl). Late Protoattic: the Nessos bowl, *CVA*, Berlin 1, pls. 46-47, and its "Light on Dark" counterpart **H 17**. The development of the shape can be easily followed. At first the bowl is deep, the handles set far down on it, the spout level with the rim, the foot vertical. Then the body becomes lower and more pointed, the handles move up and they and the spout rise over the rim; the foot flares. The Nessos bowl and **H 17** show a high inflated shoulder with the rims drawn in. The present bowl stands past the middle of the development with a body still high but pointed, the handles and spout well over the rim and a mildly flaring foot.

For the type of decoration see **F 14**. A plaque with a boar from Eleusis (Inst. phot. Eleusis 361) late in Middle Protoattic shows the same spiral ornament in the field. It is a favorite on Cycladic vases. The "Light on Dark" ware is slow to admit red; Burr 159 has it and **H 17** has both red and incision.

Third quarter of the 7th century.

**F 21** Fragment of bowl, Protoattic. Pls. 86, 90.

P 23794. *Agora*, VIII, 542 B. Max. dim. 0.07 m.; est. diam. 0.32 m.

Short, upright rim with broad glaze bands at intervals. Lion's head to right. Filling ornament of hanging hooks, dot rosette, zigzag lines. Tail and rump of another lion at right. Black glaze.

The shape is that of the Thebes krater (*Jahrb.*, II, 1887, pl. 4); there was probably a similar procession of lions around the shoulder of this bowl. This lion is, however, more developed. It resembles very much another bowl

fragment from the Agora (Pls. 86, 90)<sup>3</sup> which has been attributed to the Ram Jug painter.

Middle of the 7th century.

**F 22** Two-handled basin. Pl. 76.

P 22718. Restored H. 0.173 m.; diam. 0.40 m. Foot restored.

Wide, low body with flat rim projecting and grooved underneath; straight rolled handle with ends bent down and set vertically on top of rim. High ring foot restored after Young D 16.

Inside, rim and handles, and half of outside covered with black-red to black glaze.

A like basin, but shallower, also of the third quarter of the 7th century is Young D 16. These two are the earliest known.

Further remarks under **H 18**.

Third quarter of the 7th century.

**F 23** Bowl. Pl. 76.

P 22717. H. 0.185 m.; diam. at rim 0.23 m.

Deep, rounded body drawn in at rim which slopes inward. Plain flat base.

Rim and inside glazed. On outside three bands at rim. Streaky brown-black glaze, worn.

I know of no other Attic handleless bowls with cauldron contours in the 7th century. Though it included no lid, the shape recalls the deep Geometric pyxides and the spouted bowls.

Attic pottery lebetes must have existed in the 7th century since supports have survived (*CVA*, Berlin 1, A 40-42, pls. 28-32). This semi-glazed piece with its own base may be a cheap, though, as the careful mending shows, cherished example. Certainly it was used as a mixing bowl before it broke, for the stirring has worn away the glaze on the bottom. Cf.

<sup>3</sup> P 7984. *Agora*, VIII, 542A. No significant context. Max. dim. 0.06 m.; est. diam. 0.32 m.

Cf. **F 21**. On rim, widely spaced groups of three lines. Below, dots and two bands from which hangs a part of a hook. Upper part of lion's head in outline to right; dotted nozzle and pointed ear. Brownish black glaze.

Attributed to the Ram Jug painter in *CVA*, Berlin 1, text p. 7, no. 7. Attribution doubted by Young, *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, p. 715, but cf. Chiron's quarry on the painter's amphora fragment in Berlin (*CVA*, Berlin 1, pl. 5, no. 2, A 9).

Middle of the 7th century.

also *Délos*, XVII, pl. LXIV, D 2, of undetermined origin.

7th century.

**F 24** Phiale mesomphalos. Pls. 75, 89.

P 22297. H. 0.06 m.; diam. at rim 0.154 m.

Rounded wall drawn in to plain rim. Concave base with narrow ring foot. Inside, blunt boss with broad groove around it.

Glazed all over except for reserved band in groove, on rim, above foot and underneath it. Added purple on knob and bands, widely spaced, inside and out. Solid red glaze.

Luschey (*Die Phiale*, Bleicherode, 1939, p. 31) believed the omphalos bowl to have been introduced into Greece from the East about 700 B.C. Since his writing several earlier bronze bowls with central conical projections have appeared, including an Attic Early Geometric example (Blegen, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 287-288, p. 293, A, pl. 77, b) and one of the mid-8th century from Corinth (*Corinth*, XII, pp. 68-70, fig. 1); Mrs. Weinberg (*ibid.*, p. 70) has suggested that these were predecessors of the mesomphalos phiale. For bronze bowls without omphaloi cf. *Kerameikos*, V, 1, p. 205. Both the plain and the mesomphalic bowls were occasionally used as lids on ash urns.

The true phiale is shaped to the hand pouring a libation and usually has a rounded hollow for the supporting finger beneath (Dunbabin, *Pera-chora*, p. 149, speaks of libations to the Olympians as the phiale's special purpose; in *B.S.A.*, XLVI, 1951, he adds another function, divination). Luschey, *op. cit.*, p. 7, includes absence of a foot in his definition of a phiale. Our example, with its hollow boss and slight ring foot, indicates the potter's uncertainty, and indeed,

this is the first clay phiale in Athens (another footed example from Italy, Dohan, p. 36, no. 6, is also very early).

Luschey gives a list of 7th century bronze and clay phialai in Greece (*op. cit.*, p. 38, note 246). Depth and simple line are characteristic of these as of ours. The moat around the boss suggests a metal prototype; eastern mesomphalos bronze bowls had long been known in Athens (*Kerameikos*, V, 1, pp. 201 ff., pl. 162).

For later clay phialai see Luschey, *op. cit.*, p. 148, and *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 569-570; also two bronze phialai from the Acropolis (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 247, figs. 76-77). For the preliminary report on the Gordion phialai, see *A.J.A.*, LXII, 1958, p. 150, pls. 25, 27.

Our mesomphalic phiale cannot be later than the third quarter of the 7th century. Note that the earliest Corinthian ones are of the following quarter (*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 226, D 62). A 7th century clay phiale from Samos, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXXII, 1957, Beil. 74, nos. 1, 2.

#### **F 25** Banded bowl. Pl. 75.

P 22705. H. 0.05 m.; diam. 0.12 m.

Open shape, slightly warped. Disk foot, concave beneath with a disk in center. Inside a conical projection.

Alternate glaze and purple banding inside and out.

A footed pseudo-phiale; see under **F 24**. Banding in glaze and purple is used on Proto-corinthian small bowls (Waldstein, *A.H.*, II, p. 125). Small phialae with conical projections were found in Tiryns and other places (Mycenae, *B.S.A.*, XLVIII, 1953, p. 49, C 13-14, pl. 20). Those from Tiryns date about 700 B.C. (Luschey, *op. cit.*, p. 35, fig. 8). They are said to be a short-lived early form which disappears from the Greek mainland soon in the 7th century (*ibid.*, pp. 36-37). There are, however, very much later spiked phialae from Perachora (Payne, *Perachora*, p. 155, pl. 55, no. 1). The form seems to be not so much early as a perennial aberration. This one is probably to be dated with the larger phiale **F 24**.

#### **F 26** Banded Bowl. Pl. 75.

P 22706. H. 0.056 m.; diam. 0.122 m.

Rough hemisphere; a hollow beneath and a thickening on bottom inside. Careless banding inside and outside in pairs. Bottom has glaze dot, above and beneath. Thick fabric, hand-made. Brown to red glaze.

A crude production on the model of **F 25**, with rudimentary phiale features.

#### **F 27** Lid fragment, Protoattic. Pl. 74.

P 22684. Est. diam. 0.19 m.; P. H. 0.065 m. Two non-joining fragments including knob and rim.

Pear-shaped knob constricted at bottom with flat disk on top. Lid was slightly domed.

On knob, palmettes drooping from stems; one stem has only one petal. Alternate petals have added purple. Glaze lines above and below including a zone of step-pattern above and of glaze rectangles below. Glaze band, zone of slightly oblique rays at base of knob. Three zones separated by glaze lines, from inside out: running S zone, broken by a panel of purple on the clay ground enclosed by glaze lines; broad band of glaze covered by added purple; glaze rectangles. Black glaze.

Lid of a bowl probably like the *Kerameikos* group of standed ones in Kübler, p. 20, fig. 13; the center one of these with plastic lotuses and evidently not made to receive a lid is most like ours in decoration; cf. the drooping palmettes with side hooks (standing ones, on inside, not visible in picture) and broad bands of applied red. This group of "watered-down form" (cf. this knob with the crisp lines of the knob of **F 28**) and conventional decoration belongs to the time after the Kynosarges amphora (*Arch. Anz.*, 1943, p. 419).

Third quarter of the 7th century.

#### **F 28** Lid, black polychrome decoration. Pl. 74.

P 22303. Diam. 0.18 m.; H. with knob 0.095 m. Knob does not join.



Flat domed with flattened edge. Conical knob constricted at base and flattened on top.

Rays at base of knob, otherwise covered with glaze except for underside of knob and edge which has glaze dots. On lid, on both edges of glaze zone, broad added purple bands edged with white; white dot rosettes on the purple. Between, a white gear pattern. On knob, near base, broad added purple band edged by multiple lines of white. Near top, white tongue pattern also edged by white lines. Black glaze.

For a pyxis with rounded sides, cf. Kübler, pl. 40.

The lid is a very careful Attic product in imitation of a Late Protocorinthian design. "Black polychrome" decoration is found on larger vases (Payne, *NC*, p. 19 and **F 14**) but has the characteristic form of "red and black bands, alternating with rows of double dots" (Payne, *NC*, p. 273 under B, for examples; the *Δελτίον* reference is to *Δελτ.*, II, 1916, p. 34, not 1926). Cf. a Late Protocorinthian lid, Payne, *Perachora*, p. 93, pl. 23, no. 3; also *CVA*, Musée Scheurleer 2, IIIc, pl. 7, no. 2.

White dot rosettes begin to enter Attic decoration at this period (cf. Kübler, p. 21, fig. 13 center, pls. 60, 62), also through Corinth (Payne, *NC*, p. 19) but the large use of white for linear decoration is a typical Attic feature, cf. **F 14**. The gear pattern found alike in Protoattic and Protocorinthian is here an Attic improvement of the usual "double dot" band; the tongue pattern on the knob is also characteristic of Late Protocorinthian (*Corinth*, VII, no. 145).

An amusing feature is the knob which resembles in shape the piriform aryballos, the dating piece of the period.

A similar Attic imitation, but without white paint, Langlotz, I, pl. 9, no. 122; very close, *B.C.H.*, LXXXII, 1958, p. 683, fig. 23, from Draphi.

Third quarter of the 7th century, probably 640-630 B. C.

**F 29** Plate, subgeometric. Pl. 77.

P 22704. Diam. 0.155 m. One handle missing.

Shallow, with slightly rounded sides. Plain rounded rim with rolled handles applied to it. Plain flat base.

Glazed inside, with reserved circle near bottom. Groups of verticals on rim; glaze line over handle. Outside freely banded, with wavy line below rim. Broad glaze band near base, two concentric circles on base. Red to black glaze.

The history of such plates is discussed by Young, pp. 205-206, *q.v.* for the whole series from a deep 8th century example (XX 6) to shallower mid-7th century ones (C 81-82). A plate from the third quarter most resembles ours (Young D 12, where an unpublished plate of the late 7th century is also mentioned). The series extends into the 6th century (Agora P 17809).

These plates were made to be hung against the wall. Young, p. 206, remarks that Protocorinthian influence appears in the line banding.

Third quarter of the 7th century.

**F 30** Kotyle, imitation of Protocorinthian subgeometric. Pl. 77.

P 22703. H. 0.08 m. Half missing. False ring foot.

High widely spaced rays, few bands. Vertical in handle zone. Reserved band inside rim. Burnt gray and warped.

Potter's refuse. A similar imitation, Young C 25. Such Corinthian kotylai in Athens: Young C 8-12. For the type of the first half of the 7th century see Johansen, p. 77, pl. XVII, nos. 1, 2.

**F 31** Kotyle, imitation of Protocorinthian. Pl. 77.

P 22702. *Agora*, VIII, 161. H. 0.106 m.; diam. 0.118 m.

A detailed, coarsened copy of **F 71**, with concave disk foot.

**F 32** Kotyle. Pl. 89.

P 22701. Unrestored. Est. diam. 0.11 m.

Narrow ring foot, with slanting surface. In handle zone wavy band with two verticals in each wave. Below, narrow lines enclosing broad band with applied purple running dogs upside down. Narrow lines enclosing zone and broad band with applied purple. Short rays at base. Concentric circles on underside of foot. Brown glaze, worn.

An Attic adaptation of the Corinthian "running dog" kotyle (for which *B.S.A.*, XLIV, 1949, p. 185). For motifs cf. the group in Kübler, p. 21, fig. 13.

For kotylai with friezes drawn upside down see *A.H.*, II, pp. 151-152, figs. 90-91; they were probably meant as covers.

Third quarter of the 7th century.

**F 33** Skyphos, subgeometric. Pl. 77.

P 22708. H. 0.05 m.; diam. at rim 0.087 m.

Very slightly rounded shoulder. Flat rim flaring out slightly. Rolled handles. Plain standing base. Glazed inside and out. Rim and handle zone reserved; glaze line on handle. Reddish glaze, very worn.

Young, pp. 201-202 (again in *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, pp. 47-48) sketched the development and distribution of this Geometric skyphos type from the good-sized, deep late 8th century examples to the shallow, meager subgeometric ones after the middle of the 7th century. He observed that the shape becomes more pointed throughout the first half of the century after which a reverse trend toward shallowness sets in.

Two skyphoi from the third quarter of the 7th century are much like this one: Young D 4-5. Late 7th and early 6th century examples do not differ much: *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, grave 16, no. 1, p. 43; grave 59, no. 2 and grave 17, no. 2, p. 45. The type continues well into the 6th century (*Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 251, no. 314, fig. 55).

All five examples here presented (**F 33** and **34**; **G 23** and **24**; **H 31**) are nearly shoulder-

less, have shrunken handles and a narrow flat rim and bear dull streaky glaze. All are of the second half of the 7th century.

**F 34** Skyphos, subgeometric. Pl. 77.

P 22707. H. 0.051 m.; diam. at rim 0.088 m.

Like **F 33**. Broad reserved circle on inside. Dull black glaze.

**F 35** One-handled cup, subgeometric. Pl. 79.

P 22711. H. 0.07 m.; diam. 0.085 m. Band handle missing.

Deep pointed body, flaring rim. Glazed inside and out. Streaky red to black glaze.

The subgeometric cup series has been discussed by Young, p. 203; *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, pp. 46-47. This example corresponds to Young C 49-50 and Young D 6 of the mid-7th century.

**F 36** One-handled cup, subgeometric. Pl. 79.

P 22712. H. 0.069 m.

Lower body than **F 35**, high flaring rim, offset from shoulder. Band handle has glaze line down center. Black glaze.

Somewhat earlier than **F 35**. Cf. the cup from Hymettos, *A.J.A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, pl. I.

**F 37** One-handled cup, subgeometric. Pl. 79.

P 22713. H. 0.074 m.

Companion to **F 36**, but in bottom a reserved circle.

**F 38** One-handled cup, graffito. Pls. 79, 81, 89.

P 22709. *Agora*, VIII, 184. H. 0.067 m.

Pointed body with short flaring rim, offset from shoulder with a groove. Disk foot.

Glazed all over except beneath foot. Mis-fired above stacking line.

Below the shoulder to the left of the handle, a graffito: *Αταταιας* retrograde, scratched on after firing in fine even letters.

Cf. Young D 7, of the third quarter of the 7th century, transitional between deep-bodied subgeometric cups like **F 35** and "metallic"

cups with feet and short offset rims (cf. **G 25**). Cf. the cups from Phaleron, *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, graves 74 and 18, p. 41, figs. 23, 27, of the third and last quarters of the century respectively; ours stands between these and is thus accurately datable to the late third quarter of the 7th century.

One-handed cups are most frequently the bearers of graffiti, notably those from Hymettos, on which the inscriptions are mostly dedications and signatures. See C. W. Blegen, "Inscriptions on Geometric Pottery from Hymettos," *A.J.A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, pp. 10 ff. and R. S. Young, *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pp. 1 ff. (with vital corrections in the dating), especially p. 7, fig. 11. The writing on the present cup corresponds to the Hymettos graffiti in technique and letter forms. *Atataias* appears at first sight non-Greek, perhaps Italic, cf. *Tataia* on a lekythos from Cumae, P. Kretschmer, *Die griechischen Vaseninschriften*, Güterloh, 1894, p. 3, "Oscan"; *Miataias* on an Etruscan calyx, *CVA*, British Museum, IV Ba, pl. 13, no. 13, p. 12. The graffito will be discussed by M. Guarducci, "Nuove note di epigrafia siceliota arcaica," *Annuario*, XXXVII-XXXVIII, 1959-1960. The word is possibly to be explained as a Greek pet name formed on the root *τάτα*, "daddy's girl"; cf. C. D. Buck, *A Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages*, Chicago, 1949, p. 94, 2.

**F 39** One-handed cup. Pl. 79.

P 22710. H. 0.047 m.; diam. 0.06 m. Band handle missing.

Low wide cup with short, offset rim. Disk foot.

Glazed inside and out, reserved circle at bottom inside. Mottled dull glaze.

An early inferior example of the "metallic" cup; see **G 25**.

**F 40** Storage amphora. Pl. 80.

P 22733. *Agora*, VIII, 24. H. 0.655 m.; max. diam. 0.497 m.

Deep bulging body with high shoulder. Short

slightly curved neck, flaring echinus rim with neck band. Short angular handles. Narrow flaring rounded foot. Glazed all over except for zone under handles which has four glaze bands and neck which has two sets of compass drawn concentric circles on each side of neck. Streaky brown-black glaze.

A bibliography of the much-discussed Attic oil jar is given in Dohan, p. 101. To the distribution list add Al Mina (*J.H.S.*, LX, 1940, p. 19, fig. 8e) and Corinth (*Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, p. 372, no. 88). B. L. Bailey, *J.H.S.*, LX, 1940, p. 70, refers to these jars as "plain Panathenaic amphorae."

Young (*A.J.A.*, XVI, 1942, pp. 50-51; C 127 and p. 211; *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 418) traces the development of the shape during the course of the 7th century. I restate with modifications: the early examples are upright, with deep bodies, cylindrical necks with rings and high vertical feet. In the second half of the century the amphora grows hunched with a high shoulder, curved neck and splayed foot. Toward the end of the century the neck ring is lost and the torus rim predominates, foreshadowing the banded amphora series of the 6th century (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 378, no. 9, fig. 14). There is evidence that the older series straggled well into the 6th century (*Agora* P 15941, an outsize piece from a well of the late 6th and early 5th centuries); in the late examples, the echinus lip is attenuated.

All examples from this well are close to Young D 22, of the third quarter of the 7th century.

**F 41** Storage amphora, graffito. Pls. 80, 89.

P 22735. P. H. 0.341 m.; diam. 0.51 m. Preserved to greatest diameter.

Like **F 40**, but larger. Three concentric circles on each side of the neck. On center of shoulder, on one side a nu; in back, a compass incised circle with a dot; under the left handle an epsilon, retrograde. Black glaze.

The direction and spacing of the letters speaks against a connected reading. It is ques-



tionable whether the dotted circle is a letter; similar dipinti occur in the Chian series with as yet no satisfactory interpretation (*Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 105), also at Samothrace where the inscription stands for *θεοῖς*, *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 16, pl. 11, fig. 29. The epsilon might stand for *ἐλαιον*, oil, were it not that later undoubted wine amphorae also bear it. Graffiti on storage amphorae: Dohan, p. 101, fig. 66, from Vulci; *Archaeologia Classica*, IV, 1952, pl. 57, from Caere; *Δελτ.*, II, 1916, pp. 28-29, from Phaleron and Thera; there are others from Gela, the Athenian Kerameikos and unpublished from the Agora (Agora P 21700, 14691, 15096, 9837). I owe a number of these references to E. Vanderpool.

I have not discovered any significance in the neck decoration, be it the  $\Sigma\text{O}\Sigma$  pattern (which occurs often on other vases as running pattern, e.g., A. Maiuri and G. Jacopi, *Clara Rhodos*, Rhodes, 1928-1941, Vol. IV, p. 313, fig. 347), or two, or three circles. A similar purely decorative pattern, consisting of a dot-rosette between double sigmas, often occurs on Proto-corinthian pots, cf. Payne, *P.V.*, pl. 19, nos. 4, 6.

**F 42** Storage amphora. Pl. 80.

P 22734. P. H. 0.405 m.; diam. 0.490 m. Preserved well below greatest diameter.

Like **F 40**, but with a thinner, more flaring neck. Brown to black glaze.

**F 43** Round-mouthed jug. Pl. 81.

P 22719. H. to rim 0.18 m.; greatest diam. 0.155 m.

Round, slightly flaring mouth, plain rim. Rounded body, disk foot. Rolled handle attached to rim and rising above it.

Broad glaze line on outside of mouth, thin line below. Wavy line in handle zone. Widely spaced glaze bands on body. Broad glaze band above foot. Glaze line on outside of handle and a vertical at rim attachment. Line inside mouth. Red to black glaze, carelessly applied.

These simple semi-glazed jugs, made not so

much for pouring as for dipping, are numerous in Agora wells. Shape and decoration with small variations are the same throughout. The shape is of the 7th century. 8th century forerunners, without foot, deeper and with band handle, *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 116, Inv. 329; Agora P 21580, Young XIV 1. For the succeeding 6th century type, cf. **H 50**; for the decoration, p. 316.

**F 44** Round-mouthed jug. Pl. 81.

P 22720. H. to rim 0.17 m.; greatest diam. 0.15 m.

Like **F 43**.

**F 45** Round-mouthed jug. Pl. 81.

P 22721. H. to rim 0.16 m.; greatest diam. 0.15 m. Like **F 43**. Double band around mid-body.

**F 46** Amphora, household ware. Pl. 82.

P 22732. P. H. 0.275 m.; greatest diam. 0.26 m. Bottom missing.

Belly amphora shape, curved neck with wide flaring rim flattened on top. Rolled arched handles attached at neck and shoulder. Thumb marks at base of handles. Signs of burning.

Earlier, though of the 7th century, is Burr 229, slimmer than this one. The shape appears to originate early in the century. Early examples (Agora P 23659, P 21433) have band handles; this feature connects them with the broad banded amphorae with curved necks whose band handles, attached at the rim, as in *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 41, move down to the neck in the beginning of the 7th century.

**F 47** Hydria, household ware. Pl. 82.

P 22306. H. 0.335 m.; greatest diam. 0.265 m.

Full body, curved neck and flaring rim flattened on top. Vertical handle as on amphora **F 46**, horizontal handles halfway up on body. Ring base. Gray discoloring on neck and rim inside. Traces of iron deposit.

A late 8th century hydria, slimmer, *Kerameikos*, V, 1, from grave 98, pl. 155. The fuller shape begins in the 7th century with this pot.

**F 48** Oinochoe, household ware. Pl. 83.

P 22727. *Agora*, VIII, 215. H. 0.245 m.; diam. 0.198 m.

See **G 43**. Body less rounded.

**F 49** Cooking pitcher, household ware. Pl. 83.

P 22731. *Agora*, VIII, 206. Rest. H. 0.315 m.; rest. diam. 0.235 m. No continuous profile.

Deep pitcher. Strap handle attached to flaring rim, flattened on top. Thumb mark at base of handle, narrow plain base. Two knobs on shoulder front. Decoration incised with a sharp point: wavy line under rim, at lower handle attachment (level of knobs). A short wavy line hanging from one knob and standing on the other. A wavy right angle above. Wavy line down center of handle; row of semicircles along top. Signs of burning.

Cf. an 8th century jug with knobs and incision, *Kerameikos*, V, 1, Inv. 1330, pl. 154; also Burr 225, later.

For the long use of the knobs and of incision, and for the development of the shape, see *Kerameikos*, V, 1, p. 139. Young, p. 199, note 1, gives references. The ornament of this jug retains nothing Geometric.

First half of the 7th century.

**F 50** Cooking jug, household ware. Pl. 83.

P 22729. Rest. H. 0.18 m.; greatest diam. 0.143 m. No continuous profile. Curved neck with flaring, flattened rim. Band handle attached at rim, thumb mark at foot. Narrow plain base. Signs of burning.

This is the standard cooking shape of the 7th, and in a heavier fabric, of the preceding century; see *Kerameikos*, V, 1, Inv. 790, p. 139, pl. 155; Young, from graves VI-X; C 156.

**F 51** Cooking jug, household ware. Pl. 83.

P 22728. Rest. H. 0.175 m.; diam. 0.145 m. Like **F 50**. Rolled handle.

**F 52** Round-bottomed cooking pot, household ware. Pl. 83.

P 22730. H. 0.145 m.; greatest diam. 0.15 m. Curved neck; rim restored. Strap handle. Pared and burnt at bottom.

At Corinth such pots were found with Geometric pottery, *A.J.A.*, XXXIV, 1930, pp. 414-415, fig. 8. In Athens the shape occurs in the 8th century with tripod feet (*Kerameikos*, V, 1, Inv. 782, pl. 156); evidently this one-piece arrangement precedes the pot and brazier sets of the 7th century (Young C 165). 7th century examples, besides the present pot: *Kerameikos*, V, 1, Inv. 355, p. 139, pl. 155; *Agora*, VIII, 210 (P 10668). There is a crude, unpared one from an Early Geometric well group, *Agora* P 6427, but flat-bottomed cooking jugs like **F 49** are still the main shape. In the 6th century the round-bottomed pot comes into general use (*Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 95 under no. 117).

**F 53** Basin, household ware. Pl. 83.

P 22725. *Agora*, VIII, 224. H. 0.267 m.; diam. at rim 0.42 m.

Deep open shape with rounded sides. Low ring foot, vertical rolled handles attached well below rim. Thickened flat rim with slight ridges outside and inside. Many mending holes. Large parts of rim missing. A spout is probably to be restored.

As observed under Young III, 1, the type is 7th century. A development can be seen. Young III, 1, of the second quarter of the 7th century, has flaring, rather straight sides. This basin, of the third quarter, is more rounded. **H 61** of the end of the century has almost elegantly swung krater contours. The shape does, in fact, after acquiring foot and moulded rim, pass into the class of semi-glazed kraters (the class generally: *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 511-512, nos. 69-

71; spouted examples from the Agora: P 13806, P 13016, P 20797).

As in the case of the bowl **F 23**, the basin had first a wet, and after mending, a dry use.

**F 54** One-handed bowl, household ware. Pl. 83.

P 22726. H. 0.07 m.; diam. at rim 0.17 m. Parts of body and nozzle restored.

Straight flaring sides; pseudo ring foot. One horizontal handle attached at rim which is flattened. Rim opposite handle begins to turn out for a nozzle.

Other one-handed bowls of the 7th century: Young C 85, p. 206 with a spout; *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, grave 74, no. 1 A, p. 40, fig. 23, and *Agora*, VIII, 112 (P 5414), both without spouts. The first of these is early, the second in the third quarter, the last in the last quarter of the 7th century; all have simple band (and the latter two, wavy line) decoration. The one-handler thus starts as a household utensil and remains that into the 5th century when it acquires new stature, cf. L. Talcott, "Pottery from a Fifth Century Well," *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 507 under 37-42. For a similar bowl shape, *Arch. Anz.*, XXVIII, 1934, p. 15, fig. 5.

One-handlers are common in the Late Bronze Age (cf. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 377-378, no. 8 with references) but in Athens seem to go out of use until the 7th century.

7th century.

**F 55** Pithos top, well head (?). Pl. 83.

P 22741. P. H. 0.40 m.; est. diam. at rim 0.62 m. Part of neck merging into shoulder preserved.

Concave neck, thickened rim, slightly rounded on top and flattened on outside. Near base of neck two heavy ridges on which diagonals have been cut, the lower reversing the direction of the upper. Micaceous reddish clay, very heavy.

The bottom break looks as if it had been deliberately chipped. This together with a total lack of lower fragments makes it likely that the piece was used as a well head (see *Hesperia*,

XVIII, 1949, p. 114), but there is no evidence that it was used on Well F.

Other 7th century pithoi: *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, from graves 11 and 29, p. 31, fig. 12, the former with a "cord." Examples of the 8th century (*Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 156, Inv. 4959; Young IX 1) have plain rims and continuous shoulder-neck profile. Simulated roping around the neck occurs on pithoi from the Bronze Age to Byzantine times (*Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 353; *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 156, Inv. 1234; *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 441, fig. 3), and I have seen it on the modern products of the Greek potter.

**F 56** Tub. Pl. 83.

P 22740. H. 0.105 m.; max. dim. 0.10 m.

Part of gently curved flaring side wall and flat base. Coarse pinkish buff clay, shot through with marks of straw binder. Unglazed.

See **G 44**.

**F 57** Lamp, type 1. Pls. 84, 89.

L 4980. H. 0.035 m.; diam. at base 0.051 m. Part of rim and whole base preserved.

Open saucer with flat base, plain rim pinched in for spout. Micaceous red clay. Handmade.

The common lamp of the 7th century (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 420; Howland, nos. 1, 2), pp. 7-8, pl. 29.

First half of the 7th century, perhaps as late as third quarter.

**F 58** Lamp, type 9. Pls. 84, 89.

L 4979. Diam. est. at rim 0.060 m. Two non-joining rim fragments; one preserves handle attachment. Traces of black glaze inside and out. Handmade. Howland, no. 61, p. 21.

One would restore a vertical rolled handle and a bridged nozzle. From the context the lamp cannot be much later than the third quarter of the 7th century. Glazing a lamp outside is new at this time. The contemporary lamps of type 3 are glazed only inside (Young D 28, D 29; on D 28 there are, however, visible daubs of glaze on the outside). Type 9 is generally



imported, but these fragments may be Attic. See under **G 56**.

Third quarter of the 7th century.

**F 59** Terracotta horse. Pl. 84.

P 22304. P. H. 0.073 m.; P. L. 0.08 m. Head and legs missing.

Crude sausage body; pinched mane; the chest squared off.

Covered with streaks and patches of glaze; no pattern recognizable. Dull black glaze.

Other crude glazed horses from the Agora: Burr 311-315, Young C 181, D 33. The technique is subgeometric (Young, p. 225).

7th century.

**F 60** Loomweight. Pl. 84.

MC 912. H. 0.045 m.

An oblong with broad and narrow sides and with one rounded end, in which the hole. Bottom edges rounded off.

This seems to be a variety of the pyramidal shape (cf. **G 49**). The bevelling of the base of the Corinthian conical loomweight was probably suggested by the wear of weights knocking together (*Corinth*, VII, p. 150). The same must have happened to the pyramidal weight, only here the top would naturally be knocked about more.

**F 61** Lentoid spindle whorl. Pl. 84.

MC 913. Diam. 0.04 m. Piece chipped away.

The common type, cf. Young D 27. In use also in the 6th century, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 406, no. 53, fig. 42. See under **S 26**.

**F 62** Disk. Pl. 84.

P 22742. Diam. 0.085 m.

Cut from the body of a large coarse pithos with plastic herringbone decoration.

Numerous disks of various sizes and fabrics have been found at the Agora and elsewhere, not only from this period (Burr 257-276; Young XVII 23 and C 163-173). What they were used for, whether for counters, pucks, covers or plugs, is uncertain. Those with

holes, like **H 74**, may have had a string to serve as the handle of a lid. Remains of plugs have actually been found in Mycenaean stirrup jars (*Arch. Anz.*, 1935, pp. 73 ff., figs. 6-9) but the 7th century has no common round-mouthed, narrow-necked shape. Some, most likely, were game-counters. Several games requiring sherd disks were played in the streets and public places of Athens (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, "Spiele") and the Agora even possesses a die of the period (Agora MC 84). For game disks see also *Corinth*, XII, pp. 217 ff.

**F 63** Fragment of quern. Pl. 84.

ST 557. W. 0.115 m.; H. 0.052 m. Broken on both ends.

From a loaf-shaped grinder, flat on the bottom. Tool marks on rounded surface, top worn smooth. Light volcanic stone with black intrusions.

From the grinder of a saddle quern. These primitive mills are usually found in prehistoric sites (*Délos*, XVIII, pp. 123-124), but they occur at Athens in many contexts (Mycenaean: *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 411, fig. 95; later: *Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, pp. 143-144, fig. 104).

Terracotta plaques like *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, p. 369, no. 74, pl. 59, illustrate their use.

**F 64** Marble pebble, weight ? Pls. 84, 89.

ST 553. Max. dim. 0.10 m.; weight 390 gr. Part chipped away.

Loaf-shaped pebble with flat bottom. An irregular square scratched on top and bottom.

Low grade white marble. Since the piece was marked on both sides it cannot be a polishing tool. It may be a marker or a primitive weight with the square indicating a unit.

**F 65** Stone polisher. Pl. 84.

ST 556. Diam. 0.068 m.

Roughly round. A fine light conglomerate, gritty.

Works admirably as a sander on soft poros. In later times emery was used for stone polishing (*Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 270, pl. 84, c).

Cf. S. Casson, *The Technique of Early Greek Sculpture*, Oxford, 1933, pp. 86 ff. for the abrasive technique in early Attic stone working.

A 6th century abrasive tool from Corinth, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 611, no. 242, fig. 30.

**F 66** Stone grinder. Pl. 84.

ST 555. Diam. 0.066 m. Chip missing.

Roughly square with rounded corners. Worn smooth and flat on top and bottom, sides bevelled from wear. Hard, greenish gray stone. Basalt?

In shape and stone exactly like those yielded by the Mycenaean fountain on the Acropolis, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 413, fig. 96 l, m, n, and found in various contexts at the Agora.

**F 67** Stone grinder. Pl. 84.

ST 554. Diam. 0.07 m.

Roughly round with poles and facets flattened from use. Hard gray stone.

**F 68** Aryballos, Protocorinthian. Pl. 85.

P 22307. P. H. 0.069 m. Mouth and handle missing.

Pointed form with ring foot. Dot rosettes alternating with vertical squiggles on shoulder. On body, coursing hounds between glaze bands with added purple lines. Buff Corinthian clay. Black glaze, much chipped.

The aryballos belongs to Johansen's subgeometric class (*V.S.*, p. 75, pl. XV), of which vertical squiggles, dot rosettes, and the "chasse au lièvre" are typical. Later examples show the influence of the polychrome technique of Late Protocorinthian and have broad glaze bands with added purple (*op. cit.*, pl. XV, no. 8, for a good parallel in decoration; and generally, Payne, *NC*, p. 269).

Most of this class is ovoid in form but the shape grows progressively more pointed. This one must be among the latest.

Third quarter of the 7th century.

**F 69** Fragmentary conical oinochoe, Early Corinthian. Pl. 85.

P 22697. Diam. at base 0.07 m. Neck and handle missing.

On shoulder, incised tongues. Traces of white bands on body. Brown to black glaze, worn.

Payne (*NC*, p. 299) lists the Early and Middle Corinthian group of black polychrome conical oinochoai. Cf. also D 7 from an Early Corinthian well at Corinth (*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 217, pl. 78). Kraiker (*Aigina*, p. 76, no. 480, pl. 76) classes an example with white bird decoration as Transitional. Our oinochoe with its careful collar of tongues (later ones have plain verticals) is probably early; nevertheless, it must be among the latest pots in the group.

**F 70** Pyxis, Protocorinthian. Pl. 85.

P 22298. H. 0.055 m.; diam. at rim 0.098 m.

Sides and plain bottom slightly concave. Plain rim. Applied rolled handles.

Four zones of decoration separated by pairs of glaze lines. Around the bottom, rays; above, a checkerboard band; a solid glaze zone with narrow bands of applied red; around rim, groups of vertical wavy bands. Band of glaze over handles. Pale pink and buff Corinthian clay; orange to black glaze.

The linear decoration of these pyxides remains standard from Protocorinthian into Early Corinthian and the vase is dated by its shape, the form tending to become higher in proportion to its breadth and the sides more concave (Payne, *NC*, p. 292); ours is low and wide and has slight concavity. It is Late Protocorinthian.

Earlier, *Arch. Anz.*, XLVI, 1942, grave 18, p. 34, fig. 17, no. 3. Later, Johansen, *V.S.*, pl. 42, no. 5. For contemporary specimens, Payne, *NC*, p. 273, under B; the *Δελτίον* references correspond to *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, grave 71, 2 A and 2 B, p. 40.

Early in the third quarter of the 7th century.

**F 71** Kotyle, Protocorinthian. Pl. 85.

P 22700. H. 0.09 m.; diam. 0.134 m.

Pointed body with vertical ring foot. Inside glazed; white line at rim. Outside glazed half way down. Rays at base, meeting a glaze line below solid zone. White line below handles and probably near bottom of solid zone. Foot edged with glaze bands. Two neat concentric circles on under side of foot, beneath. Vertical face of ring glazed. Buff Corinthian clay. Solid greenish black glaze.

Cf. *Corinth*, VII, nos. 140 and 176, from Late Protocorinthian groups, with references. General remarks in Payne, *NC*, p. 279, under 201.

Third quarter of the 7th century.

**F 72** Kotyle, Protocorinthian. Pl. 85.

P 22698. H. 0.083 m.; diam. 0.12 m. Handles restored.

Broader foot than **F 71**. Similar decoration but no line below solidly glazed part.

This marks the final disappearance of the banded system on the upper part of the kotyle.

Another, *Corinth*, VII, no. 179, from the third quarter of the 7th century.

**F 73** Kotyle, Protocorinthian. Not illustrated.

P 22699. H. 0.082 m.; diam. 0.117 m.

Glaze almost all worn off. Marks of a stiff brush.

Like **F 71** with a narrower foot. Weinberg (*Corinth*, VII, p. 86) remarks that the Early Corinthian kotylai are more narrow based than those preceding. This one does not yet employ the polychrome system characteristic of Early Corinthian.

Probably late in the third quarter of the 7th century.

**F 74** Standed krater, Corinthian or Argive. Pl. 86.

P 22737. *Agora*, VIII, 243. H. of bowl 0.39 m.; greatest diam. of bowl 0.40 m. Stand and large part of body restored.

Spherical shape; arched convex handles. Upright rim, rounded inside, folded out to slope

away. Underneath, the broken ring of a thin stand, preserving edge of open work.

Coarse, tan clay with many impurities.

A krater of Argive fabric found in Perachora (Payne, *Perachora*, pp. 65-66, pl. 12, no. 5, others mentioned) with a like round bowl and two short arched handles has a high fenestrated base, and provides the restoration for ours, which is, however, of the same fabric as the other Corinthian coarse ware (on the character of Argive clay, *ibid.*, pp. 35, 42). Standed kraters are a Late Geometric invention (*Corinth*, VII, under no. 73) and the Argive piece belongs to this period, but the shape remains current in the orientalizing period. An upper bowl fragment found in a late 7th century context at Corinth (*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 228, D 76, pl. 84) may have come from such a krater. For later coarse ware of this type see *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, pp. 352-353.

**F 75** Handle fragments of pithos, Corinthian coarse ware. Pls. 85, 89.

P 22736. H. of handles 0.14 m.; W. of handle attachments 0.106 m.; thickness of handles 0.023 m. Complete handles with their wall parts including rim section. Also several slightly concave wall fragments.

Coarse pinkish buff clay with gray core and fine surfacing.

The vertical handles are short and arched, their sides carefully squared off. Down the center is a deep cutting in which lies a pair of rolled strips of clay with oblique grooves to indicate twisting on each. Clay is pressed in over their tops and bottoms. At the base of the attachments, a raised strip. The rim was drawn in and had a moulding, now lost, which has left an irregular depression.

Other handles with inlaid simulated ropes: Waldstein, *A.H.*, pl. 50, no. 12; *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, grave 70, no. 3, p. 30, fig. 7, a Corinthian amphora of the first quarter of the 7th century; *Corinth*, VII, no. 134, pl. 18, and no. 172 and *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 212, C 16, pl. 76 from amphorae, Protocorinthian; there is also a notice of similar handles from pithoi.



For the shape of this pot cf. a 5th century pithos, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 303, no. 198, fig. 33. This pithos had four handles, as is likely of ours. The later handles have no rolled clay strips in their cuttings which supports the supposition that actual ropes were passed over the handles either to affix or to strengthen them.  
7th century.

**F 76** Mortar, Corinthian coarse ware. Pl. 85.

P 22723. *Agora*, VIII, 240. H. 0.07 m.; diam. at rim 0.238 m.

Plain base, thickened, rounded rim set off from side walls. Inside surface rounded and sprinkled with granite chips. Much worn in center.

Coarse, gritty clay.

Such mortars occur also in later *Agora* deposits (for published 5th century examples cf. *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 99, no. 127, pl. 34). The difference is in a greater articulation at foot and rim in the later examples; the grit sprinkling to facilitate grating is not so coarse nor so frequently used in these. Cf. *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, p. 366, no. 64, pl. 58. Others from Corinth: 7th century, *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 228, D 78-79, pl. 84; 6th century, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 601, no. 176, fig. 26; 5th century, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 299, nos. 190-192, fig. 32.

7th century.

**F 77** Fragment of mortar, Corinthian coarse ware. Pl. 85.

P 22724. P. H. 0.15 m.; est. diam. of rim 0.28 m.

Plain flattened rim. Rounded profile with wall much thickened near bottom. Part of handle attachment preserved. Lower area sprinkled with granite chips.

Cf. **F 76** for discussion. The shape was probably a bowl with plain, flat base and thick horizontal handles. Cf. *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 228, D 77, pl. 84.

7th century.

**F 78** Trefoil oinochoe, Argive Monochrome. Pl. 86.

P 22722. P. H. 0.059 m.; diam. est. at greatest preserved width 0.08 m.

There was a band handle. Cylindrical neck separately attached, seam shows inside. Paring knife marks on neck. Orange buff clay. Hand-made.

For full bibliography and discussion of this ware cf. J. L. Caskey, "Investigations at the Heraion of Argos, 1949," *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 202 ff. Our oinochoe would appear to belong to the globular type (*ibid.*, p. 205, nos. 279-281) to judge from the dimensions, which seem to be larger for this type than for the squat shape.

It seems likely that these were principally made in Argos. For Argive Monochrome ware at the *Agora* see Young, p. 199; for the incised variety, Burr, p. 565, fig. 24.

The Heraion pots are dated by context to the late 7th century (*op. cit.*, p. 203). The third quarter is not excluded for our piece.

**F 79** Fragment of a wine amphora, Chian. Pl. 86.

P 22696. Max. dim. 0.32 m.

From shoulder. Broad horizontal glaze band; part of spiral above. White slip, much flaked. Gritty micaceous brown clay. Red glaze.

For a discussion of the Chian series and later *Agora* examples cf. Cedric Boulter, "Pottery from the Mid-fifth Century," *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 104-105, nos. 150-152, the discussion by Virginia Grace. The series begins in the 7th century. For whole examples of the early 6th century, see *Swed. Cyp. Exp.*, II, pl. 140; the date given in the text, *ibid.* p. 400, now modified by Mr. J. M. Cook; also H. Dragendorff, *Thera*, II, p. 63, fig. 218, p. 218, fig. 425c. These amphorae are "bobbin-shaped," with a torus lip; white slipped with widely spaced glaze bands on the body and a large open spiral lying on its side on the shoulder.

There are a number of fragments of this ware of the turn of the 7th century at the *Agora*

(Agora P 13668, P 665, P 13361, P 13362); ours is earlier. It is distinguished from the later examples by the greater broadness of its glaze bands (Mr. Cook tells me that the 7th century examples from the excavations at Old Smyrna show the same development) and by a slightly more rounded shoulder line. A whole amphora in the Louvre (Pottier, D 40, pl. 40), found in Italy and called Italian in the catalogue, looks like a 7th century example of the Chian fabric.

**F 80** Amphora, gray ware. Pls. 86, 89.

P 22739. *Agora*, VIII, 229. H. of neck 0.119 m.; diam. restored bottom of fragment 0.36 m.

Flaring rim, flattened on top. Rim zone offset from neck at level of handle joint. Ridge at base of neck. Short rolled handle showing the beginning of a "rat's tail."

A fragment from the lower body either of this or another amphora (the handle and body fragments of which were found in the same well) shows the profile to have been straight and pointed. Gray clay with mica. The white patch which appears in the picture is a hard lime deposit and not original with the amphora.

This is the earliest evidence of the fabric in the *Agora*. For late 6th and 5th century examples and the later development of the series

cf. *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 102-104, nos. 148, 149, the discussion by Virginia Grace. Examples of the earlier stages of the fabric, beginning in 8th century, were found in the excavations in Old Smyrna (*J.H.S.*, LXXIII, 1953, p. 124). Mr. J. M. Cook has been kind enough to show me profile drawings of the pieces of the 7th century. The height of the rim collar of ours is intermediate between that of specimens of the second and the last quarter of the 7th century. Ours differs from the examples from Smyrna in having less outward thickening of the rim. The characteristic tail at the base of the handle (cf. Grace, *op. cit.*, p. 104), though broken away, can be confidently restored. The amphorae from Smyrna have ring feet in the first half of the 7th century, later on generally pointed feet, as probably did ours. The neck is wider and the shoulder higher than in later examples.

The place of origin of this ware is uncertain. Mr. Cook suggests (tentatively, since the Gray Ware center, Lesbos, has not produced examples of this type of jar; cf. Lamb, "Grey Wares from Lesbos," *J.H.S.*, LII, 1932, pp. 1 ff.) that Lesbian wine may have been exported in these amphorae. See also V. Grace, *Amphoras and the Ancient Wine Trade*, Princeton, 1961, figs. 52, 53.

Third quarter of the 7th century.

## WELL G

The well (R 8:2) was 10.80 m. deep with a bottom diameter of 0.88 m. Eight pairs of foot holds were preserved. The inflow of water during excavation was moderate. The fill of the upper four meters consisted of soft tumbled bedrock; there was no stratification.

Noted in *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 48.

**G 1** Neck fragment, Geometric. Pl. 66.

P 23420. Max. dim. 0.15 m.; Th. 0.022 m.

Lower part of one panel of a Dipylon-type amphora neck broken off at shoulder joint. On left, three bands; on bottom, four. Chevrons in left upper field; tail and hind legs of a horse

moving right. Crested heron between legs, traces of ornament under belly.

To judge from the dimensions this fragment belonged to a Dipylon amphora, much like Wide, *Jahrb.*, XIV, 1899, p. 193, fig. 54, and Young B 59, which (as an unpublished fragment shows) also had a horse in the neck panel.

The long stilt-like stride is as on the Dipylon amphorae in Leyden (J. P. J. Brandts, *Beschrijving van de Klassieke Verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Outheden Te Leiden*, The Hague, 1930, pl. VII, no. 52).

8th century.

**G 2** Fragment of a closed pot, Protoattic. Pls. 66, 90.

P 23455. *Agora*, VIII, 448. Max. dim. a) 0.22 m.; b) 0.09 m.

a) Neck of horse grazing. Hooks ending in spirals stand under neck, front leg visible. Bands above and below. Loop series to right.

b) Loop on left, double cross to right, bands at bottom. Uneven brown to black glaze.

The fragments came from a large, unevenly thrown pot. The horse whose neck is all strands of mane is popular in both Early and Middle Protoattic (e.g. Early: Cook, pl. 42 a; Middle: bowl from the Kerameikos, *Arch. Anz.*, 1938, p. 596, fig. 10; shoulder of the Nessos amphora in New York, *J.H.S.*, XXXII, 1912, pl. 11; krater in Berlin, *CVA*, Berlin 1, pls. 18-21). For the disposition of the animal between zones of bands above and below and loops to the side, cf. the lion oinochoe in the Kerameikos (Kühler, pl. 23, back view, *Arch. Anz.*, 1943, p. 391, fig. 1) and the amphora from Pikrodaphne (*B.C.H.*, XVII, 1893, pls. 2, 3) transitional to Middle Protoattic (Cook, p. 192). The careless potting and offhanded brush work place our fragment in the same period.

Late first quarter of the 7th century.

**G 3** Neck fragment, Protoattic. Pl. 74.

P 23449. *Agora*, VIII, 468. Max. dim. 0.08 m.

Curved fragment of a medium sized amphora neck; shoulder joint preserved.

Loops in the shape of an inverted lyre, ending in blossoms connected by glaze bands. Outlines in glaze and filled in with white; on the white, thinned glaze circles and lines. Standing on three glaze bands upright solid glaze loops, probably also lyre ornaments. Sets of diamonds.

For a similar motif cf. *CVA*, Berlin 1, p. 18, pl. 16, no. 1 ("Leiervoluten"), a fragment thought to belong to a krater of the early "Black and White" style.

Note the addition of circles of thin glaze on the white to add complexity to the ornament.

It has a counterpart in the addition of thin white lines on glazed surfaces, e.g. the white circles on the deer of the New York amphora (Kühler, pl. 24).

Second quarter of the 7th century.

**G 4** Amphora, Protoattic. Pls. 68, 69.

P 22551. *Agora*, VIII, 573. P. H. 0.283 m.; max. diam. 0.22 m.; diam. of base 0.10 m. Preserved to spring of neck. Handles and parts of wall missing.

*A.J.A.*, LVII, 1953, p. 25, pl. 29, fig. 9; *Arch. Anz.*, LXVII, 1952, p. 184, fig. 4; *Archaeology*, V, 1952, p. 149, fig. 6; *B.C.H.*, LXXII, 1953, p. 199, fig. 6; *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 48, pl. 18 d; *J.H.S.*, LXXIII, 1953, p. 111, fig. 3.

Egg-shaped body. Flaring ring foot. Rolled and slightly flattened handle.

On foot, glaze squares. Double tiered rays. Above, open step meander bounded by three narrow lines above or below. Above, the figure zone, alike on front and back, but back fragmentary and very worn. In center, facing horse protomes, reined in, crossing forelegs. To each side, joining concentric circles with a palmette with outline petals in the wedge. These florals meet under the handle around a diamond. In the field, filling ornament of swastikas, sets of horizontal zigzag lines, crosshatched diamonds and a set of four dots. Panel bounded on top by glaze band. On shoulder, outline and solid tongue pattern meeting three narrow lines. Small part of neck panel shows bottom of an animal protome. Handle and zone under it glazed.

Fugitive purple paint on horses' throats and forelocks, on the hearts of the palmettes, on the band above the figures. Incision for horses' manes, shoulders, forelocks, ears, jaw bones and muzzles, head harness. Uneven black glaze.

By the same hand as **F 4** (*q.v.* for shape) and *Agora*, VIII, 574 (P 18525) under **F 4**.

Cook (p. 199, note 9) notes a few slightly later horse protomes in Protoattic: on an am-



phora neck, *CVA*, Berlin 1, pl. 4, no. 4, A 11 (disassociated by Cook from the Protome painter *J.H.S.*, LIX, 1939, pl. 51); on a fragmentary amphora seen by Cook (p. 211) in the market, with sphinxes and horse protomes. Mr. Cook has kindly shown me his tracings. The fragment shares the characteristic "Zinnenmäander-Kreuz" with the Berlin neck, the solid mane with the Agora amphora; an Agora neck fragment *Agora*, VIII, 588 (P 12208) with facing horse protomes with incised outlines is close to both. Added purple is used on all.

Heraldic horse protomes with crossed forelegs do not occur before this in Protoattic art. They next appear on the neck of an amphora by the Lion painter (*B.S.A.*, XLV, 1950, pl. 18 a). J. Papadimitriou found a pair of heraldically opposed horse skeletons with crossed forelegs buried as sacrifices in the dromos of the Mycenaean tholos at Marathon (*A.J.A.*, LXIII, 1959, pl. 74, 6). Thus may have originated a motif which on our amphora is surely mere decoration.

**G 5** Olpe, Protoattic. Pls. 69, 75.

P 22550. *Agora*, VIII, 544. H. to lip 0.255 m.; H. with handle 0.295 m.; max. diam. 0.173 m.; diam. of base 0.115 m. Part of lip restored.

*Archaeology*, V, 1952, p. 149, fig. 5; *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 48, pl. 18, c.

High, double-rolled handle attached at trefoil rim. Wide ring foot with a broad standing surface, rounded off on the under side. Greatest diameter midway on the body.

Front: panel with lion in outline technique to right. Dotted muzzle. Mane and tongue glazed and covered with added red. Incised line dividing tongue from lower incisor. Filling ornament of tooth inaeander, hanging spirals, set of zigzag lines, set of diamonds, chevrons, S-shaped lines and a standing trefoil. Panel framed by glaze line on all sides except bottom. Square ornaments at base corners.

Back: two reserved triangles opposing each

other so as to suggest a great round eye. Reserved band near bottom. Flaky black glaze.

A forerunner of a group of black-figure olpai compiled by Payne and Beazley, *J.H.S.*, XLIX, 1929, pp. 253, 254, also *Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, p. 42, note 8 (the one from Corinth, *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, p. 236, figs. 39-40, equals *Corinth*, VII, no. 309); *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 126, no. 9; cf. *ABV*, pp. 14-15.

Shape: a trefoil oinochoe with short neck or no neck and bulging body comes into use in Attica in the latter part of the 8th century (Young, p. 208; *Πρακτικά*, 1939-1940, p. 33, fig. 6; *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 81). A number of decorated ones belong to the first half of the 7th century (Burr 211-214; Young C 123; *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 227, figs. 22-23). One is of the third quarter (Young D 22). This olpe for all its sophisticated features, i.e. the fully formed foot, the trefoil of the mouth lightly stroked on rather than pinched in, the overhanging handle, is clearly of a family with these. Payne, *NC*, p. 326, surmised that the trefoil olpe might be an Attic invention since the earliest example known to him, of the late 7th century, was Attic, and this is now corroborated. This olpe is sack-shaped, like its Protocorinthian round-mouthed counterpart (Payne, *NC*, pl. 27). The later pieces in the series grow slimmer until they look like swelling tubes set on a spreading base (see the ultimate in the shape by Amasis, S. Karouzou, *The Amasis Painter*, Oxford, 1956, pl. 16).

Decoration: see the references above. Characteristic are the framed picture panel on one side and the two opposing reserved triangles on the other. The latter were first recognized by Jacobsthal (P. Jacobsthal, *Ornamente griechischer Vasen*, Berlin, 1927, p. 16; he corrects Pfuhl's "ornamental" interpretation) to be the white of an eye—it literally stares at one. Eyes bound into the decoration of the vase do not occur before this (eyes on rim, cf. **F 12**) but do several times soon after: on the neck of the Protome amphora (*CVA*, Berlin 1, pl. 6, no. 2, A 10, eye placed vertically); on the handles of

the Kynosarges amphora (*J.H.S.*, XII, 1902, pl. II); and on a bowl from Menidi (*Jahrb.*, XIV, 1899, p. 110, fig. 16). They are, of course, common on Cycladic and East Greek pottery and so are probably borrowed features in Attica. On the Berlin amphora they occur with characteristically Cycladic protomes; on the Menidi bowl they are edged with triangle staves, a certified "Ionianism," see Jacobsthal, *op. cit.*, p. 59, note 58.

The lion in the panel, except for the short incised line separating the tip of the tongue from the teeth, is in pure brush work. An earlier oinochoe with lions, Young B 71. The style of **G 5** connects it with the lion jug in Athens (Pfuhl, pl. 17, no. 83) and the Burgon krater (Buschor, p. 45, fig. 47), thence with the circle of the Ram Jug painter (attributions in *CVA*, Berlin 1, p. 7). The lion's rounded contours and the soberly scattered filling ornament mark this lion panel as the latest in the group (see Cook, p. 190, for these features); the use of added purple over a large area confirms this.

Early third quarter of the 7th century.

**G 6** Fragments of olpe, Protoattic. Pl. 75.

P 23468. Max. dim. a) 0.087 m.; b) 0.05 m. Two non-joining fragments.

a) Lower left side of panel. Glaze line inside panel at left; rectangular ornament as in **G 5**. Standing on base of panel a trefoil flower ornament. In field, a simple tooth maeander. Above, the tail of a bird with incised plumage. Reserved line in the glaze below.

b) The right angle of the white of the eye, the curve of the iris showing at the left. Black glaze.

The similarity of the panel arrangement and filling ornament make it certain that these fragments come from an olpe like **G 5**, probably from its companion piece. To what sort of creature the tail belonged is suggested by the siren amphora in Athens (*B.C.H.*, XXII, 1898, pp. 282 ff.). The panel field of this one-piece amphora corresponds, of course, to that of an olpe.

The filling ornament of the amphora is remarkably similar to that of the olpai; hanging hooks, simple maeander, like framing of the panel in glaze lines and the same square ornament at their base. The amphora has admitted the dot ring rosette, a sign of later date (*ca.* 630 B.C., cf. Cook, p. 199). The more frequently illustrated panel (Cook, pl. 60; Kübler, pl. 26, fig. 17) has a siren with opened wings; their tips would crowd the smaller olpe field. On the reverse stands a siren to the right shrugging her wing; she has incised tail feathers (*B.C.H.*, XXII, 1898, p. 283, fig. 4).

Since this second siren remains the approved panel piece of the later olpe series (cf. under **G 5**. A siren olpe, *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 126, no. 9, pl. 19), it is safe to think of these tail feathers as a siren's.

Full incision of plumage begins at this time, cf. **F 17**. It is illustrative of the freedom of technique of the period that in the same circumstances either brush work or incision might be used, probably by the same painter.

Third quarter of the 7th century.

**G 7** Fragments of a closed vase, early black-figure. Pl. 70.

P 23451. Max. dim. a) 0.057 m.; b) 0.05 m.

a) Booted leg and arm of a rider holding reins. Lowest strand of horse's mane has applied red, also flap of boot and corselet. Incised: edge of corselet, edge of tunic, both with double lines; strand of horse's mane, arm and hand, leg, boot.

b) Hind quarters of the horse. Red ovals on leg and near top of fragment. Incised: line of hind leg, ribs.

Cf. the fragments of a krater in Athens, Beazley, *Development*, p. 6, pl. 6, no. 2, also Kübler, pl. 88. Back-swept wisps of mane and ham-like hands characterize horses and riders of early black-figure.

Late 7th century.

- G 8** Trefoil oinochoe, black polychrome.  
Pl. 75.

P 23457. *Agora*, VIII, 81. H. to rim 0.17 m.; diam. 0.155 m.

Trefoil mouth; rolled handle attached at rim and rising above it; curved neck offset by slight groove from rounded body. Ring foot. Outside all glazed; around middle of body a band of applied purple edged with white lines.

The solidly glazed round-bodied trefoil oinochoe is current in the 6th century; frequently it has added purple bands around the body (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 215, no. 16, fig. 48; p. 386, no. 17, fig. 23; *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 251, no. 311, fig. 53). It differs from the standard type III (Richter and Milne, *Shapes and Names*, figs. 118-121) in its high handle. This example with its still lack-luster glaze and its low foot without a flare heads the series.

In the late 8th century a similar but footless oinochoe shape exists (*Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 82, Invs. 811, 874; *Πρακτικά*, 1951, p. 122, fig. 44; also *Agora*, VIII, 80 [P 21579] and Brann L 14 [P 12108]) but seems not to pass into the 7th century.

The subgeometric oinochoai of the 7th century are more sack-shaped with narrower necks and have reserved bands rather than purple around the body (Young D 19). The revived Geometric shape was decorated in the Corinthian system.

Late 7th century.

- G 9** Stand fragment, Protoattic. Pls. 75, 89.  
P 23450. P. H. 0.095 m.

Curved with spreading rim which had a moulding. Above rim an angular bulge, with a glaze band bordered by a line on either side of the ridge. Vertical lines and zigzags. Above rim, glaze blobs. Reddish brown glaze, firm and shiny.

Decoration in the Phaleron style, but the technique is of the late 7th century.

- G 10** Banded bowl. Pl. 75.

P 23444. H. 0.047 m.; diam. 0.101 m.

Rounded sides, slightly drawn in at rim. Plain flat base. Wide banding in reddish glaze inside and out.

Small banded bowls are a Protocorinthian type: Johansen, *V.S.*, p. 68, fig. 44. Cf. also Young C. 84.

- G 11** Cup, offset rim. Pls. 78, 89.

P 23435. H. 0.047 m.; diam. 0.105 m.

Low ring foot; shallow body with sharp shoulder. Flaring rim. Glazed inside except for zone under rim; two concentric circles of added purple at bottom. Rim and handles glazed outside; two thin bands on lower body. Concentric circles on foot beneath. Thin metallic fabric. Thin streaky brown glaze.

A copy of the "cup with offset rim" current in Corinth in the 7th century, the predecessor of the Komast cup. See Johansen, *V.S.*, p. 80, pl. XIX, no. 2; Payne, *NC*, p. 310; Hopper, *B.S.A.*, XLIV, 1949, pp. 225-226, under "Cups." Another, *Agora*, VIII, 148 (P 13665), found with the corinthianizing cock lekkythos (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 365, fig. 22), is farther along toward the Komast cup shape.

- G 12** Stemless cup. Pls. 78, 89.

P 23431. *Agora*, VIII, 134. H. 0.082 m.; diam. at rim 0.158 m.

Offset rim; deep body; flaring ring foot. Rim and foot are set off by a narrow groove.

Glazed all over. Reserved: handle zone and underside of foot, which has band on vertical surface of rim and concentric circles inside.

This is clearly the Attic ancestor of the so-called Ionian cup. Cf. *CVA*, Oxford, II d, p. 76, pl. 1, no. 17, there dated to the late 7th century. There is no Athenian predecessor for this shape so decorated, nor do the deeper, more pointed Corinthian skyphoi (*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. LXXX, D 31-D 36) offer proper parallels.

- G 13** Cup. Pl. 78.

P 23446. H. 0.05 m.; rest. diam. 0.112 m. Both handles restored.



Narrow ring foot. Inside glazed. Outside broadly banded. On under side of foot, concentric circles. Glaze black inside, reddish and much worn outside.

Bowl-like cups with narrow feet are numerous at Corinth where they appear in the Early Corinthian series (*Corinth*, VII, under no. 211; Payne, *NC*, p. 297 B). The shape clearly derives from Rhodian bird and band bowls which have also been found at Corinth and belong to a date just preceding the introduction of this cup shape (*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 223-224, D 53-54). Although bird bowls have been found in Athens (cf. Burr 125) they are rare, and I believe that this Attic piece is a secondhand imitation through Corinth. A Rhodian parallel for the broad banding of our cup: K. F. Kinch, *Vroulia*, Berlin, 1914, pl. 21, no. 7.

About the middle of the 7th century.

**G 14** Cup. Pls. 78, 89.

P 23445. H. 0.052 m.; diam. 0.11 m. Handles restored.

Shape like **G 13** with broader foot. Glaze inside. Outside has narrow bands at rim, below handles, at and above foot. Concentric circles on foot beneath. Black glaze, worn.

See **G 13**. The Attic examples are more broad based than the East Greek and Corinthian ones. The banding has been reduced to a few lines.

**G 15** Cup. Pl. 78.

P 23430. H. 0.05 m.; diam. 0.105 m.

Like **G 13**, but the foot is lower and broader, the concentric circles on the underside of the foot and the line above the foot are missing. Inside, polychrome banding, now much worn. Red glaze.

**G 16** Cup. Pl. 78.

P 23447. H. 0.05 m.; diam. 0.115 m. Handles restored.

Shape like **G 15**. Ring foot with standing surface slanted up. Glazed inside and out. Reserved handle zone and circle on bottom inside.

Concentric circles on foot, beneath. Three narrow white lines below handle zone. Worn above stacking line at handles. Weak black glaze.

The Corinthian cups show similar decoration (cf. *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 224, D 55-56, pl. LXXXII).

**G 17** Cup-kotyle. Pl. 76.

P 23432. H. 0.053 m.; diam. 0.11 m.

Low shape, handles set just below rim; low disk foot, concave beneath. Glazed all over; two broad concentric circles on foot beneath.

Broad band of applied purple edged with white outside below handles, inside at rim, half-way down and on bottom. Flaky black glaze. Glaze worn at rim above stacking line.

For discussion of the shape, see under **G 13**. The decoration is in the Corinthian black polychrome system. This and the following cup have even broader bases than **G 15**, and are, in effect, cup-kotylai. I cannot trace the shape through the 6th century except in an inferior cup series from Corinth (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 586, under no. 76). The "bolsal" represents a sudden revival in the 5th century (*Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 331, under no. 77).

Late 7th century.

**G 18** Cup-kotyle. Pls. 78, 89.

P 23433. H. 0.051 m.; diam. 0.11 m.

Of a pair with **G 17**.

**G 19** Kotyle, imitation of Early Corinthian. Pl. 78.

P 23427. Restored H. 0.12 m.; diam. 0.143 m. Foot restored.

Slightly curved sides; broad base. Glazed inside and out except for short ray zone. White line at rim. Below handle zone two broad bands edged by white, another above rays. Partly thin brown, partly shiny black glaze.

The larger format of this typically Early Corinthian type served as model, *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 222-223, D 46-47, pl. 81. One found in the Kerameikos, *Arch. Anz.*, 1943, p. 420, fig. 56.

**G 20** Kotyle, imitation of Early Corinthian. Pl. 78.

P 23426. *Agora*, VIII, 168. Restored H. 0.115 m.; diam. 0.16 m. Foot restored.

Like **G 19**, slightly wider.

**G 21** Kotyle, imitation of Early Corinthian. Pl. 78.

P 23428. H. 0.109 m.; diam. 0.15 m.

Like **G 19**. Flaring ring foot. The rays stand on a line. Foot glazed outside. Two concentric circles beneath. Vertical face of ring glazed. Misfired red and black.

**G 22** Kotyle. Pl. 77.

P 23429. H. 0.071 m.; diam. 0.11 m. Medium broad ring foot with slanting standing surface and disk in center.

In handle zone, thick vertical squiggles. On body ring rosettes, made like merged dot rosettes bounded by broad bands with applied purple. Short rays at base. Foot glazed. Disk reserved with two concentric circles.

An Attic improvisation on Transitional or Early Corinthian forms.

**G 23** Skyphos, subgeometric. Pl. 77.

P 23448. H. 0.046 m.; diam. at rim 0.087 m.

Like **F 33**; even less shoulder curve. Dull brownish black glaze.

**G 24** Skyphos, subgeometric. Pl. 77.

P 23434. *Agora*, VIII, 141. H. 0.045 m.; diam. at rim 0.086 m.

Like **F 33**; the shallowest example. Dull black glaze.

**G 25** One-handled cup. Pls. 79, 89.

P 23439. *Agora*, VIII, 186. H. 0.046 m.; diam. 0.10 m.

Low full shape; short flaring rim offset from shoulder. Low disk foot, slightly flaring and slightly concave beneath. Broad, looping band handle, attached at rim and rising a little above it. Glazed all over, except on underside of foot.

Reserved circle inside; reserved triangle on top of handle. Mottled rust and black glaze. Thin firm Attic clay.

Young included these footed cups with offset rim in the subgeometric series (*A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, pp. 46-47) but the deep cups of subgeometric fabric continue to the end of the 7th century (cf. **G 38**, **G 39**). They look very different from these low open cups of thin hard fabric and close glaze which immediately suggest a metallic origin.

There is nothing pertinent from Athens (for early metal vessels see Young, p. 223, note 2). Such bronze cups have, however, been found in Italy (Dohan, Narce 23 F, no. 13, pp. 21, 24). The Narce cup comes from a grave dated between 680 and 650 B.C. (Dohan, p. 108). Similar shapes in Mycenaean pottery also have metal counterparts, presumably their prototypes (for the pottery shape, F. H. Stubbings, "The Mycenaean Pottery of Attica," *B.S.A.*, XLII, 1947, p. 34, fig. 14, E 2; for the metal cup, from Marathon, *Arch. Anz.*, 1935, p. 179, figs. 10-11).

These cups are found in *Agora* wells of the second half of the 7th century, often in association with the "angled shoulder" cups (see **G 30**).

**G 26** One-handled cup. Pl. 79.

P 23441. H. 0.04 m.; diam. 0.094 m. Handle restored.

Like **G 25**. Very low foot. Streaky orange to black glaze.

**G 27** One-handled cup. Pl. 79.

P 23436. H. 0.046 m.; diam. 0.095 m. Handle restored.

Like **G 25**. Broader foot, more vertical rim. Brown to black glaze.

**G 28** One-handled cup. Pl. 79.

P 23443. H. 0.048 m.; diam. 0.10 m. Handle restored.

Like **G 25**. Dull brown to black glaze.

**G 29** One-handled cup. Pl. 79.

P 23442. H. 0.05 m.; diam. 0.101 m.

Brownish black glaze.

**G 30** One-handled cup, angled shoulder. Pls. 79, 89.

P 23437. H. 0.047 m.; diam. 0.104 m.

Gently curved lower body. Sharp angled shoulder. High flaring rim. Broad band handle attached at rim and shoulder angle. Disk foot with concave underside. Covered all over except beneath foot with firm rust colored to black glaze. Thin hard fabric.

Cups of this shape occur in Agora groups of the last third of the 7th and the beginning of the 6th century (besides the examples from Well H, Agora P 3822 with the corinthianizing cock lekythos, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 365, fig. 22; Agora P 5390-5392 found with the "Dae-dalus" neck, *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 125, pl. 17; Agora P 23479 from an exclusively 6th century context) but nowhere else to my knowledge. They seem therefore to be the special product of one local pottery.

One would expect the potter to have had some model for so unusual a shape, perhaps from far abroad. There is a type of Italic impasto cup and bowl with a similar angular shoulder (Dohan, chiefly from Narce, 27 M, nos. 1-10, pp. 27-29, pl. XIII; the feature carries through into the bucchero fabric, cf. Beazley e Magi, *La Raccolta Benedetto Guglielmi nel Museo Gregoriano Etrusco*, Rome, 1939, p. 131, fig. 15); the loop handle is much higher and there is no foot, but the similarity is nevertheless noteworthy.

As in cups with offset rim (cf. **G 25**) the metallic character is striking (metal vessels with like carination, G. M. A. Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, New York, 1915, p. 190, fig. 493, p. 225, figs. 625-626), and, indeed, a bronze example was found with the impasto bowls (Dohan, Narce, 4 F, p. 26, no. 28, pl. XII).

**G 31** One-handled cup, angled shoulder. Pl. 79.

P 23440. H. 0.05 m.; diam. 0.104 m. Handle restored.

Like **G 30**. Higher foot and straighter body. Mottled red and black glaze.

**G 32** One-handled cup, angled shoulder. Pl. 76.

P 23438. H. 0.048 m.; diam. at rim 0.104 m.

Like **G 30**. Three concentric circles on underside of foot. Shiny, metallic black glaze.

**G 33** Fragment of a cup, graffito. Pls. 81, 89.

P 23452. Max. dim. 0.064 m.

From lower body. Firm glaze, red to black, inside and out. Metallic thin clay.

— — λeos ει — —, retrograde. The genitive of the owner's name in ηs or κληs probably with ειμl. Cf. from the Agora, Young B 55, Tharios' *poterion* of the mid 7th century; Thamneus' vases (*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 160, pl. 43, no. 3, b) of the mid 6th century.

The fabric indicates the last quarter of the 7th century.

**G 34** Kalathos. Pl. 81.

P 23421. H. 0.032 m.; diam. 0.081 m.

Convex body with wide, sharply flaring rim and flat base. Glazed inside and on rim with weak reddish glaze.

The earlier Attic kalathos is a plain, rimless bowl shape (Young XVII 5-6, C 84). The present shape is merely a handleless subgeometric cup, e. g. *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, grave 37, no. 2, p. 33, fig. 14. In the 6th century the rim has been turned down and the body has become concave (numerous examples from 6th century contexts in the Agora; Δελτ., I, 1915, Parartema, p. 40, fig. 17, nos. 1-4; *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 252, no. 319, fig. 55). This shape is intermediate. Cf. also, of the last quarter of the 7th century, *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, grave 16, no. 2, p. 43, fig. 28.



**G 35** Fragmentary kalathos. Pl. 81.

P 23422. H. 0.04 m.

Like **G 34** but body straightens at bottom. On rim purple on clay ground. Black glaze.**G 36** Fragmentary kalathos. Pl. 81.

P 23423. H. 0.035 m.

Like **G 34**.

Fragments of several other such kalathoi were not inventoried.

**G 37** Neck of storage amphora. Pl. 80.

P 23464. P. H. 0.13 m. Handles missing.

Differs little from **F 42**. Reddish glaze.

Fragments of several other storage amphorae were found in this well.

**G 38** Banded amphora. Pl. 81.P 23465. *Agora*, VIII, 35. H. 0.32 m.; diam. at body 0.225 m.

Wide neck not offset from body. Rolled rim; band handles with lines scratched over the shoulder attachment. Four bands on body; broad band on foot. Wavy line on handles. White surfacing; brown, worn glaze.

Amphorae with thick necks and widely spaced bands occur first in Late Geometric contexts, but a slimmer necked banded type exists throughout the Geometric period (cf. Young VII 1 for the latter). Late Geometric: Young IV 1; *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 41, Inv. 1335, grave 46 and Inv. 1315, grave 51, as well as numerous unpublished examples at the *Agora*. The type continues throughout the 7th century: Young C 146, D 23 and *Agora*, VIII, 36 (P 3469) from end of the century.

The shapes show little change other than that the neck widens a little and the foot begins to flare (Young, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 419). There is, however, another type, represented by *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 41, Inv. 894, 1250, 296, 289, and unpublished *Agora* examples, all from 8th century contexts, with handles joined at or just below the lip and an unbroken neck shoulder line. Our amphora may derive from these,

in keeping with the general trend to one-piece pots.

Almost all examples have a light surfacing which sometimes becomes a slip (Young VI 1, D 23).

Second half of the 7th century.

**G 39** Bowl fragments, stamped. Pl. 84.

P 23456. Max. dim. a) 0.10 m.; b) 0.08 m.; W. of rim 0.015 m. Non-joining.

Well smoothed slightly concave body fragments, including rim, flattened with a bevel outside. Attachment at rim level. Rim stamped with a two strand guilloche with a circle and dot in each eye. Handmade with smooth surfacing.

The fragments indicate a shallow shape of large diameter (exceeding 0.60 m.). This suggests a large basin, perhaps on a stand, a *perirhanterion*. At Corinth, the earliest of these are found in the third quarter of the 7th century (S. Weinberg, "Corinthian Relief Ware," *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 118-119; *Corinth*, VII, p. 50, no. 162, pl. 25).

Stamped Attic plain ware is neither so elaborate nor so early as the Corinthian (*Corinth*, VII, *loc. cit.*). Attic examples: three coarse, micaceous fragments of pithoi (*Agora* P 5351, 8714, 20434) from non-committal contexts but early in appearance, with rolled-on plaits, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 221 under no. 43; Graef, pl. 11, no. 343a; *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pp. 135-136, nos. 31-33, pl. XXIV, nos. 1-5. *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 403, no. 43, fig. 42 shows an amphora handle stamped with a guilloche like ours; the latter was, however, rolled on. In shape and technique, then, this piece shows Corinthian influence.

**G 40** Amphora, household ware. Pl. 82.

P 23460. H. 0.315 m.; greatest diam. 0.27 m.

Like **F 46**. Ring base preserved. Scratched cross on underside.

For the shape after the 7th century, *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 97-98 under no. 125;

also *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 220, nos. 36-37, fig. 53.

**G 41** Amphora, household ware. Pl. 82.

P 23462. H. 0.255 m.; greatest diam. 0.23 m.  
Like **F 46**.

**G 42** Hydria, household ware. Pl. 82.

P 23461. *Agora*, VIII, 219. H. 0.39 m.; greatest diam. 0.34 m.

Like **F 47**, but even fuller, almost spherical. The horizontal handles turn up at an angle. The flattened surface on the rim is broader.

This is near the 6th century shape, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 219, no. 35, fig. 53; *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 257, no. 5, fig. 13.

**G 43** Trefoil oinochoe, household ware.

Pl. 83.

P 23463. H. 0.23 m.; greatest diam. 0.182 m.

Rounded body; curved neck; rolled handle attached at rim. Vertical ring base.

Somewhat later, of the 6th century: *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 220, no. 40, fig. 54; *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 225, no. 6, fig. 13; *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. 41, no. 3 b.

**G 44** Tub. Pl. 83.

P 23466. H. 0.165 m.; est. width 0.28 m.  
One end remains.

The whole was an oblong with rounded, blunt ends; the sides bulging slightly, the rim thickened and unevenly rounded, the base flat and projecting on the outside. At one corner a drain hole with a short channel downward. Glazed inside and on rim and around hole outside. Rough, pinkish buff fabric with traces of chaff used as binder. Handmade.

Cf. the similar tubs from Corinth (*Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, p. 366, no. 61, pl. 58) which have, however, no drain holes. These tubs might be used in many ways, for soaking, washing, draining. They are too small for bath tubs (for which see *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 98, under no. 130). The drain hole and the usage of the

time speak against their use as larnakes, children's coffins (their frequent use in later times, cf. *Arch. Anz.*, 1932, p. 199, fig. 10). A place in the kitchen has been suggested for them in *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 346, note 1, where a 5th century tub is published (*ibid.*, p. 345, fig. 13). There is evidence that such tubs existed earlier; from Eleusis, from a Late Geometric grave comes a miniature "trough-shaped" vase, perhaps a bath tub ('Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1898, p. 94, pl. 2, no. 13; F. Poulsen, *Die Dipylongräber und die Dipylonvasen*, Leipzig, 1905, p. 29). Cf. **F 56**, unglazed.

Second half of the 7th century.

**G 45** Tub. Pl. 83.

P 23467. H. 0.19 m. From one end.

Like **G 44**. There is a slight spout outside the drain. The rim is flattened and unglazed.

**G 46** Terracotta figurine, rider. Pl. 84.

T 3327. H. 0.073 m. Top of head, arms broken off.

Torso of rolled clay. Stump of left arm crooked upward, right arm horizontal, pinched ridge on back of head; nose or chin pinched out in front. Bottom spreading and concave underneath. Face, shoulders, the right arm and lower body covered with red paint, the rest with white.

A legless rider of primitive style. Others from the Agora: Burr 302-303. A few of the many 7th century terracotta horses from the Agora show traces of having borne a rider (Young D 34, scale smaller than ours. Agora T 2406 from a well largely of the 6th but reaching back into the 7th century, a steed of the right size). The legless seat is not only good Protoattic form (cf. the Menelaos stand, *CVA*, Berlin 1, pl. 33 and under **F 15**), but occurs in the rider figurines of other fabrics (Payne, *Perachora*, p. 228, under no. 166).

This rider with his raised spear arm, his shield arm horizontally extended (an Agora figurine, Burr 297, gesturing in the same way actually preserves the shield), with his pinched and painted helmet crest is a cavalry man, a

type already known in the late Bronze Age (M. F. S. Hood, "A Mycenaean Cavalryman," *B.S.A.*, XLVIII, 1953, pp. 85 ff.), but not again current in Attica until the 7th century (cf. *Jahrb.*, XIV, 1899, p. 123; Burr, p. 614). The type is common in Cyprus, see J. and S. Young, *Terracotta Figurines from Kourion in Cyprus*, Philadelphia, 1955, pp. 55 ff., pls. 19-25.

The red decoration does not seem to be so merely "ornamental" as is usual in the terracotta technique. A similar rider from the Agora (Agora T 573) is also painted about the shoulder and the lower body (though glaze is used) so that this arrangement may represent a cavalry uniform, perhaps cloak and kilt.

Second half of the 7th century.

**G 47** Terracotta figurine, horse. Pl. 84.

T 3326. P. H. 0.072 m. Head and hind legs missing.

Short body sloping away in back. Legs made of two clay rolls stuck together. Covered with white slip, much worn. Traces of red paint.

Other such simple single horses: Burr 314-324; of these 319 is, as ours, giraffe-like.

**G 48** Cart wheel. Pl. 84.

MC 958. Diam. 0.052 m.

Uneven flat disk with a flattened edge; unpainted. Hole in center. Four wheels, stuck on the ends of wooden axles, would support the body of a cart or a chariot. See Young, under XII 24.

**G 49** Pyramidal loomweight. Pl. 84.

MC 957. H. 0.056 m.

This is the characteristic and long lasting shape of the Attic loomweight. For general discussion see *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, pp. 73 ff. A number occur in the 7th century: Burr 246-253; Young C 174-175. They are all unevenly and capriciously worked (cf., for instance, four loomweights with the same stamp, Burr 246-

249), so that a series is not apparent. It seems, however, that the weights grow larger during the century, and that the heaviest (**G 68**) is the latest. Cf. also *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pl. 69, nos. 357-367, 6th century.

**G 50** Lentoid spindle whorl. Pl. 84.

MC 959. Diam. 0.044 m.

Burnt.

Cf. **F 61**.

**G 51** Disk. Pl. 84.

P 23453. Diam. 0.042 m.

Chipped from the body of a closed, glazed pot.

**G 52** Alabastron, Early Corinthian. Pl. 85.

P 23425. H. 0.081 m.

Tongues on top of rim, dots on side; handle glazed. Panther bird with one sickle-shaped wing. Blob rosettes in field and back. Black glaze, worn. Added purple on plumage.

A thumb sized hole, cut through the bottom, converted the vase into a funnel.

Payne (*NC*, p. 282) lists a few Early Corinthian alabastra with panther birds. Also *CVA*, Oxford I, III c, pl. II, nos. 11 and 13 (called EC-MC by Hopper, *B.S.A.*, XLIV, 1949, p. 193); *Corinth*, VII, no. 235; a Middle Corinthian group in Benson, p. 51, note 2.

Most of the cited creatures have two open wings (the pose of *Délos*, X, no. 404, is not discernible), none a siren's sickle wing as is proper for a composite beast (Payne, *NC*, p. 51, note 2). This characteristic and the small height of the vase assure a date in the last quarter of the 7th century.

**G 53** Kotyle, Protocorinthian. Pl. 85.

P 23424. *Agora*, VIII, 158. H. 0.074 m.; diam. 0.105 m.

In a line with **F 73**, with narrower foot and more rounded sides. The solid glaze has further encroached on the ray zone. Decoration all worn off, but there seems to have been no polychromy.



**G 54** Chalice, Chian. Pl. 86.

P 23458. *Agora*, VIII, 230. H. as restored 0.13 m.; diam. as restored 0.178 m. Foot, one handle and large part of rim and shoulder restored. Slightly warped.

Covered with creamy white slip inside and out. Handles glazed. Shoulder zone enclosed in thin glaze lines; groups of verticals on shoulder. Inside glazed.

The shape is that of the two chalices at Würzburg (Langlotz, K 128 and 129, pls. 13-14).

It belongs to Price's type 1 (E. R. Price, *East Greek Pottery, Classification des Céramiques antiques*, Union Académique Internationale, no. 13, p. 16, characterized by a pronounced shoulder at the base of the rim) and because of its broad squat form and clearly articulated bowl, to an early stage (cf. R. M. Cook, "Distribution of Chiot Pottery," *B.S.A.*, XLIV, 1949, pp. 155-156 for the dating of the Würzburg chalices).

An exact parallel for the linear decoration: *Délos*, XVII, p. 77, pl. LII, no. 2. Cook lists numerous plain examples; cf. also W. Lamb, "Excavations at Kato Phana in Chios," *B.S.A.*, XXXV, 1934-1935, p. 159, pl. 37, no. 19.

The chalice fabric is extremely rare on the Greek mainland, cf. R. M. Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 160, for a list of finds in the west; additions to this list in *B.S.A.*, XLII, 1952, p. 159, note 5. From the *Agora*, fragments from four vases, probably chalices, two of the late "Wild Goat" style, one perhaps later: *Agora*, VIII, 654 (P 3667) and 653 (P 3801); *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pl. 24, no. 6; from Well H two uncatalogued plain fragments, *Agora* P 24077 a and b. It is now generally agreed to be Chian in origin (R. M. Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 145). For a treatment of the fabric generally, see E. R. Price, "Pottery of Naucratis," *J.H.S.*, XLIV, 1924, pp. 205 ff.

Last quarter of the 7th century.

**G 55** Chalice. Chian. Pl. 86.

P 23459. H. as restored 0.13 m.; diam. as

restored 0.17 m. Foot, part of one handle and section of rim restored.

Shape and decoration same as **G 54**, except that there is a "two-edged saw pattern" on the shoulder instead of verticals.

For full discussion cf. **G 54**, above.

The "two-edged saw pattern" is typical of the style. See P. Dikaios, "Two Naucratis Chalices from Marium," *J.H.S.*, LXVI, 1946, pp. 7 ff., pl. 1, a and b, for chalices of somewhat more developed shape combining this pattern and vertical line groups.

Last quarter of the 7th century.

**G 56** Lamp, type 9, East Greek. Pls. 86, 89.

L 5101. H. 0.022 m.; diam. at rim 0.082 m. Nozzle missing. Grooved rim, open socket, bevelled base, concave sides.

Inside, remains of metallic brown glaze. Buff clay with much mica. Traces of burning. Wheelmade with traces of paring knife.

The clay does not look Attic. Mr. J. M. Cook informs me that this type of lamp is found in the excavations at Old Smyrna and belongs to the second half of the 7th century. He has kindly shown me photographs of his finds. The profile and rim are the same as in these. The lamps have a bridged nozzle and a circle on the side of the nozzle (cf. **H 81**). Similar, from Samos, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXXII, 1957, pp. 50-51, Beil. 76, 1-3, dated mid-7th to first half of 6th century.

Type 9, the first bridged series, also with a grooved rim (Howland, nos. 60-62, pp. 20-22, not including **G 56**) begins in Athens in the last quarter of the 7th century. It is most likely that such imports as this lamp were responsible for it, as well as for the appearance of sockets in type 11. *Agora* L 1468 provides still another example from the *Agora*. I have noticed a lamp of exactly this shape and similar fabric in Corinth (Inv. Lamp 1704). Protocorinthian and Corinthian pottery is mentioned in connection with it in the excavation report.

**G 57** Fragment of kantharos, Etruscan bucchero. Pl. 86.

P 23454. *Agora*, VIII, 659. Max. dim. 0.075 m.

Fragment preserves part of bowl with scalloped rim, offset. Soft gray core separated by a thin red layer from each of the polished black surfaces.

From an Etruscan kantharos such as *CVA*, British Museum 7, pl. 23, nos. 26-28. Last discussed by Courbin, "Origines du Canthare Attique," *B.C.H.*, LXXVII, 1953, pp. 341 ff., where it is said to be a prototype for the de-

veloped Attic kantharos. Imports to Greece are rare; only one certain sherd is reported from Athens (*Préhistoire* II, 1933, p. 45, from the Acropolis). Datable ones go back to the last quarter of the 7th century (for lists, *op. cit.*, p. 342; E. Kunze, "Etruskische Bronzen in Griechenland," *Studies presented to David M. Robinson*, Vol. I, Saint Louis, Missouri, 1951, p. 744). Our piece is the only one from the *Agora*. Mr. Brian Shefton informs me that the Etruscan bucchero fragments from Perachora are also of the last quarter of the 7th century; his complete list of Etruscan bucchero in Greece will appear in *Perachora*, II.

## WELL H

The well (M 11:3) was 6.00 m. deep with a diameter of 1.10 m. It was cut into green bedrock to one meter above bottom where the formation changed to a soft black stone which usually yields no water; during excavation only seepage water collected. Steps were cut on opposite sides of the shaft, 0.40 m. apart. The bedrock around the mouth of the well had collapsed, forming a crater with a fill of field stones which was about two meters thick, lying both above and below the level of the bedrock. In it was found the large mass of pottery, unstratified. Use filling was negligible.

Noted in *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 210.

**H 1** Fragmentary amphora, Protoattic. Pl. 67.

P 17403. a) P. H. 0.31 m.; diam. of foot 0.23 m.; b) max. dim. 0.30 m.; c) max. dim. 0.15 m.

a) High steep ring foot with straight-sided lower body. On foot, running S design bounded above and below by two bands. Transition of foot to body solidly glazed; banding above. Then simple step-maeander zone, bounded by three bands, on which stand the ends of loops. Design very careless with dabs of glaze. Where the banding has merged it is separated by incised lines.

b) Body fragment. Two figures facing over a dotted upright guilloche. Left figure in outline; right figure is the forepart of a horse with an incised guilloche for breast band and incised leg joint. End of the muzzle in center top. Below horse's belly, diamond ornament.

c) From lower body. Legs and part of stroke mane of a grazing horse. Lines on hoofs incised. Filling ornament; dot, star, diamond set, vertical line set. Below three lines, beneath which vertical line ornament.

There are also fragments of a chariot wheel with part of the horse's hind leg, of a helmet crest with a crest holder, of a helmeted head with incised vertical lines, of an arm holding reins.

There are fragments of large loop and floral ornaments. One fragment from beside the handle shows three vertical lines meeting three horizontal ones; to left, a ray; below, step maeander. To right, by handle attachment, the ends of arcs. Glaze red on one side, black on other.

The foot is like that of the New York Nessos amphora in decoration and in the use of incision to correct careless banding (*J.H.S.*, XXXII, 1912, pp. 270 ff., pls. X-XII). The *Agora* fragment must come from an amphora of similar dimensions (H. of Nessos amphora 1.085 m.).

The Schliemann krater (Pl. 66; *CVA*, Athens 2, III He, pl. 1) gave a clue to the reconstruction of the figure scene. It is a departure scene. A woman faces a horse which is harnessed to a chariot. In the chariot is an armed warrior. The woman wears a long, light stole (a κρήδεμνον ?) which sweeps forward.

The Agora fragments offer the facing figures, the one on the left with lines of a cloak across the body, the chariot wheel and a helmet (for the similar helmets on the Hymettos amphora see *B.S.A.*, XLII, 1947, p. 86, fig. 4), also rein and tail fragments. All fall into place to yield the Schliemann panel in reverse. The horse on fragment c) is on a smaller scale and comes from a lower zone. The fragments with looped ornaments all have red glaze and come from the back of the pot.

The fragments are only a little earlier than the Middle Protoattic New York amphora (*J.H.S.*, XXXII, 1912, pls. 10-12). Dark figures confront light ones over a guilloche in Early Protoattic; dotting, too, is characteristic of Early Protoattic (*Jahrb.*, II, 1887, pl. 3), but **H 1** with its incision and in view of its similarity to the Aegistheus krater (*CVA*, Berlin 1, pl. 21) must be Middle Protoattic though early in the phase when pots of the "Black and White" style were made side by side with some using no white, e.g. the Schliemann krater, without white, which was I think made in the workshop of the Checkerboard Painter (*CVA*, Berlin 1, p. 7; Cook, *J.H.S.*, LIX, 1939, p. 151) who was lavish with white.

Mrs. Karouzou suggests that an epic scene is depicted on the Schliemann krater, the departure of Hector (there are traces of a child's head under the woman's chin), or of Amphiaraios. Except for the outsized nodding plume of the warrior, the Agora fragments give no clue to the particular character of the scene. They provide, however, one of the earliest, perhaps the first, of a genre figuring a departure scene, a type discussed by W. Wrede, "Kriegers Ausfahrt in der archaisch-griechischen Kunst," *Ath. Mitt.*, XLI, 1916, pp. 222-374. He

lists a doubtful earlier one, the Phaleron amphora, 'Αρχ. Έφ., 1911, p. 249, fig. 11, now better illustrated in Cook, pl. 48. For Mycenaean departure scenes, *A.J.A.*, LXII, 1958, pl. 99, figs. 5, 6; on Homeric genre scenes see J. Notopoulos, 'Αθηνά, LXI, 1957, pp. 65 f.

About 670 B.C.

## **H 2** Foot of amphora, Protoattic. Pl. 67.

P 17359. P. H. 0.10 m.; diam. est. at base 0.16 m.

High, narrow, slightly flaring ring foot, bevelled at base. Inside, a hole with an estimated diameter of 0.06 m., the bottom edge rounded.

On foot, glaze squares enclosed by two lines above and below. Bottom of body glazed; banded zone begins above. Streaky brownish glaze.

High feet with this decorative system are typical of early Protoattic amphorae, cf. *CVA*, Berlin 1, pl. 41, nos. 1 and 2, like this one but smaller. This amphora must have had dimensions much like those of the "ornamental" amphora from Phaleron (*A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, p. 34, fig. 18).

To judge from the neat rounding of the edges, the hole in the bottom was intentionally cut. Such holes do not to my knowledge otherwise occur in Protoattic, but are found in Geometric funerary amphorae, where they serve to channel libations into the grave (cf. *Keramikos*, V, 1, pp. 33-34 and note 77).

## **H 3** Fragment of amphora, Protoattic. Pl. 66.

P 17361. Max. dim. 0.26 m.

Unevenly curved body fragment. Thick vertical zigzags with a bounding line to right; chevrons and part of a large incised plant. Below, three bands, a wavy line and more bands. Red to black glaze.

From a very large closed pot. Cf. the back of the New York Nessos amphora for the decoration (*J.H.S.*, XXXII, 1912, pl. X). The fragment must come from a similar vase.

Second quarter of the 7th century.



**H 4** Fragments of amphora, Protoattic.  
Pl. 70.

P 24076. Max. dim. a) 0.17 m.; b) 0.06 m.; c) 0.07 m.

a) Double rolled handle preserving bottom attachment. Each roll has oblique wide glaze bands facing upward toward the center and bounded by a line outside. The pattern is finished off by a double loop below. Traces of bands to the sides and below the attachment.

b) Body fragment. Above part of a loop, then three glaze lines; below, merging with the bottom line, the arched part of a figure; the outline incised, the incision branches near the bottom and the wedge has added purple.

c) Body fragment, from bottom of wall. Tips of rays meeting three lines below a simple open step meander; three lines above and, treading on these, a paw with the claws incised.

Characteristic red intrusions in the clay associate these fragments. Unevenly shiny brown glaze.

From a neck amphora. b) preserves what seems to be the upper arch of a horse's neck with a mane of strands alternately black and brilliant red (cf. Young B 68). c) does not certainly belong, but amphorae of this type do have a meander zone above the foot rays (cf. F 4). The incised paw above may, ἐξ ὀνύχων λέοντα, belong to a lion.

The handle fragment design, the glaze quality, the jagged incision of the body fragments are very much like the amphora fragment Young B 68, and both amphorae must be from the same shop. B 68 was, as Young says, a very handsome and most elaborate vase. Additional fragments have appeared since its publication, and the neck with part of the shoulder is again illustrated on Plates 70 and 90. On the neck is a crouched sphinx with sickle wing; on the shoulder a horse and rider, holding reins, presumably one of a cavalcade. Filling ornaments are dotted running hooks and sets of zigzag lines. The rider's face is in outline. Incision is used on the sphinx's plumage and haunches, on the rider's arm, the reins over the horse's mane,

the strands of the mane, the jaw bone and throat latch. Neck separated from body by three lines. On the body fragment with the floral ornament, a hoof and tail to the right are visible. Young dates this amphora to the mid 7th century (pp. 132, 233). But the sphinx and the riders look forward to the grander ways of post-Kynosarges Protoattic (Cook, pp. 198-200; Kübler, pp. 67 ff.). The technique is almost full fledged black-figure, and the absence of red is felt as an omission which is made good by the present fragments. I would therefore date both sets of fragments more than a decade later.

**H 5** Fragment of amphora, subgeometric.  
Pl. 73.

P 17354. P. H. 0.188 m.; P. W. 0.193 m.

From shoulder and neck; unbroken profile.

Outside glazed. Part of panel framed with glaze line. In panel were four pairs of concentric circles. Compass mark in center of each set. Black glaze.

A similar amphora, Young B 70. The circle decoration is taken from the necks of amphorae like *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, burial A, p. 83, pl. 35, c, and is, of course, familiar on the Attic oil jars.

The inside of the neck shows the marks of a vigorous paring knife, as if the potter had had trouble producing a jointless neck.

Young B 70 and ours are very near the true one-piece amphora invented in the third quarter of the 7th century, but do not have the typical collared rim. Young dates B 70 to the mid century or after; both bases must be the immediate predecessors of the neckless amphorae.

**H 6** Fragments of amphora, Latest Protoattic.  
Pls. 72, 90.

P 17393. *Agora*, VIII, 578. Max. dim. a) 0.195 m.; b) 0.185 m.; c) 0.08 m.; est. diam. at rim 0.26 m. Three non-joining pieces.

*Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 210, pl. XLVI, no. 3.

a) Part of rim and neck. Heavy collar rim

with a flare outside. Short, wide neck curving into shoulder.

b) and c) Curved shoulder fragments from above greatest diameter. Also a plain glazed fragment.

Glazed outside and inside. Panel framed with glaze lines, on shoulder. In panel, a woman's head to right. Preserved: a) small piece of crown of head, top and right edge of panel; b) lower part of profile including part of eye, front line of neck; c) forward part of wavy bob against neck. Shiny black glaze, thinned inside and for framing lines of panels. c) Misfired brown.

The plaster in which the pieces had been incorrectly set has been removed.

The diameter of the rim is 0.06 m. greater than that of the Agora amphora by the Nessos painter (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 367 ff., figs. 1-4). Accordingly, the amphora was probably higher, between 0.50 and 0.60 m.

The wheel-marks of b) indicate that the lower edge of the panel fell well above the largest diameter of the body. The approximately reconstructed panel (Pl. 90) was 0.17 m. high, 0.185 m. wide at the bottom. Fragment c) by reason of its very much discolored glaze probably does not belong with b) but with the panel of the other side. The panel of this, the first of the woman amphorae, is both smaller and placed higher up on the pot than on the succeeding ones. Small panels placed high on the shoulder occur on the subgeometric amphorae **F 6** and **H 5**, and it is likely that the series of monumental panelled one-piece amphorae which begins with these fragments derives its design from the subgeometric ones.

The fragments are fully discussed by Diepolder, *Festschrift Weickert*, pp. 111 ff.; *CVA*, Munich 1, p. 7, gives full literature. See also p. 310. The earliest horse-head amphora looks somewhat later, Graef, pl. 14, no. 394.

**H 7** Amphora, Protoattic. Pl. 73.

P 17402. P. H. 0.257 m.; diam. 0.30 m.  
Neck and foot missing.

Rounded body; rolled handles. The beginnings of a neck curving into the shoulder preserved.

Streaky red and black glaze. An undecorated one-piece amphora with a much fuller body and wider neck than **F 6**. Cf. the siren amphora for shape (Cook, pl. 60) dated 620 B.C. by Payne, *NC*, p. 344, earlier by Cook.

**H 8** Fragment of closed pot, Protoattic.

Pl. 70.

P 17339. Max. dim. 0.105 m.

Palmette supported by volute tendrils. Lowest petals of palmette and petals on a branch connecting the volute to the main stem in outline. Part of a lotus bud with an outline leaf in right top. Central petal of palmette marked by incision, also link which holds tendrils together; added purple on both of these and on a blossom which grows from each volute. Black glaze, worn.

A large floral complex of the "lotus and palmette" type. The combination of outline and black-figure technique is Late Protoattic. Two features are Ionian: the downturned tendril scrolls and the bud lotus (Payne, *NC*, p. 148). Earlier, a krater from the Kerameikos, Matz, pl. 225. Cf. Kübler, pl. 70.

For remarks on the difference between such early florals and running ornaments like **H 23** see E. Homann-Wedeking, *Archaische Vasenornamentik*, Athens, 1938, p. 38.

Last quarter of the 7th century B.C.

**H 9** Fragment of neck, Protoattic. Pl. 70.

P 17340. P. H. 0.075 m.

Curved, with neck attachment. At bottom three lines, above part of volute and palmette with body ending in triangle above which narrow lines enclosing zigzag. Volute separated from palmette and petals from each other by incision. Applied purple on a petal and palmette heart. Red glaze.

Probably from a large amphora a little earlier than the Peiraeus amphora (Kübler, pl. 69), i.e. ca. 625 B.C.

**H 10** Round-mouthed olpe, graffito. Pls. 75, 89.

P 17358. P. H. to rim 0.08 m.; restored diam. 0.095 m.

Round mouth, unbroken shoulder neck profile. High rolled handle, glazed all over outside and inside neck. Dull black glaze.

Cf. *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, grave 18 A, no. 3, p. 42, fig. 27 of the last quarter of the 7th century. Earlier: *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, grave 2, no. 1, p. 86, pl. 37, a; Graef, pl. 11, no. 308. In Corinth this shape occurs in the third quarter (*Corinth*, VII, no. 167) but is said to be unusual; most such olpai have neck rings.

In Athens, however, there is a full 6th century series, more slender in form than ours and often with added red stripes (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 388, no. 19, fig. 29). The olpe becomes essentially an Attic interest which is illustrated by an Agora well (F 12:5) which offers all varieties: round mouth, round mouth with neck ring, trefoil lip.

The graffito seems to read A with another letter before it.

Last quarter of the 7th century.

**H 11** Oinochoe. Pl. 75.

P 17384. H. to rim 0.085 m. Handle restored.

Broad disk foot, squat body. Around the middle, a band of purple applied in a reserved zone. Shiny black glaze, much worn.

The trefoil oinochoe with a short neck is a standard 7th century shape (Young, p. 208; *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, p. 20) particularly in a reduced format. Most of the later examples have narrow feet; this piece probably owes its broad base to the Corinthian squat oinochoe. A similar small Early Corinthian vase, *Corinth*, VII, no. 224. Other examples of the late 7th century show Corinthian influence, e.g. Young II 4. An Agora fragment of an identical vase, Agora P 3615.

This vase is of the same thin metallic fabric as the cup series (cf. **G 25**).

Last quarter of the 7th century.

**H 12** Oinochoe. Pl. 75.

P 17399. P. H. 0.43 m. Handle and neck missing.

Ring foot, rolled handle. Spring of neck slightly offset. Glazed above foot. In middle of body, reserved line with a purple band. Brown to black glaze.

A short neck and trefoil mouth should be restored. Except for the ring foot and a coarser make the oinochoe is like **G 11**.

**H 13** Fragment of oinochoe. Pl. 75.

P 17342. P. H. 0.05 m.

Part of neck and high shoulder. Thick neck ring at base of neck. From it rises a band handle. All the inside and outside of the neck glazed. The neck ring has purple on clay ground. Dull black glaze.

The fragment comes from an Attic imitation of a Late Corinthian "globular" oinochoe (Payne, *NC*, p. 325, pl. 39, no. 3). This type is made of heavy fabric in Corinth and the Attic copy has caught this. But the potter has attached the handle at the neck band, as he would in making an Attic "globular" lekythos. This oinochoe, both plain and figured, becomes popular in Athens in the 6th century. From the Agora: *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 384, no. 15, fig. 23; *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 258, no. 2, fig. 12.

Payne knows only the Middle Corinthian example, but dull glaze and directly applied purple save the piece for the first quarter of the 6th century. Nevertheless, it must be the latest in the well group.

**H 14** Aryballos. Pl. 75.

P 17369. P. H. 0.115 m. The bottom diameter is restored. The profile should curve in.

Flat, wide mouth, band handle attached to it. Concave neck with neck ring at base. Round body.

Outside glazed. Inside of neck glazed. Applied band of purple on top surface of mouth and below handle. Dull black glaze, much worn.



A plain imitation of the Corinthian flat bottomed aryballos (Payne, *NC*, pp. 291, 321). In Corinth this round-bodied shape, standing from 12 to 15 cm. high, is a revival from the Early Protocorinthian period and most popular in the 6th century (Young B 75 seems to be an Attic copy of the earlier period). The Attic globular lekythos series (cf. *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 80, no. 47 for shape history) may be derived from it (C. H. E. Haspels, *Attic Black-Figured Lekythoi*, Paris, 1936, p. 3).

There is a group of Attic copies of the Corinthian aryballos noted by Payne, *NC*, p. 201, augmented by Haspels, *op. cit.*, p. 3, note 2 (two of these figured by Beazley, *Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, pl. 18, nos. 2-3). Benson, p. 96, note 51, pl. 4 adds another. Note that many of these have neck rings, a feature regularly found on the Attic lekythoi and absent on the Corinthian aryballos. This plain fragment then joins what is probably the transition group to the Attic globular lekythos.

First quarter of the 6th century.

**H 15** Fragments of stand, Protoattic. Pl. 74.

P 17347. Max. dim. a) 0.09 m.

a) Curved fragment, finished at both edges. Top shows base of a slit. Opposed loops and triangles connected with three bands from which solid triangles to top and bottom. Bands above and below. Solid glaze at bottom.

b) Fragment perhaps from bottom of bowl with a ray and an outline ornament.

c) Small panel fragment with two diagonals. Dull glaze, worn.

From a multi-tiered openwork stand with bowl, cf. **F 15** for discussion. *CVA*, Berlin 1, pl. 24, nos. 2 and 3 has similar panel decoration.

**H 16** Fragmentary babies' commode. Pls. 74, 90.

P 17360. P. H. 0.173 m.; est. diam. at joint of bowl and stand 0.19 m.; est. diam. of hole 0.062 m.

The upper part of stand with straight, tapering sides and the lower part of a convex bowl,

the floor of which shows the neatly finished round rim. Underneath, the joint between bowl and stand is rounded off. The wall of the bowl stops halfway on the fragment and there is a finished edge between bowl floor and stand.

On the bowl, remains of vertical lines and loops. The floor and finished edge are glazed. On the stand, a zone of running S curve enclosed by bands; below, vertical zigzags, alternating with lines. Brown-red glaze.

In 1947 a black-figured stand was found in the Agora (*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 184 ff., pl. 65, nos. 2-3). Mr. Peter Corbett of the British Museum later pointed out the object's purpose as illustrated on red-figured vases (Klein, *Child Life in Greek Art*, New York, 1932, frontispiece, p. 4; better B. Van Hoorn, *De Vita atque Cultu Puerorum Monumentis Antiquis Explanato*, Amsterdam, 1909, p. 30, figs. 1, 9, 10). It is a child's high chair. This convenient "sella cacatoria infantilis, ad sedendum summa utilitate infanti" (Van Hoorn, *op. cit.*, p. 30) is much admired by modern parents who visit the Agora Museum.

The present fragment resembles the stand enough in construction to make it certain that it is from such a chair. The infant was placed in the bowl on a glazed sitting surface. Its legs were passed out the opening over the finished edge which shows the wear.

In Well F fragments from the upper and lower parts of another such stand were found (**F 18**) which help in the reconstruction of the whole 7th century object. The overall dimensions were a little smaller than those of the black-figure stand, but to judge from the edge of **F 18**, a, the opening for the child's legs was larger and the bridge that kept it from falling out higher, and it is so restored. The earlier stands seem also to have been less drawn in at the rim, in short, the child was less constricted. Neither fragment shows any moulding at rim or bowl-stand joint. There is no evidence for the height of the stand. It is here restored rather low, judging from the flare of its sides and the analogy of the later stand. The decoration on

the base is conjectural. The handle fragment **F 18**, c shows by its flatness that it sat low on the stand, but whether the handle stood off or was attached to the wall is not clear. Very likely **H 16** had such handles rather than the lugs of the later stand.

The decoration consists of the simplest orientalizing "Phaleron" motifs (for the repertory, *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, pp. 53 ff.) which last into the second half of the 7th century.

**H 17** Spouted bowl, black polychrome.  
Pl. 76.

P 17401. *Agora*, VIII, 101. H. to rim as restored 0.205 m.; diam. at shoulder 0.48 m. Complete profile and part of handle preserved; spout and most of body restored.

Sharply curved shoulder. Plain drawn-in rim with groove on top. Rolled handles set on shoulder and rising above rim. Flaring ring foot.

Covered inside and outside with glaze except for ray zone at foot. Beside the handle vertical parallel incised lines, space between filled with purple. On shoulder in back, part of a compass made rosette incised within a circle and covered with purple. At level of handles, a white line around body. Below handles, a banded zone of thin white and purple lines. Black glaze.

For the development of the shape see **F 20**, for the type of decoration **F 14**. This bowl has the shape of the slightly larger Harpies bowl (*CVA*, Berlin 1, pls. 46-47), well described by H. Kenner, "Das Louterion im Kult," *Jahresh.*, XXIX, 1935, p. 126, as a hollow echinus with a base moulding. This vase confirms the contention (*Arch. Anz.*, 1940, p. 127) that the Harpies bowl never held a lid.

It also reproduces some features of the decoration of the figured vase: rays at the base, the vertical stripe by the handle, the banded zone below the handles. The solid rosette, often incised in outline, is a stock filler of this period, although it does not appear on the Nessos bowl. Here it is stylized to accord with the scheme of

decoration. The use of added purple and incision are concessions to the new black-figure technique.

The bowl is then contemporary with the Nessos bowl which is divergently dated (Cook, p. 201: 625 B.C.; Payne, *NC*, p. 344: ca. 610 B.C.; Kübler, p. 27 and H. Kenner, *op. cit.*, p. 126: early 6th century). The shape of the bowls urges against the late dating, for it is in direct line with the 7th century examples while in the early 6th century there was degeneration of the form into dumpiness (*Arch. Anz.*, 1950, p. 122, fig. 7; *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pl. 39, c, no. 1, a miniature).

Last quarter of the 7th century.

**H 18** Two-handled basin. Pl. 76.

P 17398. Restored H. 0.155 m.; diam. 0.485 m. Foot restored after Young D 16.

Flaring, rounded sides. Wide flat rim projecting outside and drawn in on the inside. Long, low handles, rolled and flattened and set on top of rim. Upturned band ends. Glazed inside and half way down. Glaze very worn.

Young, under D 16, mentions another fragment with upturned ends (*Agora* P 5415) of the end of the 7th century. The shape continues at Athens in a plain ware: *Agora* P 13119 of the 6th century, *Agora* P 21694 of the 5th. From Corinth, two late 5th century examples, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 301, no. 195, fig. 33, whence references to several other small plain basins of the type, mostly South Italian. The development is toward a more projecting rim and straighter sides with a smaller base.

The shape is clearly derived from metal. This is demonstrated on an elaborate South Italian basin in Pernice, *Die Hellenistische Kunst in Pompeji*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1925, Vol. IV, p. 10, fig. 10, in a chapter on the metal prototypes of ceramic bowls.

The basin with upright handles on a flat rim, convenient as it is for lifting or suspension, occurs in earlier fabrics: from the Athenian *Agora* a late Helladic lily bowl (*Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 108, pl. 26, c); in Aigina, a

coarse ware type (A. Furtwängler, *Aigina, das Heiligtum der Aphaia*, Munich, 1906, p. 444, no. 97, pl. 120, no. 37) of the Geometric period. The early Agora examples (cf. **F 22**) seem, however, to head the classical series; a fine "Naukratite" basin (Gardner, *Naukratis*, London, 1888, II, p. 40, pl. VI) with plastic human heads on the rim along with the handles is later than the earlier of our pieces. In other fabrics: Italian bucchero, A. Fairbanks, *Catalogue*, I, Cambridge, Mass., 1928, pl. LXXIX; Rhodian, Kinch, *Vroulia*, pl. 23, no. 9.

Last quarter of the 7th century.

**H 19** Fragmentary two-handled basin. Pl. 76.

P 17367. P. H. 0.122 m. Handle, rim and part of body.

Like **H 18**, but the rim projects much farther out so that the handles are set outside the basin.

**H 20** Bowl. Pl. 77.

P 17386. H. 0.092 m.; diam. at rim 0.23 m. Preserved, fragments of body and rim. Handles, foot and larger part of rim and body restored.

Deep shape; flat plain rim. Inside glazed; below rim and halfway down, broad applied purple bands edged with white lines. Rim and outside halfway down glazed. Similar applied purple band outside. From base, rays meeting a glaze line.

Reddish brown glaze. Other bowls from the Agora, *Agora*, VIII, 110 (P 12588) and 111 (P 19799), with similar decoration preserve the return handles and flaring foot. This bowl shape is Attic and current in the late 7th and early 6th centuries, cf. T. J. Dunbabin, "An Attic Bowl," *B.S.A.*, XLV, 1950, p. 193, and note 2, who points out the differences from the contemporary Corinthian bowl. The shallower, more metallic "lidless lekanis" (Beazley, *Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, pp. 39 ff. *passim*, gives examples) is a 6th century continuation of this shape. The 7th century offers two predecessor shapes, the subgeometric plate and the Proto-

attic bowl (Burr, pp. 582-585; Young, pp. 162-168). The plates have return handles, but become shallow toward the end of the century (cf. **F 29**); the bowls have depth and a similar profile; **H 53** and the Protoattic one-handler from the Agora, *Agora*, VIII, 112 (P 5414), combine return handle and bowl shape.

The decoration is in the Corinthian polychrome system.

Late 7th century.

**H 21** Bowl fragment. Pl. 77.

P 17364. P. H. 0.11 m.; est. diam. at rim 0.23 m. Part of rim and body.

Plain rounded rim drawn slightly in. Wall thickens near bottom for foot joint. Glazed inside and out. Reserved band at rim on outside. Black glaze, somewhat shiny.

The profile suggests that the fragment may come from an early example of a stemmed bowl like *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 252, no. 315, fig. 55. The glaze on the fragment is very nearly "black glaze," which the shape would demand.

Late 7th century.

**H 22** Lid, Protoattic. Pl. 74.

P 17350. H. 0.035 m.; diam. 0.096 m. Radius preserved to edge.

Slightly concave; plain rim, turned down. Inverted conical knob.

On knob, three concentric glaze rings; sides glazed with added purple. At base, ray zone with a squiggle in between. Then a dotted zone, a broad glaze band, a reserved zone and glaze at rim. Glaze bands have added purple. Brown-black glaze.

The lid belongs to a kotyle pyxis with turned in rim (Payne, *NC*, p. 295). A number of these have been found at Phaleron (*Δελτ.*, II, 1916, pp. 36-37, figs. 30 no. 2, 29 no. 2, 31 no. 1; *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, grave 62, no. 2, p. 37, fig. 20. Also, from Vari, *CVA*, Munich 3, pl. 134, nos. 4-7. The knob of the lid is always an inverted cone and its edge is turned down to fit the turned in rim.

The kotyle pyxis is preferred over the



straight-sided Protocorinthian type in Attica (*A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, p. 48) though the latter type with flat lid was also made during the 7th century, cf. *Jahrb.*, 1887, II, p. 55, fig. 19.

The decoration of the lid is debased polychrome of the type current toward the end of the 7th century (cf. Young II 2-4). Squiggles sometimes occur between the rays of Corinthian kotylai.

**H 23** Fragment of pyxis lid, early black-figure. Pl. 74.

P 17337. Max. dim. 0.055 m.; est. diam. 0.22 m.

Flat lid with downturned rim. Open lotus flower with intertwining tendrils from stem. Incision for petals, where tendrils cross, at knot at base of tendrils. Glaze line just inside rim. On outer edge of rim, applied purple, also on center petal, outer leaves and on the link below the leaves of the lotus. Brown glaze. Upper surface of clay slightly redder.

Near the Nessos painter, cf. *CVA*, Berlin 1, pl. 46, no. 2, *ABV*, p. 6, no. 2.

**H 24** Fragment of lid, early black-figure. Pl. 74.

P 17341. Max. dim. 0.05 m.

From a domed lid, part of disk under knob preserved. Curled tail and rump of feline. Solid rosette. Rump, hair, ribs, and rosette incised. Applied purple on a rib. Black glaze, worn.

From a small domed lid of the animal style. Early 6th century.

**H 25** Skyphos, graffito. Pls. 78, 89.

P 17380. H. 0.05 m.; diam. 0.114 m.

Low flaring ring foot; full, rounded body, flaring rim curving into shoulder. Glazed all over except for reserved zone between handles and bottom of foot. Fine metallic fabric. Thin streaky brown glaze.

On lower body, upside down, a graffito: *Φάσων*; left to right. For owners' names in the nominative, P. Kretschmer, *Die griechischen*

*Vaseninschriften*, Gütersloh, 1894, p. 4; for the name, Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*, Berlin, 1901, s.v. Hippocrates.

Similar full bodied cups occur in Corinth in the last quarter of the 7th century (*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 221, D 34-39, pl. 80) but are rare there. Such cups in Italy, with imitation Middle Corinthian decoration, are said to be derived from the early local deep skyphos modified under Corinthian influence. This is also the case in Athens where local skyphoi with offset rims of the 7th century (Young B 55, C 39) take on features of the Corinthian cup with the "offset rim" (Payne, *NC*, p. 23, fig. 96).

This full, curved profile in a black glaze cup, *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 159, pl. 41, no. 3.

Last quarter of the 7th century.

**H 26** Kotyle, imitation of Early Corinthian. Pl. 78.

P 17391. Restored H. 0.076 m.; diam. 0.11 m. Foot and handles restored.

Apparently a wide shape with short ray zone. Thin rays. Below handles and again above rays, two bands of purple edged with white. Brown to black glaze, worn above handles.

Cf. the kotylai D 46-52 from an Early Corinthian well group, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1948, pp. 222-223, pl. LXXXI.

**H 27** Kotyle, imitation of Early Corinthian. Not illustrated.

P 17392. Restored H. 0.072 m.; diam. 0.09 m. Foot and handles restored. Red glaze. Worn above handles.

Like **H 26**, smaller.

**H 28** Kotyle. Pl. 78.

P 17378. H. 0.075 m.; diam. 0.105 m.

Broad ring foot with slanting standing surface; slightly curving sides. Glazed with short zone of tongues at base, tongues here and there marked off from each other and from main glaze by incision. Broad band of thick brilliant purple edged by white above tongues. White line

below handles, inside at rim. On underside of foot, broad band on slanting surface, concentric circles inside. Red to black glaze.

This and the following two form a small group. Tongues are sometimes substituted for rays on the Corinthian kotylai of the period, e.g. *CVA*, Brussels 1, pl. I, no. 18.

**H 29** Kotyle. Pl. 78.

P 17389. H. 0.077 m.; diam. 0.115 m.

Like **H 28**. Ring foot with rounded profile, vertical surface of ring underneath glazed. Two concentric circles on underside. The purple band below handle. Dull black glaze.

**H 30** Kotyle. Pl. 78.

P 17390. Rest. H. 0.073 m.; rest. diam. 0.112 m.

Base, both handles, most of body restored.

Like **H 28**. Flaring convex disk foot. Purple band in middle of glazed zone. Mottled red and black glaze.

**H 31** Skyphos, subgeometric. Pl. 77.

P 17379. H. 0.047 m.; diam. at rim 0.091 m.

Like **F 33**; slightly more crisp. Dull black glaze.

**H 32** One-handled cup. Pl. 79.

P 17377. H. 0.042 m.; diam. 0.096 m. Broad band handle restored.

Shallow wide body; short slightly flaring rim. Disk foot, slightly concave beneath.

Covered completely with a firm chocolate-brown glaze. On the foot, beneath, a red glaze wash. Thin firm Attic clay.

For the discussion of these "metallic" cups, see under **G 25**. This piece is the most satisfactory of the lot.

**H 33** One-handled cup. Pl. 79.

P 17376. H. 0.046 m.; diam. 0.13 m. Handle restored.

Like **H 32**, more sharply curved shoulder.

Black glaze. Clay of underside of foot reddened.

**H 34** One-handled cup. Pl. 76.

P 17374. H. 0.046 m.; diam. 0.10 m. Handle restored.

Like **H 32**, also with a glaze wash on the underside of the foot. Under the lower handle attachment is scratched a long spur, clearly taken from the central rib and spur-like attachment of a metal handle. Red and black glaze.

**H 35** One-handled cup. Pl. 79.

P 17375. H. 0.043 m.; diam. 0.091 m.

Like **H 32**, but body more pointed.

Inside a circle of applied purple glaze, much worn.

Buff clay, perhaps Corinthian. Another cup, Agora P 3614, is possibly Corinthian. A certain Corinthian example, figured, *CVA*, Copenhagen 2, pl. 91, no. 1.

**H 36** One-handled cup, angled shoulder. Pl. 79.

P 17387. H. 0.074 m.; diam. 0.104 m. Handle restored.

Like **G 30**. Foot like the kotyle, *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, p. 359, no. 24, pl. 55, figs. 2, 3, with concentric circles beneath. Firm brown glaze.

**H 37** One-handled cup, angled shoulder. Pl. 79.

P 17388. H. 0.05 m.; diam. 0.107 m. Handle restored.

Like **G 30**. Metallic black glaze. Clay of underside of foot reddened.

**H 38** One-handled cup, subgeometric. Pl. 79.

P 17372. H. 0.044 m.; diam. 0.073 m. Handle restored.

Flat bottom, rounded body curving into flaring rim. Dull black glaze inside and out.

A small late example, see **F 35**. Similar cups, imports from Athens, were found in Corinth, in Well D of the last quarter of the 7th century (*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 225, D 58-59, pl. 82) with Attic references.

**H 39** One-handled cup, subgeometric. Pl. 76.

P 17373. H. 0.068 m.; diam. 0.093 m.

Like **F 35**; slightly more pointed body with offset rim.

Thin bands below rim inside and outside and one on body outside, white or purple, worn off. A long angular scratch, mostly broken away.

An Attic cup with offset lip was also found in Well D at Corinth (see **H 38**). A subgeometric cup with white lines, Burr 65.

**H 40** Kalathos. Pl. 75.

P 17368. H. 0.062 m.; diam. at rim 0.078 m.

Body deep and flaring. Flat rim with flange. Disk foot.

Broad banding inside, narrower bands outside. Glaze squares on rim. Brown to black glaze.

The banded type has a long and copious history in the Corinthian fabric (Johansen, *V.S.*, pp. 66-67, fig. 43; Payne, *Perachora*, p. 99, pl. 30; *Corinth*, VII, nos. 148-150), only there the bands are often grouped and the shape is footless. It was imitated in Athens as early as the 8th century (*Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 108, Inv. 853).

This Attic example is larger than the average Corinthian piece and has added a foot. The Perachora deposit in which some five dozen such unbroken kalathoi were found is mainly Early Corinthian.

Last quarter of the 7th century.

**H 41** Fragment of kernos. Pl. 81.

P 17335. P. H. 0.057 m. One jug from a multiple vase.

Round mouth, uneven bulbous body pinched together lengthwise at bottom. Handle attachment at rim and shoulder. Broken joints at long ends. White slip. Handmade.

The little jug stood on a base to which it was attached with clay pressed against its bottom. Cross bars connected it to its fellows. The place of the bar attachments shows that the jug stood diagonally on the ring. *Kerameikos*, V, 1, Inv. 1145, p. 38, note 85 (bibliography), pl. 157 is

a complete example of uncertain context. The jugs have two handles. For other one-handled multiple vases cf. *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIII, 1898, p. 304; LVI, 1929, p. 15, fig. 6, "subgeometrisch." In the last two examples the jugs communicate with the hollow ring beneath them. Chr. Blinkenberg, *Lindos, Fouilles de l'Acropole, I, les petits objets*, Berlin, 1931, p. 331, remarked that such vessels cannot fulfill the function of kernoi as described by Polemon, fr. 88, namely to hold separate small quantities of various offerings of natural products. For a different kind of ring vase with open kotyliskoi from the Agora cf. *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 316, no. 18, pl. 84, with bibliography, also *B.S.A.*, XXXIII, 1949, p. 242. In the sanctuary of Demeter on Chios numerous fragments of ring vases have recently been found with little hydriai attached to and communicating with the ring (*B.S.A.*, XLIX, 1954, p. 146, nos. 129-130, pl. 7 c). Since these are undoubtedly cult vases, one must suppose that there was a wet menu as well as the dry one. The Agora fragment, however, was closed off at the bottom. It and the Kerameikos vessel are, then, rudimentary kernoi. Rubensohn (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXIII, 1898, pp. 304-305) suggested that the full-blown later examples developed from such rings set on bowls. Protogeometric examples are rare, see *Kerameikos*, I, pp. 90-91, pl. 62; the 7th century ones represent perhaps a revival from the Mycenaean "ring vases." The white slip on our example is common on later kernoi (H. A. Thompson, "Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery," *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 449 and *passim*, for later kernoi from the Agora). It is an invention of the 7th century (Young, p. 225).

From its context the present fragment may be dated in the second half of the 7th century.

**H 42** Miniature kantharos. Pl. 81.

P 17355. H. 0.029 m. Handles restored.

Flat rim, sloping in. Handle attachments show that handles rose above rim. Flat base showing string mark.



A rough reduction of the miniature kantharos, Young C 65, exaggerating the calyx-like form and the insloping rim. That a kantharos is indicated: *B.C.H.*, LXXVII, 1953, p. 33. For similar miniatures, Young C 70-76. 7th century.

**H 43** Fragment of oinochoe, imitation "Argive Monochrome." Pl. 84.

P 17336. Max. dim. 0.048 m.

Curved fragment with traces of a neck attachment. Parts of vertical and horizontal bands of rouletted decoration stamped on with a square-toothed wheel.

Handmade.

For this type of stamped "Argive Monochrome" ware generally, Pfuhl, p. 83. From the Agora, a stamped piece, Young C 155; an imitation, Young D 21.

This fragment belongs by disposition and technique of ornament to the shoulder of a long-necked, squat-bottomed oinochoe like the one in Munich (*CVA*, Munich 3, pl. 145, nos. 3 and 4, p. 42, where other pieces are cited). Though it has a buff surfacing, it is made of the pinkish, slightly micaceous Attic clay. It is a local imitation of the "Argive" buff ware (Young, p. 199; *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 203-204).

7th century.

**H 44** Amphoriskos. Pl. 81.

P 17357. H. as restored 0.085 m.; diam. at shoulder 0.063 m. Lower body and foot restored.

Flaring torus rim with slightly raised ring below it. Short handles set on high, rounded shoulder.

Body and handles glazed except for banded zone below handles. On neck, dotted circle between facing sigmas on each side. Neck glazed inside. Reddish glaze, worn.

A miniature of the Attic oil jar (cf. **F 40**). The rim preserves the familiar echinus shape and the drip band; the neck has the  $\Sigma\text{O}\Sigma$  marking. Under the short handles there is a banded zone, as usual. The foot is restored after the

large jars of the same stage. The thinness and flare of the rim show it to be a late one.

An amphora stamp (4th century, Pl. 81. Thasos A. B. 1541, A.-M. and A. Bon, *Les timbres amphoriques de Thasos*, p. 151, under no. 443) which Miss Virginia Grace has kindly brought to my attention shows a strigil and a tiny amphora on a strap. Our miniature oil jar may have been such a portable cake of soap. Dedications of such miniature vases are numerous. Ten amphoriskoi from the Delian Heraion are clearly derived from the oil jars, but glaze, form and loss of the neck marking show them to be of the 6th century. They are thought to have held perfume (*Délos*, X, p. 162, nos. 572-582, pl. 43).

The piece has other interest than merely as a midget vase. A group of early "Panathenaic" amphoriskoi (*Arch. Anz.*, 1933, pp. 20 ff., figs. 16-17; *Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, p. 41, pl. 2, no. 1) have not only like shape, but recognizable vestiges of the marking. The origin of the group, whether Boeotian or Attic, was considered somewhat doubtful (*Arch. Anz.*, 1933, p. 20) but the connection with the Attic oil jar (noticed by Pfuhl, p. 127) might speak for an Attic origin, especially in view of this early Attic miniature. How the little vases came to Boeotia might then be explained by the later true Panathenaic series (on the connection of the early oil jar and the Panathenaic amphora, cf. Beazley, *Development*, p. 39). This had a counter series of miniatures in which a scented oil was bottled and sold (Beazley, "Miniature Panathenaics," *B.S.A.*, XLI, 1945, p. 10).

For an earlier amphoriskos whose derivation from the oil jar is doubtful, *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, grave 32, no. 4, p. 39, fig. 21. An 8th century beast of burden carrying four miniature ancestors of the oil jar, *Kerameikos*, V, 1, Inv. 1311, pl. 144.

**H 45** Storage amphora. Pl. 80.

P 17400. Restored H. 0.660 m.; restored diam. 0.50 m. No continuous profile preserved.

See under **F 40**. The neck is higher and the

body more pointed. On each side of neck, pair of double sigmas facing two concentric circles.

A little later than **F 40**.

**H 46** Storage amphora. Pl. 80.

P 17356. P. H. 0.181 m. Neck and shoulder fragment.

*Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, p. 3, no. 1, pl. 1.

From an amphora like **F 40**. The rim is changing from echinus to torus shape; the neck ring merely indicated. On both sides of the curved neck, double sigmas on each side of the compass drawn concentric circles. On one side, right of the circles, three vertical scratched lines; a break on the left may have removed others. Glaze worn.

All features of the shape are late (cf. *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, p. 51). The graffito is interpreted as an indication of capacity (M. Lang, "Numerical Notation on Greek Vases," *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, pp. 2-3).

Late 7th century.

**H 47** Jug, trefoil mouth. Pl. 81.

P 17370. H. 0.118 m.; diam. at bottom 0.059 m. Handle largely restored.

Plain rim, pinched in slightly. Vertical band handle. Deep curved body bulging near bottom. Plain base with a slight standing ridge.

Lower body glazed; bands above, more closely spaced at bottom than above. Wavy line near top. Rim glazed inside and out. Dull brown glaze.

In shape, this pot is a modified trailer of the Geometric jug. For the last Protoattic examples of this shape about the mid-century, the Kera-meikos jugs: *Arch. Anz.*, 1940, p. 310, fig. 1; plainer pieces: *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, grave 48, no. 1 A-C and 16, pp. 36, 49.

The decoration is as on round-mouthed jugs. Second half of the 7th century.

**H 48** Round-mouthed jug. Pl. 81.

P 17348. H. to rim 0.165 m.; diam. 0.155 m. The same plain round mouth, rounded body

and disk foot as **F 43**. Similar banded decoration. This pot and **H 49** have a slightly concave foot and the handle is set off by vertical glaze bands. By the context these two are somewhat later than **F 43** ff.

**H 49** Round-mouthed jug. Pl. 81.

P 17349. H. to rim 0.17 m.; diam. 0.16 m.

Like **H 48**.

**H 50** Round-mouthed jug. Pl. 81.

P 17397. H. to rim 0.175 m.; greatest diam. 0.185 m. Cylindrical neck with flattened, spreading rim. High band handle with edges rolled back to form flanges. Body a flattened sphere. Torus ring foot.

Neck glazed inside and outside; rim reserved. Handle and foot glazed. Black glaze.

This type of metallic jug was introduced from Corinth very early in the 6th century to replace the plain series of banded household jugs with a wavy line on the shoulder (see **F 43**), which ceases in the 6th century. The new type continued long without much alteration; cf. examples from the mid-5th century (*Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 89, nos. 92-93, pl. 32; under no. 93, references to other examples). Our pot is there mentioned as the earliest in the Agora; also early, Agora P 3606.

In Corinth this series shows a development beginning at the end of the 7th century (*Corinth*, VII, no. 231; *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 217, D 7, pl. 78). Our jug resembles the 6th century examples (listed under *Corinth*, VII, no. 231).

**H 51** Jug handle. Pl. 81.

P 17345. P. H. 0.16 m.

High handle with edges turned up so as to make it almost a tube. Glazed all over except for a strip in the hollow.

The potter has tried to outdo his metallic examples and the clay has cracked down the center.

**H 52** Fragment of basin. Pl. 81.

P 17365. P. H. 0.13 m.; est. diam. 0.48 m. Rim fragment including one handle.

Flat rim extending out with a slight flange below. Rolled horizontal handles. Handle, underside of rim glazed. Widely spaced glaze bands inside and out. On rim and in handle zone, wavy line. Brownish black glaze.

A similar 7th century bowl, but with plain rim: Young B 7. The broad flat rim is like those of the wash basins (cf. **H 18**).

Second half of the 7th century.

**H 53** Fragment of bowl. Pl. 81.

P 17363. P. H. 0.085 m.; diam. est. at rim 0.20 m. Fragment includes parts of rim, handle and body.

Flattened rim slightly drawn out. Vertical handle with returning spurs applied at rim.

Banded outside, wavy line in handle zone. Glazed inside. Reddish glaze.

These bowls resemble deepened subgeometric plates (cf. **F 29**, and Young, pp. 206, 162 ff.). The wide banding is a sign of lateness.

Second half of the 7th century.

**H 54** Fragment of bowl. Pl. 81.

P 17362. P. H. 0.16 m.; diam. est. at rim 0.30 m. Part of rim and body.

Deep curved body; flattened rim drawn toward the outside. Outside banded; wavy line below rim. Inside glazed, much pitted near bottom. Brown to black glaze.

Similar to **H 53** but bigger. Like **H 53** it probably had return handles.

**H 55** Amphora, household ware. Pl. 82.

P 17381. H. 0.315 m.; greatest diam. 0.26 m. See **F 46** and **G 40**.

**H 56** Amphora, household ware. Pl. 82.

P 17394. *Agora*, VIII, 202. H. 0.285 m.; greatest diam. 0.252 m.

Like **H 55**.

**H 57** Amphora, household ware. Pl. 82.

P 17382. H. 0.25 m.; greatest diam. 0.215 m. Like **H 55**.

**H 58** Hydria, household ware. Pl. 82.

P 17395. Restored H. 0.24 m.; greatest diam. 0.225 m. Base restored.

**G 42** in small size. A fragmentary hydria of the larger format was also found in the well (*Agora* P 17396).

**H 59** Cooking jug, household ware. Pl. 83.

P 17371. *Agora*, VIII, 208. Restored H. 0.145 m.; greatest diam. 0.127 m. Base restored. See **F 50**.

**H 60** Incised fragment, household ware. Pl. 84.

P 17351. Max. dim. 0.065 m. From a shoulder. Double wavy line over the tips of double zigzags.

See Young, p. 199, and *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pp. 139-140.

**H 61** Basin, household ware. Pl. 83.

P 17383. Restored H. 0.185 m.; diam. 0.345 m. Foot missing.

Pointed body; rolled handles attached well below rim. Flat rim, extending out with a ridge inside and outside on the top surface and with a bevelled edge on the inside. A spout made by pressing some clay of the rim outwards. Bottom burnt.

See under **F 53** for history. Bath water may have been heated in this.

**H 62** Lamp, type 2 A. Pls. 84, 89.

L 4140. H. 0.018 m.; max. dim. 0.054 m. Fragment of circumference.

Shallow saucer with flat base and plain, in-drawn rim. Red micaceous clay. Handmade. Howland, no. 7, p. 9.

The lamp is to be restored with unbridged nozzle (*Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, p. 11, fig. 9, b)



and, on the model of other such lamps, without a handle. See Howland, p. 8.

Late 7th to early 6th century.

**H 63** Fragment of terracotta horse. Pl. 84.

T 2321. P. H. 0.05 m.

Fragment preserves parts of rump, neck and both front legs. Pinched mane.

Body covered with glaze except for mane and underside of belly. On chest, a reserved panel with four dots. Dull black glaze.

Geometric horses, both attached to pyxis lids and free-standing, usually have reserved breast straps filled with circles connected by oblique lines. The panels filled with dots on this horse's breast are the subgeometric dregs of this decoration. The wide spread of the leg stumps indicates that the horse was free-standing (cf. Young XII 18).

7th century.

**H 64** Fragment of terracotta chair (?). Pl. 84.

T 2320. Max. dim. 0.05 m.

One face chipped away. On the other, a pair of stumps with an edge, the other pair broken away. Two other attachments on the surface. Glaze lines connect stumps. Traces also around attachments. Brownish glaze.

Evidently from a chair like Young XII 23, but of subgeometric workmanship. One attachment seems to be for an upright of a chair back, the other that of the figure seated on the chair.

**H 65** Fragments of terracotta shield. Pl. 84.

T 2318. Max. dim. 0.06 m.; est. diam. 0.14 m.

Fragment preserves part of deeply concave shield bowl, sharply offset from flat, slightly keeled rim.

Outside covered with white slip. Added red decoration of rectangles on rim, traces of a circle on bowl. Wheelmade.

Whole pieces and fragments amounting to thirty-three such shields were found in the Protoattic votive deposit from the Agora (Burr, pp. 609 ff.). Some of the better preserved of

these show two handles, one in the center to pass the arm through, the other near the rim, to grip with the figures, the *πόρπαξ* and *ἀντιλαβή* of the hoplite shield. The bulk of the shields can be dated fairly accurately in the second quarter of the century and later, not only from the general context, but from the use of the new terracotta technique, i.e. refined clay and polychrome decoration on a white slip. The significance of the Agora group is discussed by Lormer ("The Hoplite Phalanx," *B.S.A.*, XLII, 1947, pp. 91 ff.). It helps to fix the date of the introduction of the hoplite equipment somewhat before 675 B.C.

The profile is as in Burr 287, p. 612, fig. 79.

**H 66** Fragment of terracotta plaque. Pl. 84.

T 2319. W. 0.06 m.; L. 0.07 m.

A rectangle with three finished edges. In the two finished corners, punched holes which have not gone through to the back. The underside striated as if plaque had dried on a wicker mat, a *κάλαμος*.

Right surface and finished edges covered with white slip. On this, very blurred, red decoration, two horizontal lines across the width of the plaque, one near the short edge, one near the break, and short verticals from it to the edge. Between them, a circle with a dot inside (?) and traces of smaller circles around it. Traces of gray decoration.

A number of similar plaques have been found in the Agora (Burr, pp. 604 ff.; Young B 49). The design, though much smeared, seems to have been a simple geometric one. The color which now looks gray was originally a bluish green as reported on several other Agora plaques (Burr 277-279). It seems to occur only in the Agora polychromy of this period (Knoblauch, *Studien zur archaisch-griechischen Tonbildnerei in Kreta, Rhodos, Athen und Böotien*, Halle, 1937, p. 82).

These plaques were probably suspended as votives. The suspension holes of this fragment were never quite punched through, and it must have remained an undedicated discard.

General bibliography of Protoattic plaques, Kübler, p. 31.

**H 67** Pyramidal loomweight. Pl. 84.

MC 682. H. 0.057 m.

The apex worn round. See under **F 60**.

**H 68** Pyramidal loomweight. Pl. 84.

MC 681. H. 0.058 m.

The pyramid much broader and heavier than in **H 67**. See under **F 60**.

**H 69** Pyramidal loomweight. Pl. 84.

MC 683. H. 0.062 m.

Higher and steeper than **H 67**. Burnt.

**H 70** Pyramidal loomweight. Pl. 84.

MC 684. H. 0.057 m.

A hole in the flattened apex, to prevent cracking. Burnt. The clay is whitish, coarse and friable with gray intrusions and resembles the white earth from Tatoi now mixed with red clay in Attic potteries. Another pyramidal weight of this fabric has scratched on it an abortive *abecedarium* (Agora MC 907, from a late Geometric well).

**H 71** Loomweight. Pl. 84.

MC 685. P. H. 0.039 m. Base broken away.

Shape like **F 60**.

One broad and the narrow surface glazed. Young C 175 has an experimental dab of paint; later glazing became the rule (*Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, p. 74). Black, flaky glaze.

**H 72** Lentoid spindle whorl. Pl. 84.

MC 686. Diam. 0.05 m. Half broken away.

Cf. **F 61**.

**H 73** Disk. Pl. 84.

P 17332. Diam. 0.036 m.

Chipped from the body of a closed banded pot. See **F 62**.

**H 74** Disk. Pl. 84.

P 17331. Diam. 0.053 m.

Chipped out of the body of a large closed glazed pot, probably a wine jar. Hole chipped through, off center, see **F 62**.

**H 75** Disk. Pl. 84.

P 17333. Diam. 0.045 m.

Cut out of the body of a household pot.

**H 76** Disk. Pl. 84.

P 17334. Diam. 0.056 m.

Cut from a coarse pithos and smoothed.

**H 77** Small stone ball. Pl. 84.

ST 627. Diam. 0.03 m.

A handy little crayon of a gritty white stone which leaves marks on stone, terracotta and wood.

**H 78** Fragment of well head. Pl. 89.

A 2473. P. H. 0.225 m.; est. diam. at base 0.56 m. Bottom rim and small part of wall preserved.

Broad, flat standing surface spreading inside and outside to a ridge. Wall tapers quickly near bottom and curves in; begins to straighten up near top of fragment. Broad glaze band at bottom.

Cf. Appendix **S 28**.

For the thorough discussion of the drum-shaped well heads, the type to which the fragment belongs, M. Lang, *Ἰσθμια Φρεάτων*, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 114 ff., fig. 6, a sketch of a manner of setting the head of the well. Since then, a well found in Corinth with the base rim still in place has shown that it actually stood in a rabbet in the top course of the curbing. Plate 89 gives the corrected view with the profile of our fragment and the dimension of Well H. The mouth of the shaft was probably narrowed to the diameter of the well head

by means of a corbelled curbing of rough picked stones.

The identification of the present fragment rests on the diameter, on the profile of the base rim and on the broad band of glaze, all of which match other drum-shaped well heads found in the Agora.

The ordinary well coping of the 7th century must have been the pithos top (**F 55**). The earliest examples previously known of well heads made for the purpose belong to the first half of the 6th century (Lang, *op. cit.*, pp. 119, 125-126, nos. 7-8); these do not preserve the base rim. They do, however, have mouldings around the wall. The later examples have a base collar. It is possible that our fragment lacked mouldings. Its context allows a dating in the 7th century, since the well head would be among the earliest pieces of a well group.

**H 79** Alabastron, Corinthian. Pl. 85.

P 17385. Restored H. 0.10 m. Lug handle and fragments of upper body preserved. The body restored to accord with the average height of such alabastra (Payne, *NC*, p. 281).

Part of head, neck and tail feathers of a cock. Between the neck and tail, an elongated lotus. Solid, incised rosettes; tongues at neck.

An Early Corinthian alabastron of Group A (Payne, *NC*, p. 281) in which cocks are frequent (*NC*, Catalogue, 267-290). Better pieces have facing cocks (Benson, pp. 32-33, no. 41); inferior pieces with only one are numerous, e.g. *Délos*, XVIII, pl. LVI, no. 46.

Last quarter of the 7th century.

**H 80** Kotyle, Middle Corinthian. Pl. 85.

P 17352. P. H. 0.091 m. From the lower wall.

Rays meet a double line, on which a bird, and facing it, paws of a feline. Incised blob rosettes. Glaze all peeled off.

Cf. *A.J.A.*, XXXV, 1931, p. 14, fig. 9; Payne, *NC*, p. 308.

Not illustrated is an insignificant fragment of a kotyle in the silhouette style (Agora P 17353).

**H 81** Lamp, type 9, import. Pl. 86.

L 4139. H. 0.03 m.; diam. at rim as restored 0.085 m. Part of body, one side of nozzle and part of bridge preserved. The body should have been restored with a socket. Howland, no. 62, p. 22, pls. 3, 22, 31.

Shape and fabric as in **G 56**. The grooved rim continues over the nozzle. On the side of the nozzle there is a deeply incised circle open on top.

See **G 56** for full discussion. The lamps from Smyrna have a characteristic marking of two small or one large circle on the side of the nozzle, so that the provenience of this lamp seems assured. A Smyrnaean lamp showing these circles was found in Nisyros (*Clara Rhodes* VI-VII, grave XIV, p. 494, fig. 21). I owe the reference to Mr. J. M. Cook. A similar lamp with circles on each side of the nozzle from the Samian Heraeum (*Ath. Mitt.*, LIV, 1929, p. 53, fig. 44, no. 2) is said to be "certainly indigenous" and of "Attic" type.

The impressed circles appear also as amphora stamps, *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 104-105, under no. 152.

## APPENDIX: WELL S (Pls. 87, 88)

In April 1959, after the completion of the articles dealing with the Late Geometric (I-R) and Protoattic (E-H) well groups from the Athenian Agora, a new Protoattic group of unusual interest came to light in the course of the current excavations near the southeast corner of the market square. A selection consisting of somewhat less than half of its inventoried contents is here briefly presented.

Most of the material belonged to a dumped fill of remarkably compact date, namely the second quarter of the 7th century B.C. The deposit thus fills in a gap in the presentation since it falls



between the Late Geometric well groups which run into the first quarter and the Protoattic groups which are of the third and last quarter of the 7th century.

A meager use fill, here represented by **S 32** and **S 33**, ran into the later 7th century. Evidently the dumped fill was obtained from some uncontaminated early deposit. The later date of the use period of the well is corroborated by a near-by deposit containing pottery of the second half of the 7th century which very probably belonged to the house which was served by the well (**S 17:2**).

The well contained extremely interesting varia which are not published here: a worked tortoise shell which may have been part of a musical instrument (**BI 776**), a lump of yellow ochre of the kind used to make the applied red which comes into full use just at this time (**MC 1056**) and an unusually large number of grinders and polishing stones. There were also some bits of mud brick. It is possible that the well belonged to a potter's establishment where both ochre and grinders would have been used. The unusually great number and variety of loomweights and spindle whorls both in the well (**S 21-S 36** are about one-third of those inventoried) and in the house deposit (which also contained many terracottas, more ochre, and trial pieces) may then be thought of as part of the stock or product of this workshop.

The well (**R 17:5**) was 7.55 m. deep, bottom diam. 1.00 m. Twelve steps on each side, *ca.* 0.40 m. apart. Little water.

Dumped filling (**S 1-S 30**), second quarter of the 7th century B.C. Use filling (**S 32-S 33**), latter part of the 7th century B.C.

#### FIGURED POTTERY

**S 1** Fragmentary amphora. Pl. 87.

P 26415. *Agora*, VIII, 540. P. H. of neck fragment 0.085 m.; est. diam. at rim 0.20 m.

Flaring rim rounded outside with band inside, step-maeander outside. On neck, a long-legged bird. Under handle (missing), a panel with opposing arches. On shoulder, black and light rays; below, zone of line-maeander, then black and light leaves; below, step-maeander. Steep ring foot. Brownish black glaze, no added white.

By the Ram Jug painter, above p. 309. In particular cf. Kübler, pls. 19, 20, 51.

Before mid 7th century.

**S 2** Fragmentary fenestrated stand. Pl. 87.

P 26413. *Agora*, VIII, 541. Est. diam. at bottom 0.26 m.; H. of panels 0.08 m.

Rounded moulding at bottom; grooves set off panel zones. Two bottom panels, one with a floral, the other with a swan preserved. Below, hanging hook band, above a collar of beaked spirals, then a fragment of the second storey

panel. A fragment with hanging hooks, unglazed inside, may be from the bowl.

By the Ram Jug Painter. Cf. **S 1**.

**S 3** Neck of Hydria. Pl. 87.

P 26411. *Agora*, VIII, 417. H. 0.12 m.; top diam. 0.15 m.

Flaring rim, bands inside; applied plastic painted snake, painted outside. On neck, three women in chitons half light and half dark, holding branches, to right. Incision for hair, eyes, noses. Applied white over glaze of gowns (?). At right a standing outline guilloche. On either side of handle panel, a loop ornament with petal ends; the central leaf on the left is crisscrossed by white lines, on the right by incised lines. The handle bears the beginning of a plastic snake. Brownish glaze.

Cf. Burr 136. Very close to the oinochoe, Kübler, pl. 23 (the other side appears in Matz, pl. 199). A good case could be made for its being by the same hand: the ornament, otherwise rare (I know of it only on the foot of the krater *CVA* Berlin 1, A 24, pl. 15 and, without blossoms, on the shoulder of the unpublished Early Protoattic amphora N. M. 19332) is almost identical. On the oinochoe as well as on **S 3** the painter plays with the juxtaposition of light and dark. The (unpublished) face of the sphinx on the oinochoe has the same beet nose and bumpkin profile as have the faces on

**S 3.** The style and ornament is that of the very beginning of Middle Protoattic, i.e. of *ca.* 675 B.C.; it is closely connected to the work of the Mesogeia painter (Cook, pp. 176-178) which immediately precedes it.

#### POTTERY WITH ORNAMENTAL DECORATION

**S 4** Fragment of kotyle-krater. Pl. 87.

P 26477. *Agora*, VIII, 459. P. W. 0.115 m.

Rim turns in, has step-maeander. Band handle with return ends has incised circles. At left, a triangle with solid center, standing on bands. Below end of tail (?) with incision. Glazed inside.

Very early.

**S 5** Jug. Pl. 87.

P 26475. P. H. 0.095 m.

Mouth and handle missing. Plain foot. Hanging hooks, bands below.

Phaleron ware. An amphoriskos from Olympia, *Jahrb.*, LII, 1937, *Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia*, pl. 4, looks similar though it is not Attic.

**S 6** Kalathos. Pl. 87.

P 26479. P. H. 0.06 m.; est. diam. 0.08 m.

Thickened rounded rim with zigzags. Below, bands and zones of linear decoration. Glazed inside.

Phaleron ware. Cf. R. Lullies, *Eine Sammlung griechischer Kleinkunst*, no. 31.

**S 7** Kotyle fragment, imitation of Protocorinthian. Pl. 87.

P 26482. H. 0.10 m.; est. diam. 0.15 m.

A careless spiral has been substituted for the rays usual in the Protocorinthian type, for which see Young C 8.

**S 8** Kotyle fragment, imitation of Protocorinthian. Pl. 87.

P 26484. H. 0.09 m.

In handle zone, vertical lines, below connected dots and rays.

Cf. Young C 31.

**S 9** Pyxis bowl fragment. Pl. 87.

P 26499. P. W. 0.055 m.

Flanged rim. Glazed inside. On rim, running S. Outside, hourglass, bands.

Copy of Protocorinthian subgeometric ware (*Corinth*, VII, pl. 22, nos. 152, 153). Cf. for the prototype, *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, p. 38, fig. 19.

**S 10** Cup fragment. Pl. 87.

P 26506. Est. diam. 0.14 m.

Stand-up rim, not offset from shoulder, half glazed. On shoulder, zone with short verticals in center, vertical lines at sides. Below, banding and rays.

Cf. for the Protocorinthian subgeometric prototype, *CVA*, Oxford 1, III c, pl. 1, 50.

#### PLAIN PAINTED POTTERY

**S 11** Amphora neck. Pl. 88.

P 26463. *Agora*, VIII, 16. Diam. at rim 0.12 m.

Thin flaring rim glazed part way down inside. Rolled handle.

A rarity in this period, an all black-glazed amphora, perhaps the earliest known.

**S 12** Oinochoe. Pl. 88.

P 26414. H. 0.23 m.; diam. 0.135 m.

Double rolled handle. Disk foot. Pairs of thin white bands at wide intervals on neck and body. Hole made before firing on rim between rolls of handle.

Represents a plentiful ware which is the proper forerunner of 6th century black-glaze; painted a streaky brown all over and decorated with applied white bands (cf. **F 20**).

**S 13** Jug aryballos. Pl. 88.

P 26468. P. H. *ca.* 0.17 m.; diam. 0.145 m.

Band handle with bars. On round mouth dots and bands. On shoulder, banded reserved zones. Another reserved zone a little below.

Giant subgeometric copy of Protocorinthian round aryballos.

**S 14** Aryballos. Pl. 87.

P 26472. H. to neck 0.065 m.; diam. 0.08 m.

Band handle and narrow neck missing. Disk foot. Reserved banded zone at base of handle.

Subgeometric copy of Protocorinthian round aryballos.

**S 15** Trefoil oinochoe. Pl. 87.

P 26471. *Agora*, VIII, 59. H. 0.10 m.; diam. 0.08 m.

Band handle missing. Plain foot. Glazed as

**S 14.**

Subgeometric.

**S 16** Kotyle. Pl. 87.

P 26486. H. 0.07 m.

Disk foot. Handle zone reserved, otherwise glazed.

Copy of Protocorinthian shape with Attic subgeometric glaze scheme.

**S 17** One-handled cup. Fig. 1, Pl. 87.

P 26420. H. 0.07 m.; diam. 0.095 m.

Band handle missing. Flaring rim, banded inside. Graffito near handle.



FIG. 1. S 18 and S 17 (1:1).

A typical subgeometric cup of the second quarter of the 7th century (cf. **F 35**) which bears a graffito, the name of its owner Φίλων in the genitive.

**S 18** Cup fragment with graffito. Fig. 1.

P 26452. P. L. 0.06 m.

From a cup like **S 17**, with the hate graffito *μισητος* *ho* *π[ais]* (restoration suggested by E. Vanderpool). The first word means *hateful* or *lewd*, according to whether it is oxytone or proparoxytone.

## IMPORTED POTTERY

**S 19** Protocorinthian aryballos. Pl. 87.

P 26419. P. H. 0.075 m.

On shoulder two running dogs, on body four. Ring foot.

Subgeometric aryballos of the type of **F 68** but earlier, i.e. second quarter of the 7th century, see *Délos*, XV, pls. 53-54 *passim*.

**S 20** Fragmentary East Greek bird-bowl. Pl. 87.

P 26491. Est. Diam. 0.14 m.

Foot missing. Lower part glazed. On shoulder panel, concentric diamonds (?) at left, two triangles hanging from line at rim, tail of bird (?) to right, two lines above glaze zone. Handles marked off by glaze lines. Soft clay with gray core and light slip. Gray to black streaky glaze.

Cf. *Délos*, XV, pl. 48, A.

**S 21** Amphora fragment. Fig. 2, Pl. 88.

P 26466. P. H. 0.36 m.; diam. 0.28 m.

Cylindrical neck with torus rim; below, a ridge; rolled handles attached at ridge and on shoulder, with finger depression at base. The whole was originally covered with creamy slip almost all worn. Faint traces of dark glaze lines, three on each side of handles, a wave bracket (?) on shoulder, two bands below; on neck, vertical lines (?).



East Greek fabric of unknown origin. The moustache-like wave bracket is also East Greek, see the Samian hydria *Ath. Mitt.*, LXXII, 1957, Beil. 55, 2.

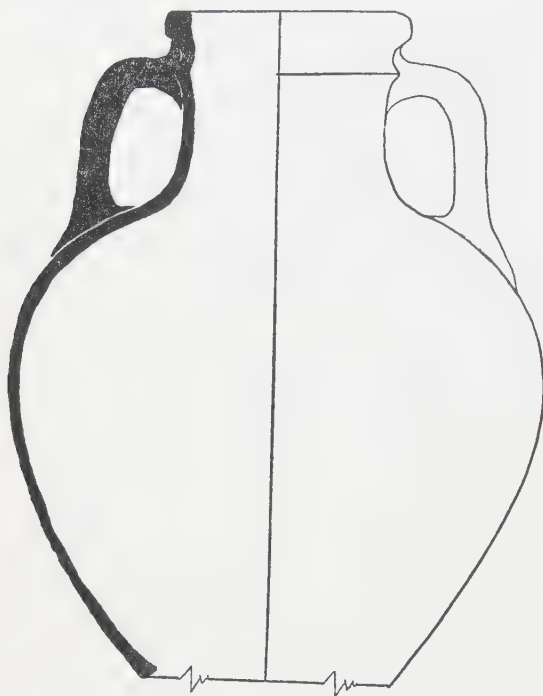


FIG. 2. S 21 (1:4).

#### LOOMWEIGHTS AND SPINDLE WHORLS

**S 22** Muffin-shaped loomweight. Pl. 88.

MC 1043. W. 0.062 m.; Th. 0.029 m.

**S 23** Pyramidal loomweight. Pl. 88.

MC 1055. H. 0.06 m. Square base. One side has punched star rosette.

Most frequent 7th century shape.

**S 24** Conical loomweight. Pl. 88.

MC 1047. H. 0.07 m.; diam. at base 0.047 m. Clay has red intrusions such as may be Corinthian.

Type probably borrowed from Corinth (*Corinth*, XII, pp. 147 ff.).

**S 25** Spindle whorl. Pl. 88.

MC 1060. Diam. 0.055 m.; Th. 0.043 m. Incised strokes around hole.

See **S 26**.

**S 26** Spindle whorl. Pl. 88.

MC 1059. H. 0.04 m.; diam. at ridge between high upper and shallow lower cone 0.05 m. Traces of glaze decoration on shallow cone.

**S 25-27** show the development from the standard Geometric double cone toward the classical single cone which must have taken place about this time. **S 26** provides the perfect transitional piece.

**S 27** Spindle whorl. Pl. 88.

MC 1040. H. 0.023 m.; diam. at base 0.025 m. Slightly hollowed beneath. On sides hanging hooks between bands; on bottom, outside, dots, circles, again dots and more circles toward hole. Brownish glaze.

See **S 26**.

#### MICACEOUS HOUSEHOLD WARE; WELL HEAD

**S 28** Kados. Pl. 88.

P 26417. H. 0.255 m.; diam. 0.21 m. Rolled handles, ring foot.

An amphora of a type called kados, of little-articulated early shape (see **G 41** for a later stage).

**S 29** Cooking jug. Pl. 88.

P 26494. H. 0.09 m.

Burnt down the front by the hearth fire.

**S 30** Trefoil oinochoe. Pl. 88.

P 26416. *Agora*, VIII, 214. H. 0.25 m.; diam. 0.17 m.

Slender shape characteristic of the first half of 7th century.

**S 31** Trefoil oinochoe. Pl. 88.

P 26502. H. 0.245 m.; diam. 0.18 m. Band handle, ring foot. Two holes in lower body.

Round body characteristic of late 7th century; this is from the use fill. **F 48** and **G 43** illustrate the development between **S 30** and **S 31**.

**S 32** Well head. Fig. 3, Pl. 88.

A 2753. H. 0.45 m.; diam. at bottom 0.595 m.

Drum-shaped, getting narrower toward top. At sides, thick lugs, each pierced twice and glazed. In the preserved part of the wall is a round hole, doubtless one of a pair such as normally appear in terracotta puteals for holding a cross bar to support a container of food or drink suspended in the well for coolness' sake. Broad flat overhanging rim, glazed. Broad glaze bands at top and bottom and in middle of cylinder.

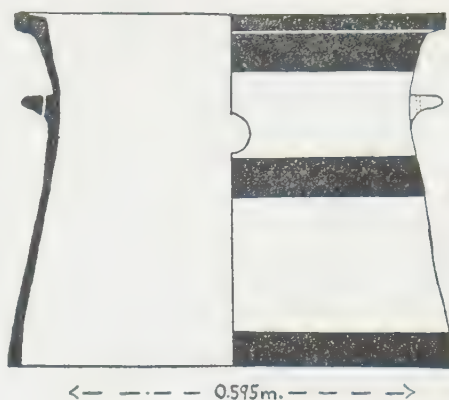


FIG. 3. S 32 (1:10).

This separated the use fill from the dumped fill. It is probably the earliest drum-shaped well head in Athens (see under **H 78**).

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# HELLENISTIC GLASS VESSELS FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA

(PLATES 91-95)

THE gaps in our knowledge of glass vessels made before the invention of the blow-pipe are gradually being filled in, during recent years at a rather rapid rate. Some pieces discovered in the Athenian Agora may be of considerable help in formulating the picture of glassmaking as it was carried on in the Hellenistic period.<sup>1</sup>

To summarize briefly the methods of glass manufacture used before blowing, there seem to have been three: the so-called sand-core method, carving out of a solid block of glass, and casting in a mould.<sup>2</sup> By the third or second century B.C. the cutting of vessels from blocks of glass probably had gone out of use and sand-core products were rapidly deteriorating, while casting in a mould was the method which came to the fore. It persisted, indeed, long after blowing became the ruling technique.

The most remarkable glassware of the Hellenistic period is undoubtedly the bowls with patterns in gold leaf encased between two thicknesses of glass. All the examples known<sup>3</sup> obviously had prototypes in vessels of precious metals. But less pretentious glass products of this time also imitate metal vessels, at least in a general way. Among the finds from the Athenian Agora are quite a few fragments of moulded glass vessels of simple types; despite their extremely fragmentary condition they are most important because they were found in contexts which can be dated. These vessels are all open bowls, a shape easy to cast. They can be classified roughly into two varieties: an approximately hemispherical bowl with a flaring rim and generally with vertical fluting, and a hemispherical or conical bowl with straight or incurving rim.

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Dr. H. A. Thompson for permitting me to publish material from the Athenian Agora, to Miss Alison Frantz for the excellent photographs, and to Miss Lucy Talcott for uncounted favors. Most of the profiles of the Agora vessels were drawn by Marian Welker, those of the comparative material by Martin Jones after drawings by myself which may not be entirely accurate. For permission to publish individual vessels I wish to thank the authorities of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Haaretz Museum, Louvre Museum, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Naples Museum, Nicosia Museum, Palestine Archaeological Museum, Princeton Art Museum, Reggio Museum, Salonica Museum, Toledo Museum of Art and the Villa Giulia Museum, also Mr. I. M. Geroulanos and Mr. Jerome Strauss.

This study was begun with the assistance of the Founders' Fellowship of the American Association of University Women (1954-55) and carried on with a fellowship of the Corning Museum of Glass (1957) and grants from the American Council of Learned Societies (1958, 1960).

<sup>2</sup> The method of moulding is described by Frederic Schuler, "Ancient Glassmaking Techniques: The Molding Process," *Archaeology*, XII, 1959, pp. 47-52.

<sup>3</sup> These are listed by Axel von Saldern, "Glass Finds at Gordion," *Journal of Glass Studies*, I, 1959, pp. 23-49.



The first type (of which there are eight examples) is a substantial vessel averaging about 0.125 m. in rim diameter, with a rounded bottom (assumed, not actually present in any of the Agora specimens) and a slightly flaring rim. A series of narrow horizontal grooves is usually wheel-engraved around the outside below the rim, and in one case inside as well, while shallow, wide flutes are cut vertically in the lower part of the body. The surface is generally polished both inside and out. The shape of No. 1 (Fig. 1, Pl. 91) is typical but its rim is unusual. While the body is almost colorless, the rim is a heavy coil of deep blue glass. This is the only example among such bowls, so far as I know, of a rim of contrasting color. The shallow flutes on the body were cut after the vase was moulded. There are no horizontal grooves directly below the rim, as on other specimens.

No. 2 (Fig. 1, Pl. 91) is similar but not identical. The walls are thicker; the color is pale green; the narrower, sharper flutes seem more regular. At the top they terminate abruptly in a horizontal ridge. There are two series of horizontal grooves, one just below the rim, a second farther down. No. 3 (Fig. 1, Pl. 91), a smaller fragment, is pale green in color. Its shape and its horizontal grooves are like No. 2 but the shallow fluting is more like that of No. 1. No. 4 (Pl. 91) is a tantalizing fragment (light green) which does not preserve the rim. Its broad, shallow, vertical flutes are separated by narrow grooves.

No. 5 (Pl. 91) is so small that it would be negligible if not for its context. A tiny rim fragment of a dark blue-green bowl, it has horizontal grooves outside below the rim, and is apparently similar to Nos. 2 and 3. No. 6 (Fig. 1, Pl. 91), which is yellow, and No. 7 (Fig. 1, Pl. 91), brown, are from bowls slightly different in profile from Nos. 1-3. In neither case is enough preserved to show whether there was fluting on the body, but, like Nos. 2 and 3, each has two groups of horizontal grooves below the rim. No. 8 (Fig. 1, Pl. 91) consists of three tiny pale green fragments, none large enough to help in reconstructing much of the profile. The material is like that of the other fragments, and there are the same horizontal grooves below the rim. The body seems to have had horizontal ribs, an unusual feature.

Nos. 1, 4 and 5 are datable by context to the second century B.C., No. 6 was found in fill of about 100 B.C., Nos. 2, 3 and 8 turned up in first century B.C. context, while No. 7 was far out of place, in a fill of the sixth century after Christ. It must be remembered that these dates are *termini ante quem*; the pieces are at least as early as their contexts, and their fragmentary condition makes a considerably earlier date quite possible.

Metal parallels to these bowls are rare. We illustrate here an example in bronze (Pl. 91, b).<sup>4</sup> Although the shape is considerably shallower than that of any Agora piece, the surface decoration is remarkably similar in effect. In the bronze it is in

<sup>4</sup> The Art Museum, Princeton University, 54-124. H. 0.056 m., diam. of rim 0.137 m., th. at rim 0.0035 m.

relief; in the glass the reverse is true. It is interesting to note that this metal bowl is very thick (0.0035 m. at the rim) and quite heavy throughout, a characteristic also possessed by the Agora glass bowls. Ceramic bowls of similar shape and approximately similar decoration are numerous. The "long petal" variety of Megarian bowl<sup>5</sup> is that which corresponds most closely to the glass examples.<sup>6</sup> The initial date of these Megarian bowls has been established as about 150 B.C.<sup>7</sup> This is consistent with

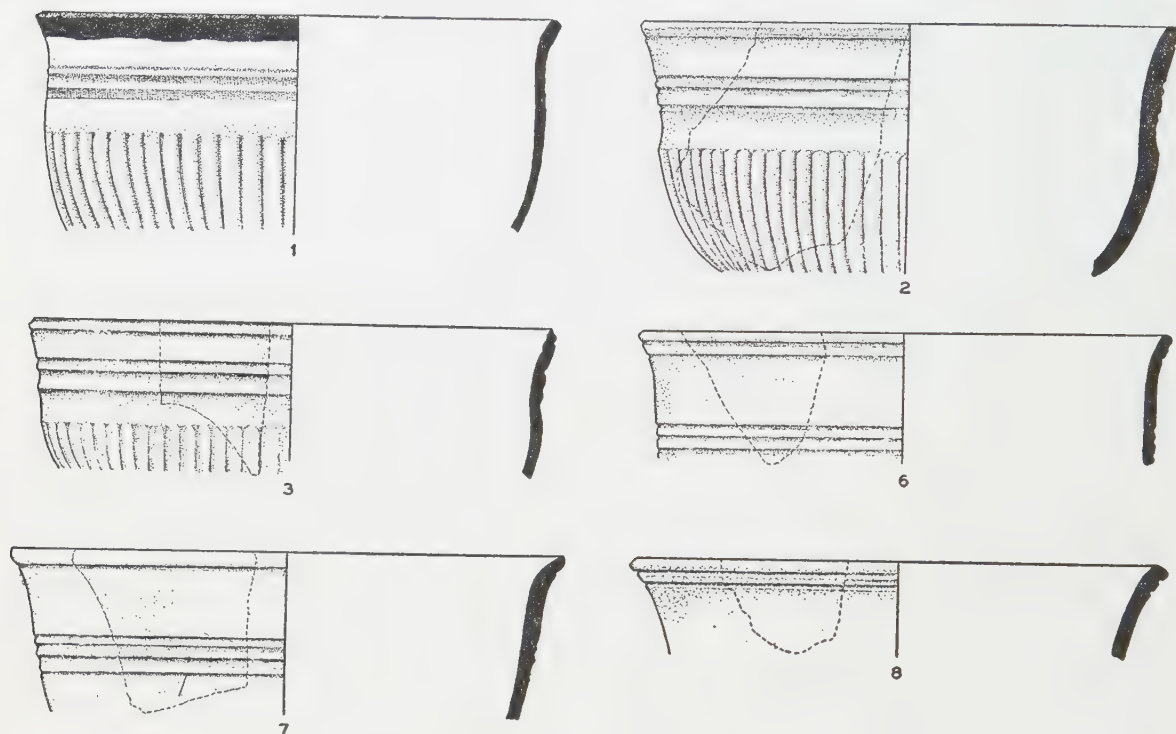


FIG. 1. Glass Bowls. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8.

the evidence for the glass vessels. Almost the same shape and similar fluting are found on hemispherical Pergamene bowls from Antioch<sup>8</sup> of a somewhat later date (100-25 B.C.), and on others from Tarsus<sup>9</sup> assigned to 150-50 B.C. Apparently this type of bowl continued in use for a considerable length of time.

<sup>5</sup> E. g., H. A. Thompson, "Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery," *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 385, D44; P. V. C. Baur, "Megarian Bowls . . .," *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, p. 237, fig. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Owing to the fact that in glass the "petals" are cut, not moulded as in pottery, and the upper ends are not really rounded, it seems better to call them "flutes."

<sup>7</sup> H. A. Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 370 and G. R. Edwards, *Small Objects from the Pnyx*, II, p. 91.

<sup>8</sup> Frederick O. Waagé, *Excavations at Antioch*, IV, 1, particularly shape 173. My attention was called to the Antioch parallels by Henry S. Robinson.

<sup>9</sup> H. Goldman, *Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus*, I, Princeton, 1950, p. 234, no. 293.

Glass bowls of this sort have seldom been found in other excavations. At Corinth there are a few pieces (unfortunately without good context) which resemble them in a general way.<sup>10</sup> These have probably been dated too late, and might well be from the period before the destruction of 146 B.C. Another, almost complete, bowl from Corinth (Fig. 2, a), which was tentatively assigned to the period before 146 B.C.,<sup>11</sup> is probably a good deal earlier than that. Judging from the appearance and texture of the glass (very like that found in Pheidias' workshop at Olympia)<sup>12</sup> I would now guess that it was made in the fourth century B.C., or perhaps even the fifth. Plate 91, a shows a ceramic parallel, perhaps the prototype of this glass bowl—an Attic black-glazed phiale.<sup>13</sup> At Gordion have been found some interesting fragments of glass bowls dating from the Hellenistic period.<sup>14</sup> The example which appears to be most like the Agora pieces (No. 3 in von Saldern's article, not illustrated) is a fragment of the bottom of the bowl, of "clear glass with a slight green tinge." This is particularly interesting, even though the context was not closely datable, since at the Agora no bottom is preserved. The form of the bottom is described as follows: . . . "a central raised disk (diam. 0.019 m.) surrounded by two fairly broad concentric grooves which form a sort of double step. Narrow flutes radiate from the outer ring."<sup>15</sup> A bowl of pale bluish glass, found at Samaria, is described as having cut fluting and an incised rosette on the bottom, outside.<sup>16</sup> The shape is much shallower than in the Agora bowls, and the date of its context considerably later, the end of the first century B.C.

A recent find in a tomb at Karytsa, a village near the site of ancient Dion, in Pieria, adds a significant example to the meager list of Hellenistic glass vessels datable by context (Pl. 92, a).<sup>17</sup> Although related in shape to the Agora bowls, the walls are proportionately much thinner and the decoration is somewhat different. The grooves are neat and sharp (not always evenly spaced) except for the concentric

<sup>10</sup> G. R. Davidson, *Corinth*, XII, Princeton, 1952, nos. 585, 586.

<sup>11</sup> *Op. cit.*, no. 584.

<sup>12</sup> *Neue deutsche Ausgrabungen im Mittelmeergebiet und im vorderen Orient*, Berlin, 1959, pp. 284 ff., figs. 23, 24.

<sup>13</sup> In the collection of Mr. I. M. Geroulanos, Athens (B.XIX.5). For this shape see G. M. A. Richter and M. L. Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases*, New York, 1935, fig. 181.

<sup>14</sup> Von Saldern, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-38.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37.

<sup>16</sup> J. W. and G. M. Crowfoot, *The Objects from Samaria*, London, 1957, p. 406, fig. 93. I am indebted to Miss Elizabeth Crowfoot for the loan of a photograph. The parallels suggested, from Cyprus, seem to be ordinary moulded ribbed bowls, none with cut fluting.

<sup>17</sup> Salonica Museum. H. 0.058 m., diam. of rim 0.11 m., th. at rim 0.001-0.0025 m. Colorless with palest green tinge, no bubbles; enamel weathering in spots. Surface smooth but not glossy; no trace of rotary polishing. In intaglio: two concentric circles on the bottom, rays extending from these to a zone of short vertical grooves bounded by horizontal grooves. Published by Ch. Makaronas, *Πρακτικά*, 1955, p. 156, pl. 51, β.



circles on the bottom, which have rather soft outlines, suggesting that they might have been produced by moulding. Indeed, the possibility is not to be excluded that the entire bowl, decoration and all, may have been moulded. The tomb has been dated to the last third of the third century B.C., which makes this the earliest specimen of the lot, at least to judge from its context.

Although, as we have seen, few vessels of this kind have been found in systematic excavations, quite a few are in museums and private collections. Since most of these have not been published and some have been assigned much later dates, it seems worthwhile to present them here. Other examples exist;<sup>18</sup> publication of as many as possible will aid in recognition of similar vessels elsewhere.

Most like the Agora pieces is a bowl (Fig. 2, b, Pl. 92, b) in the Museum Haaretz in Tel Aviv (formerly in the Walter H. Moses Collection).<sup>19</sup> It was purchased in Istanbul but its provenience is unknown. The proportions of the body and the placement of the horizontal grooves are not quite the same as on any of the Agora fragments, but the fluting is similar and the texture of the glass seems identical. On the bottom is engraved a six-pointed star within a double circle. Another almost exactly the same but slightly smaller (Pl. 92, c) is in the Palestine Archaeological Museum.<sup>20</sup>

A bowl (Fig. 2, c, Pl. 92, d) in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts,<sup>21</sup> purchased in Crete in the 1880's, is like the Agora specimens in profile but has no vertical grooves. It also lacks any form of decoration on the bottom. This is less well made than the other specimens, and it may have been made in Crete rather than in some more central manufacturing center. However, it is impossible to say anything definite on the basis of this single specimen. Another example which is almost identical in shape (Pl. 92, e) was purchased in Tel Aviv and is now in the Museum Haaretz.<sup>22</sup> Presumably it was found somewhere in the Palestine area.

Rather similar in shape to the Agora pieces, and even more to the Karytsa bowl, but far more elaborate in decoration, is a glass bowl in the Naples Museum (Pl.

<sup>18</sup> See Von Saldern, *op. cit.*, p. 36 (an example in the Royal Ontario Museum), p. 40 (one in St. Louis City Museum and another in the Vatican Museum).

<sup>19</sup> Museum Haaretz, 60658. H. 0.088 m., diam. of rim 0.145 m. Light green, no bubbles visible; enamel weathering. Horizontal wheel-cut grooves around outside; vertical flutes below, extending all the way down to concentric rings on the bottom. Six-pointed star engraved on bottom. Polished all over. Rim of uneven thickness; flutes slant slightly; shape of bowl somewhat crooked.

<sup>20</sup> Palestine Archaeological Museum, G241. H. 0.078 m., diam. of rim 0.137 m. Pale green, enamel weathering; similar to preceding.

<sup>21</sup> Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 86.53. H. 0.066 m., diam. of rim 0.119 m., th. of rim 0.002-0.005 m. Light blue-green; enamel weathering. Three double grooves engraved around the body outside. Rim unevenly ground. Interior rotary-polished; outside likewise as far down as horizontal grooves, remainder fire-polished. From Crete. Gift of Martin Brimmer.

<sup>22</sup> Museum Haaretz, 15259. H. 0.08 m., diam. of rim 0.117 m., th. throughout 0.03 m. Grayish green, small bubbles, weathering inside. Three horizontal wheel-cut grooves 0.015 m. below the rim. Polished all over.

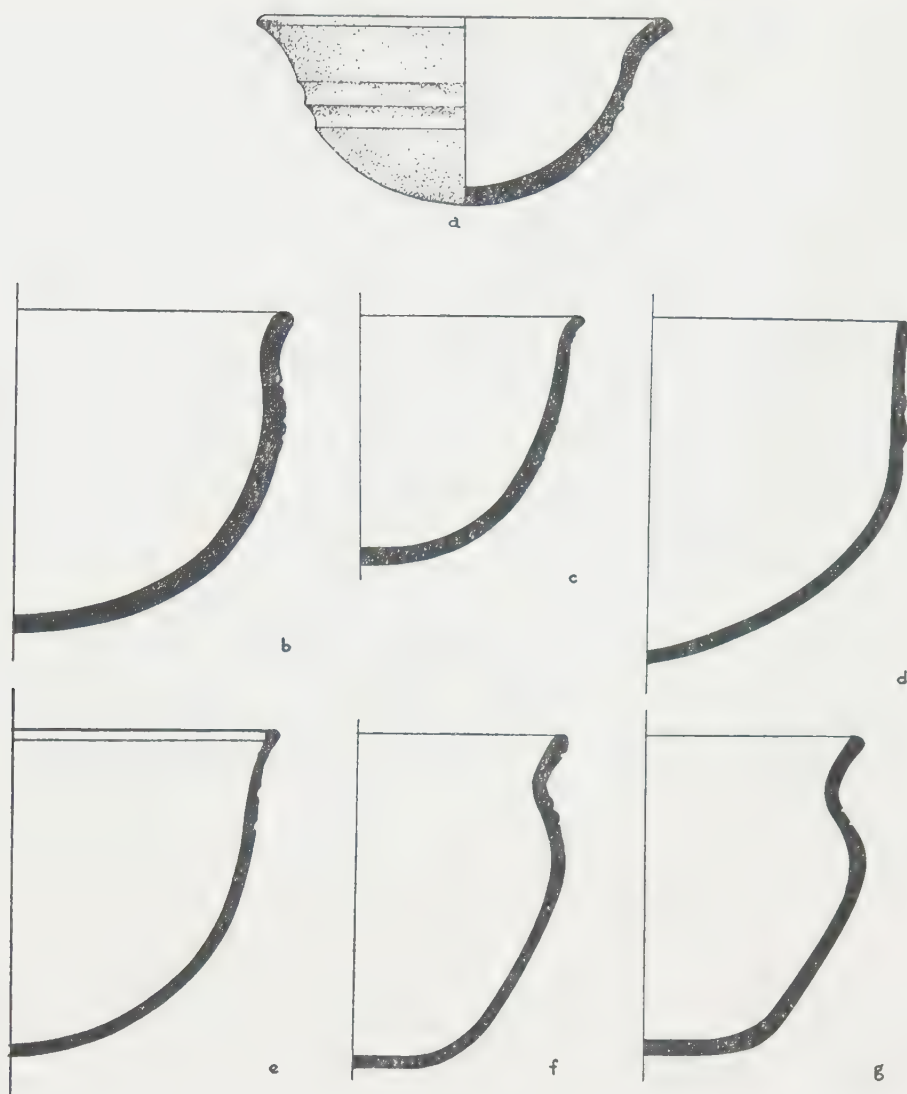


FIG. 2. Glass Bowls. a) Corinth, Cat. No. 584. b) Museum Haaretz, Tel Aviv. c) Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. d) Villa Giulia Museum. e) Jerome Strauss Collection. f) Nicosia Museum, Cyprus. g) Louvre Museum, Paris.

93, a).<sup>23</sup> There is no information as to its provenience or date. With its elaborate pattern it is more like metalwork than any of the other pieces shown here, and it is

<sup>23</sup> Naples Museum, 12001. H. 0.065 m., diam. of rim 0.141 m. Colorless with faint greenish tinge; enamel weathering. Grooves of design are sharply cut. On the bottom are eight petals with central rib surrounded by two concentric circles. Above these are fourteen angular petals with drop-shaped motives between. Above these a net-pattern bounded by horizontal grooves.

obviously the product of a master craftsman. There is no doubt here that the design was cut, for the edges of the grooves are very sharp. Most of the cutting seems to have been freehand, however, for there are many irregularities, particularly in the long horizontal grooves.

A bowl (Fig. 2, d, Pl. 93, b) found at Vulci <sup>24</sup> (not in a closed deposit but still within the range of the third-first centuries B.C.) has a rim with only the slightest perceptible flare, but in other respects it is extremely like the Agora pieces, with narrow grooves below the rim and shallow vertical flutes fading out toward the top. On the bottom are engraved concentric circles, but there is no star.

An almost similar example (Pl. 93, c) in the Toledo Museum of Art <sup>25</sup> has no flare whatever at the rim, and on the bottom is a six-pointed star within concentric circles. This bowl is said to have come from Syria. Pottery vessels very similar in shape and decoration have been found at Antioch; <sup>26</sup> these are dated in the first three quarters of the first century B.C. If it is justified to assume similar dates for similar shapes, we must then conclude that the Vulci and Toledo bowls are somewhat later than the Agora fragments.

Another bowl (Fig. 2, e, Pl. 94, a) said to be from Syria is probably related to these two examples, even though the decoration is different. This piece, in the collection of Jerome Strauss, <sup>27</sup> has a very slightly flaring rim with the customary narrow horizontal grooves below, but instead of the vertical flutes there is an engraved pattern of four petals alternating with four sets of vertical grooves. On the bottom we again find concentric circles enclosing a six-pointed star. A ceramic bowl found at Tarsus <sup>28</sup> is very like this piece, particularly as regards the decoration; this is dated mid-second to mid-first century B.C. Fragments of a faience bowl with the same pattern, a direct

<sup>24</sup> Villa Giulia Museum. H. 0.086 m., diam. of rim 0.14 m., th. at rim 0.003 m. Light brown; heavy enamel weathering. Horizontal grooves wheel-engraved around the outside, below the rim; vertical flutes cut all around the body. Engraved concentric circles on the bottom. Polished all over. From Vulci (Necropoli dell' Osteria, not in closed deposit).

<sup>25</sup> Toledo Museum of Art, 354.732. H. 0.095 m., diam. of rim 0.115 m. Light greenish; enamel weathering. Two wheel-cut grooves around the outside just below the rim; four more farther down. Vertical fluting all around the body. Three concentric circles on the bottom enclosing a "star." From Syria. Gift of Edward Drummond Libbey (Curtis Collection).

<sup>26</sup> *Antioch*, IV, 1, shapes 173, 175, 177.

<sup>27</sup> Jerome Strauss Collection, S463. H. 0.081 m., diam. of rim 0.14 m. Dark brown glass. Engraved grooves around the outside below the rim; on the body four vertical petals alternating with four sets of vertical flutes (all cut). Three concentric circles on the bottom enclosing a six-pointed star. Interior polished; outside polished only around the tops of the flutes and petals, and below the rim. The polish seems to have been heightened in modern times, giving a glossy surface unlike that of the other examples. Published in *Glass Drinking Vessels from the Strauss Collections*, Corning, 1955, p. 41. From Syria (Eumorfopoulos Collection). Cf. a similar bowl in the Vatican (Von Saldern, *op. cit.*, p. 40, fig. 26).

<sup>28</sup> Goldman, *Tarsus*, I, no. 306.



copy of a metal prototype, were found at Tarsus in a mid-third century context.<sup>29</sup> In general, it seems that this type of decoration appeared on metal bowls in the third century,<sup>30</sup> somewhat later on glass and pottery. At any rate, we may assume that the three bowls just described are not earlier than the third century nor later than the first B.C.; they are thus approximately contemporary with the Agora pieces.

Of different shape but similar material and workmanship are three interesting bowls. Two of these, one in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Pl. 94, b),<sup>31</sup> the other in the Nicosia Museum (Fig. 2, f, Pl. 94, d),<sup>32</sup> were found in Cyprus. The third, in the Louvre Museum (Fig. 2, g, Pl. 94, c),<sup>33</sup> is of unknown provenience. All are much alike, though there are slight differences. Beneath a rather flaring rim the body is sharply constricted and then bulges below. The bottom is somewhat flattened, though not quite stable. The bottoms of the Nicosia and Louvre bowls are flatter than that of the Metropolitan bowl; the Louvre shape is slightly squatter, and on it the bulge below the constricted portion is more emphatic. All have "stars" on the bottom, though they are not identical. Parallels to this shape are not easy to find. If we go back to the fourth century B.C., there is a silver bowl (Pl. 94, e) found at Vouni, Cyprus,<sup>34</sup> whose shape is somewhat similar to that of these glass bowls, and

<sup>29</sup> Goldman, *op. cit.*, pp. 165, 225, fig. 132 (No. 183); also fig. 170, A.

<sup>30</sup> See M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, I, Oxford, 1941, pl. LX, one of two silver bowls with a similar pattern (though more elaborate) found at Nihavand in Persia. These formed part of a treasure buried some time during the early Roman Empire. Zahn (as quoted by Rostovtzeff) regarded it as purely Greek and dating in the third century B.C., while Rostovtzeff thought it of eastern (Bactrian or Syrian) workmanship, also of the third century B.C. Others (Herzfeld, Schönebeck, P. Ackerman, all as quoted by Rostovtzeff) incline to the second century B.C. or even later, and speak of it as Parthian. See also H. A. Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 408 (references to silver bowls); and compare also the Rothschild gold-glass bowl (P. Wuilleumier, *Le trésor de Tarente*, Paris, 1930, pp. 29-30).

<sup>31</sup> Metropolitan Museum of Art, 17.194.322. H. 0.074 m., diam. of rim 0.10 m. Light yellowish brown; surface slightly pitted. Two engraved (not wheel-cut) grooves around the body below the rim; vertical flutes below. On the bottom an engraved star. Polished outside above the flutes. Found in Cyprus. Published by W. Froehner, *La Collection Julien Gréau*, Paris, 1903, no. 1074.

<sup>32</sup> Nicosia Museum, D 1008. H. 0.088 m., diam. of rim 0.113 m. Dark brown glass; heavy enamel weathering. Grooves engraved around the outside below the rim; vertical fluting on the body. Concentric circles on the bottom enclosing an engraved six-pointed star. Polished all over. Found in Cyprus; exact provenience unknown.

<sup>33</sup> Musée du Louvre, 9184. H. 0.085 m., diam. of rim 0.117 m. Blue-green glass with small bubbles. Surface slightly dulled. Two engraved grooves (probably not wheel-cut) around the body below the rim; vertical fluting on the body. Engraved concentric circles on the bottom enclosing a six-pointed star with the points joined by lines. The rim is polished but the outside is not (perhaps fire-polished). From the Campana Collection.

Another example of this shape, a comparatively thin-walled bowl of brown glass, was noted while this article was in proof: Metropolitan Museum of Art 91.1.1343. H. 0.084 m., diam. of rim 0.113 m. Provenience unknown.

<sup>34</sup> E. Gjerstad et al., *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, III, Stockholm, 1937, pl. XC. Photograph courtesy of Nicosia Museum.

whose decoration, moreover, consists of vertical petals. I do not venture to date these three pieces on the basis of the Vouni bowl; I only suggest that a bowl something like it must have been their inspiration.

As we have mentioned, most of the bowls adduced as parallels to the Agora fragments have engraved "stars" or segmented circles on the bottom. This motive, I am told,<sup>35</sup> does not occur on Megarian bowls before 100 B.C., after which it becomes extremely common. Does this mean that we must date all glass bowls with "stars" after 100 B.C.? I think not. The Agora fragments clearly indicate that bowls similar in shape and decoration to those which bear stars existed at least in the second century B.C. Glass vessels were probably meant to imitate metal ones (or their ceramic copies) as closely as possible. But the glassworker's technique could not follow the metalworker's in every detail. At this stage of the glassmaker's art he could not easily reproduce the elaborate plastic floral patterns found on metal vases. There was, indeed, the difficult and costly technique of enclosing patterns in gold leaf between two thicknesses of glass, but for glass alone it was better to simplify the patterns. Is it not possible, therefore, that the engraved star found on all these glass bowls was a modification of the moulded floral designs or rosettes common on the earlier ceramic Megarian bowls as well as on their metal prototypes, and that at a later date the star came into use for Megarian bowls? Until more glass of this period is found, one can only speculate upon such problems.

Having presented these bowls as parallels to the Agora fragments, we must admit that they show a good deal of variation. Since none of the Agora pieces preserves the bottom it is impossible to be certain whether they were actually like any of the complete specimens which we illustrate. Moreover, there are considerable differences in rim profile, an important criterion for dating. The specialist in pottery, who has hundreds of examples at his disposal, neatly dated by context, would undoubtedly be right if he objected that we have insufficient material for establishing a chronology of pre-Roman moulded glass. The only answer is that we must make do with what we have, and hope that the discovery of additional material will corroborate or correct the tentative statements advanced here.

There are, however, certain features possessed both by the Agora fragments and by most of the complete specimens which seem to point to a common period and perhaps even a common origin. Among these features the texture of the glass is not the least important. This is almost impossible to describe; it may be hoped that something of the vessels' quality may be apparent in photographic reproduction. A second feature is the appearance of the flutes, which are cut deeper near the bottom and fade out at the top. The horizontal grooves are not particularly distinctive, but the broad, shallow vertical flutes are uncommon and confined, so far as I know, to

<sup>35</sup> By G. Roger Edwards, who is publishing the Hellenistic pottery of the Agora.

this type of bowl. A third feature is the almost uniform thickness of the bowls from top to bottom. Perhaps the best argument for the early date of these bowls is their rarity. It is difficult to think of any reason why such bowls should be rare, unless it was because the casting of glass vessels was still in an experimental stage. Once we reach the first century after Christ, we suddenly have hundreds, if not thousands, of moulded ribbed bowls. They turn up everywhere in Europe as well as in western Asia and northern Africa;<sup>86</sup> they adorn every museum and private collection. These bowls are so different from those we have presented here that one variety cannot be mistaken for the other, even in the case of small fragments. The shallow vertical fluting disappears, and instead one finds rather high moulded ribs. The shapes are also quite different; the bottom is generally stable and the ribs often continue nearly to the center of the bottom.

We are far from knowing where the early bowls were manufactured. The Athens fragments, and the possible few from Corinth, offer little help, for glass was certainly a rare and prized commodity at this time, and centers such as Athens and Corinth would have been likely places for selling valuable merchandise. The main question is whether to look southward or eastward from Athens, and the arrow seems to point eastward—to Cyprus and beyond to Syria. There is also the early Gordion glass, and a few bowls which appear to be copies of Achaemenid silver vessels,<sup>87</sup> to make this hypothesis more likely.<sup>88</sup>

The second type of moulded bowl of pre-Roman date found at the Agora is approximately hemispherical or conical, with walls thick at the top, thinning toward the rounded bottom (assumed, as none is preserved), and with the rim following the line of the walls rather than flaring out (sometimes it even curves inward). Each bowl has a series of horizontal engraved grooves either inside or out, never both on a single specimen. Fragments of eight such bowls have been found, Nos. 9-16 (Fig. 3, Pl. 95), six of them brown or yellowish brown in color, one purplish and one yellowish green.

This rather simple shape resembles one of the commonest varieties of glass bowl of the early Roman period (late first century B.C. to second century after Christ). These earlier fragments are, in fact, almost indistinguishable from the later specimens. Their chief interest, therefore, lies in the fact that at least one is dated to before 150 B.C., and the others must have been made before 100 B.C., a good deal earlier than such bowls had been supposed to exist. The only other dated examples from the second

<sup>86</sup> C. Isings, *Roman Glass from Dated Finds*, Groningen, 1957, Form 3, as well as many other examples from undated contexts.

<sup>87</sup> Von Saldern, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42, figs. 27-29.

<sup>88</sup> Von Saldern, *op. cit.*, p. 38, is inclined to favor Alexandria as the manufacturing center for such bowls. Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, p. 539, states his belief that "vessels of cut glass" were manufactured in Hellenistic times both in Alexandria and in Syria.



century B.C. are a few fragments found at Samaria<sup>39</sup> and one complete bowl found at Reggio di Calabria (Pl. 94, f).<sup>40</sup> As far as one can tell, the type continued to be manufactured without significant change through the first, possibly even the second

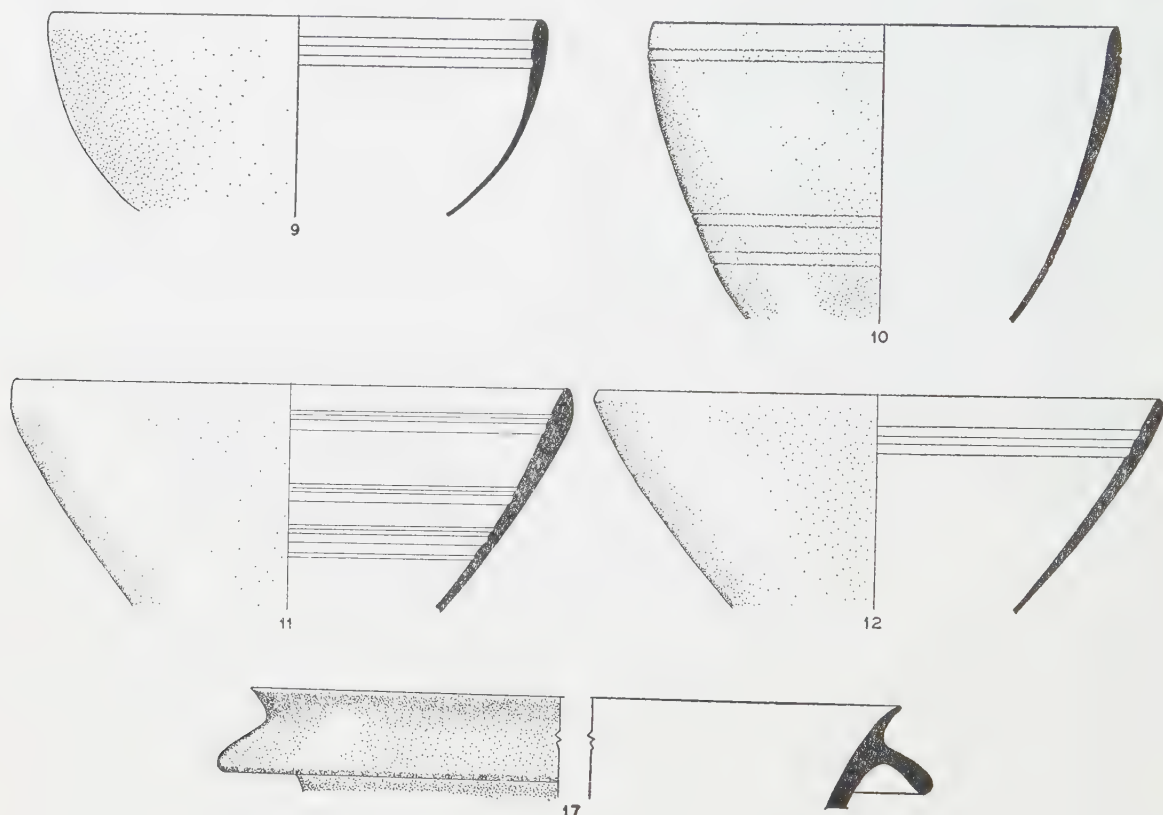


FIG. 3. Glass Bowls. Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12, 17.

century. Countless parallels exist, but comparatively few are published; a few examples will suffice.<sup>41</sup> The origin of these glass bowls is apparent; there are good parallels in both metal<sup>42</sup> and pottery (Pl. 95, a)<sup>43</sup> which date from the second and even the third century B.C.

<sup>39</sup> *Harvard Excavations at Samaria*, I, p. 330, fig. 203. According to Crowfoot, *op. cit.*, p. 403, fragments like these were found with Megarian bowls, probably from the last decades of the second century B.C.

<sup>40</sup> Reggio Museum, 8849. H. ca. 0.065 m., diam. of rim ca. 0.11 m. Colorless with greenish tinge; enamel weathering. One engraved horizontal groove inside, just below the rim. Polished inside and out.

<sup>41</sup> *Corinth*, XII, no. 587; G. A. Eisen, *Glass*, New York, 1927, pl. 7. Some are cited in Isings, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16.

<sup>42</sup> *Comptes-rendus de la Commission Impériale*, 1900, p. 108, fig. 213.

<sup>43</sup> Agora, P18704 and P18705, dated by context to the late third century B.C. (*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 160).

That in this period glass vessels were made in shapes more complicated than bowls is shown by one small fragment found at the Agora, No. 17 (Fig. 3, Pl. 95), which appears to be the rim of a kantharos. Tiny though it is, there does not seem to be any doubt of its identification.<sup>44</sup> A kantharos of silver<sup>45</sup> could well have been the prototype. A similar pottery kantharos has been found in the Agora (Pl. 93, d).<sup>46</sup>

## CATALOGUE

## 1. Fragment of rim and body. Fig. 1, Pl. 91.

G 236. H. 0.06 m.; diam. of rim *ca.* 0.14 m., th. below the blue rim 0.004 m., th. at lower edge 0.002 m.

Colorless with greenish tinge, deep blue rim; surface slightly clouded and pitted. Rim made of a coil pressed onto the body. Wide vertical flutes lightly cut, fading toward the top. Wheel-cut grooves above the fluting, outside. Polished inside and out.

Second century B.C. context (D 19:2).<sup>47</sup>

## 2. Fragment of rim and body. Fig. 1, Pl. 91.

G 253. H. 0.065 m., diam. of rim *ca.* 0.14 m., th. 0.004-0.006 m.

Pale green; surface slightly pitted. Wide vertical cut flutes, deeper, narrower and sharper than in No. 1, cut off at the top. Series of narrow wheel-cut grooves on the rim, and a second series below. Polished outside and probably inside.

First century B.C. context (B 22:4).

## 3. Fragment of rim and body. Fig. 1, Pl. 91.

G 72. H. 0.042 m., diam. of rim *ca.* 0.12 m., th. 0.003 m.

Pale green with a slight blue tinge; severe milky pitting in the surface. Shape similar to the preceding; flat, wide flutes like those of No. 1. Narrow wheel-cut grooves at the rim and below, outside; two grooves inside. Polished inside and out.

First century B.C. context (Area E 6).

## 4. Fragment of body. Pl. 91.

G 535. H. 0.027 m., th. *ca.* 0.003 m.

Light green; slight iridescence. Broad, very shallow vertical flutes with narrow, slightly deeper flutes between them; both cut off at the top. Polished inside and out.

Late second century B.C. context (C 18:3).

## 5. Fragment of rim. Pl. 91.

G 462. H. 0.015 m., diam. of rim *ca.* 0.10 m., th. *ca.* 0.002 m.

Dark turquoise blue; surface slightly pitted. Two narrow wheel-cut grooves around the outside below the rim. Polished inside and out.

Context about 160 B.C. (H-K 12-15).

## 6. Fragment of rim and side. Fig. 1, Pl. 91.

G 20. H. 0.035 m., diam. of rim *ca.* 0.14 m., th. 0.002 m.

Golden yellow; slight milky pitting. Two groups of narrow wheel-cut grooves outside. Not enough is preserved to show presence or absence of fluting. Published in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 427, E 159.

Context 125-100 B.C. (F 15:2).

## 7. Fragment of rim and body. Fig. 1, Pl. 91.

G 296. H. 0.043 m., diam. of rim *ca.* 0.14 m., th. 0.004-0.005 m.

Golden brown; severe milky pitting and iridescence. Narrow wheel-cut grooves outside, some distance below the rim. Polished inside

<sup>44</sup> I owe this identification to G. Roger Edwards.

<sup>45</sup> S. Reinach, *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*, pl. 38.

<sup>46</sup> *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 38, fig. 38.

<sup>47</sup> For description of deposits see *Athenian Agora*, IV, pp. 234-245, V, pp. 123-127.

and out. The rim has been ground to a sharp edge.

Sixth century A.D. context (Area B-C 16).

8. Three small fragments; one from rim, one from side and one from lower wall. Fig. 1, Pl. 91.

G 528. Diam. of rim *ca.* 0.13 m., th. of all pieces *ca.* 0.004 m.

Pale greenish; surface slightly pitted. The rim fragment has two narrow wheel-cut grooves outside. The second (triangular) fragment has two pair of grooves; these are horizontal, not vertical. The third fragment is plain.

First century B.C. context (N 19:1).

9. Fragment of rim and body. Fig. 3, Pl. 95.

G 526. H. 0.051 m., diam. of rim *ca.* 0.135 m., th. at rim 0.004-0.005 m.

Yellowish brown; enamel weathering and pitting. Two narrow wheel-cut grooves below the rim, inside. Polished inside and out.

Context before 150 B.C. (R 12:5).

10. Fragments of rim and body. Fig. 3, Pl. 95.

G 533. H. 0.078 m., diam. of rim *ca.* 0.12 m., th. at rim 0.002 m.

Light brown; enamel weathering and pitting. Two grooves engraved (not wheel-cut) around the outside just below the rim; four more lower down. In making the grooves near the rim it appears that the tool slipped (see upper right of photograph). The thickness of the walls varies from area to area.

Context of late second century B.C. (C 18:4).

11. Fragment of rim and body. Fig. 3, Pl. 95.

G 532. H. 0.056 m., diam. of rim *ca.* 0.15 m., th. at rim *ca.* 0.002 m.

Light yellowish brown; surface badly pitted, enamel weathering. Three series of grooves engraved inside. Polished inside, probably also outside.

Context of late second century B.C. (C 18:3).

12. Fragments of rim and body. Fig. 3, Pl. 95.

G 537. H. 0.052 m., diam. of rim *ca.* 0.15 m.,

th. at rim 0.003 m. (thickness of walls is extremely variable, and it is just possible that we have here fragments of two almost identical bowls rather than just one).

Light brown; severe pitting and enamel weathering. Two grooves engraved inside. Polished?

Context of late second century B.C. (C 18:3).

13. Fragment of rim and body. Pl. 95.

G 534. H. 0.04 m., th. at rim *ca.* 0.005 m.

Light brown; slight pitting and enamel weathering. Three grooves engraved below the rim, inside. Rotary-polished inside, perhaps fire-polished outside.

Context of late second century B.C. (C 18:3).

14. Fragment of body. Pl. 95.

G 536. H. *ca.* 0.052 m.

Purplish; surface badly weathered. Faint horizontal grooves near top of fragment. Probably polished.

Late second century B.C. (C 18:3).

15. Two fragments of rim and body.

G 556. H. 0.045 m., diam. of rim *ca.* 0.12 m., th. at rim 0.003-0.005 m.

Brown; surface somewhat pitted. Two horizontal grooves engraved around inside. Polished inside only.

Second century B.C. (Area M 17).

16. Fragment of rim and body.

G 557. H. 0.035 m., th. 0.002-0.004 m.

Yellow-green; pitting and enamel weathering. Polished inside, perhaps outside.

Second century B.C. (Area M 17).

17. Rim fragment. Fig. 3, Pl. 95.

G 467. H. 0.031 m., diam. of rim *ca.* 0.18 m.

Pale green; slight enamel weathering and pitting. Below the rim a large projecting flange. Polished inside and out, rim probably ground down.

Context of *ca.* 160 B.C. (H-K: 12-14).



## THE ORIGIN AND PURPOSES OF OSTRACISM

THE institution of ostracism, because of its unique character and its importance in the history of fifth century Athens, has been an object of interest and controversy since ancient times and has not yet lost its fascination. Thucydides attributed its establishment to fear and insecurity;<sup>1</sup> it was Plutarch's contention that it arose from the envy and jealousy natural to a democracy.<sup>2</sup> Grote's passionate defense of the institution is one of the more remarkable passages in his great work,<sup>3</sup> but it has not won universal acceptance. Walker, for instance, in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, condemns ostracism as follows:

It was . . . as injurious to the interests of the state as it was unjust to the individual. To the individual it meant the loss of all that was best worth having during the best years of his life; to the state it meant a fatal impediment to the proper working of the party system. A party unfairly deprived of its leader at some great crisis—and in the Greek democracies the leader counted for much more than he does in our popular governments—is not so unlikely to have recourse to unconstitutional methods. The answer to the ostracism of Cimon in 461 B.C. was the assassination of Ephialtes.<sup>4</sup>

It is argued in this essay that attacks and defenses alike have been based on a misunderstanding of the origin and purposes of ostracism. It is hoped that a careful investigation of its original aims will make possible a fair estimate of the institution and its role in Athenian history.

That the very originator of ostracism should be the subject of controversy is somewhat surprising, for no fewer than four ancient authors tell us plainly that it was Cleisthenes.<sup>5</sup> Of these four, Aelian may perhaps be suspected as late and untrustworthy,<sup>6</sup> but Aristotle wrote the *Athenaion Politeia* about 325 B.C., Philochoros wrote his *Atthis* shortly before 267 B.C. and Ephoros based his account on an earlier Atthidographer, either Hellanikos or Kleidemos.<sup>7</sup> Yet in spite of the agreement of these sources, modern scholars continue to find grounds for debate.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> VIII, 73.

<sup>2</sup> *Themistocles*, 22; *Aristides*, 7.

<sup>3</sup> *History of Greece*, IV<sup>2</sup>, pp. 77-80.

<sup>4</sup> "Athens: The Reform of Cleisthenes," *C.A.H.*, IV, p. 153.

<sup>5</sup> Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 22, 1-4; Aelian, *Hist. Var.* XIII, 24; Philochoros in Jacoby, *Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker* (all references are to 3B) Fr. 30, p. 108; Ephoros in Diodoros XI, 55.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *F.G.H.*, Suppl. I, p. 124.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 120.

<sup>8</sup> E.g., Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, I<sup>2</sup>, 2, p. 332; Hignett, *A History of the Athenian Constitution*, pp. 159 ff.

The case against the Kleisthenic authorship rests on two arguments. The first of these depends on a fragment of Androtion quoted by Harpokration:

ἄλλος δὲ ἔστιν Ἱππαρχος ὁ Χάρμου ὥς  
φησι Λυκοῦργος ἐν τῷ κατὰ Λεωκράτους·  
περὶ δὲ τούτου Ἀνδροτίων ἐν τῇ β' φησὶν  
ὅτι συγγενὴς μὲν ἦν Πεισιστράτου τοῦ  
τυράννου καὶ πρῶτος ἐξωστρακίσθη, τοῦ  
περὶ τὸν ὀστρακισμὸν νόμου τότε πρῶτον  
τεθέντος διὰ τὴν ὑποψίαν τῶν περὶ Πεισί-  
στρατον, ὅτι δημαγωγὸς ὦν καὶ στρατη-  
γὸς ἐτυράννησεν.<sup>9</sup>

The crucial words are *τότε πρῶτον*, which have usually been taken to mean that the law on ostracism, being aimed at Hipparchos, son of Charmos, was passed immediately before his ostracism in 488/7. Thus Jacoby says, "Aristotle states that the Athenians applied the law enacted by Kleisthenes (i.e. 508/7 B.C.) for the first time in 488/7 B.C.; A.(ndrotion) states that the law was not enacted until that year, and he accentuates the statement—*τοῦ νόμου τότε πρῶτον τεθέντος*."<sup>10</sup> Hignett's interpretation is the same: "By his use of the expression *τότε πρῶτον* Androtion presumably intended to dismiss briefly the view of a predecessor (possibly Kleidemos) who has attributed the invention of ostracism to Kleisthenes. . . . Since there is no valid reason for rejecting the evidence of Harpocration it follows that Androtion dated the law on ostracism to the year 488."<sup>11</sup>

That this interpretation is by no means the only one possible was recognized by Carcopino, who pointed out that "*τότε* peut s'appliquer aussi bien à une période de vingt ans qu'à une de vingt jours."<sup>12</sup> *Τότε* means 'then' or 'at that time' relative to the period under discussion; it does not necessarily mean (although it *can*) 'that year,' 'that month' or 'that week.' Androtion was writing more than 150 years after the events, and from that perspective *τότε* could very easily be twenty years. There is, then, no warrant for the assertion that Androtion assigns the introduction of ostracism to the year 488 B.C.

The wording of the passage does suggest, however, that Androtion was criticizing a view of the origin of ostracism with which he did not agree. It is generally assumed that the opinion under criticism was the common one of Kleisthenes' authorship, but

<sup>9</sup> *F.G.H.*, Fr. 6, p. 64.

<sup>10</sup> *F.G.H.*, Suppl. I, p. 119.

<sup>11</sup> Hignett, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-160.

<sup>12</sup> *L'Ostracisme athénien*, p. 25. Hignett takes no notice of this objection; Jacoby (*F.G.H.*, Suppl. II, p. 115) rejects it without argument.

there is reason to believe that such was not the case. Aristotle, it is agreed, followed Androtion's *Atthis* quite closely,<sup>13</sup> yet he simply gives the traditional view that ostracism was introduced by Kleisthenes. There is no indication that he is departing from his chief source. Hignett suggests that "probably he followed Androtion closely on the motive for the introduction of ostracism while rejecting the date."<sup>14</sup> But this is precisely what Aristotle does not do; he rejects nothing but writes a simple narrative, seemingly without noticing any contradiction.<sup>15</sup> The assumption that Androtion was rejecting Kleisthenic authorship by his use of *τότε πρώτον* is not justified. Was there no other tradition about the origin of ostracism? There were, in fact, at least two. One attributed its origin to Hippias<sup>16</sup> and the other, mentioned by no fewer than three authors, to the time of Theseus.<sup>17</sup>

Neither tradition is acceptable, yet the one which attributed ostracism to Theseus seems to have been fairly widespread. It behooved a serious historian to put this fairy tale to rest,<sup>18</sup> which is precisely what Androtion did by saying that Hipparchos (*not* Theseus) was the first man ostracized and that this was accomplished by a law passed *τότε πρώτον* (*not* back in legendary days). When Aristotle came to deal with the same question there was no need for him to make any comment, for Androtion had already rejected the false tradition. Both Aristotle and Androtion knew that Kleisthenes had been the originator of ostracism and that Hipparchos had been the first man ostracized. They further agreed on the date of that ostracism and on the reason for the establishment of the law. As there is no disagreement between them, the first argument against the Kleisthenic foundation of ostracism has no validity.

The second argument may be summarized as follows: If the law on ostracism was carried by Kleisthenes as part of his constitutional reform of 508/7 and the first man was not ostracized until 488/7, the twenty-year hiatus is inexplicable, for, as Beloch says, "such a weapon was not forged to be left for twenty years in its

<sup>13</sup> *F.G.H.*, Suppl. I, p. 104. "Aristotle probably took from A. all his dates and most of his historical facts." Hignett (*op. cit.*, p. 160) is in agreement.

<sup>14</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 160.

<sup>15</sup> "One should expect Aristotle to comment on this lag of twenty years between enactment and first use of ostracism and to register his disagreement with Androtion; in fact Aristotle did not do either." (A. E. Raubitschek, "The Origin of Ostracism," *A.J.A.*, LV, 1951, p. 221).

<sup>16</sup> Herakleides of Pontos, Fr. 6-7 in Müller, *F.H.G.*, I, p. 208, discussed by Carcopino, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-10.

<sup>17</sup> Theophrastos in Suidas *s.v.* ἀρχὴ σκυρία, ed. Adler, p. 375, ὀστρακισθῆναι δὲ πρῶτον Ἀθήνησι Θησέα ἱστορεῖ Θεόφραστος ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις καιροῖς. Scholiast to Aristophanes' *Plutus*, 627, ed. Rutherford, I, p. 65, μετὰ τὸ χαρίσασθαι τὴν δημοκρατίαν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὸν Θησέα, Λύκος τις συκοφαντήσας ἐποίησεν ἐξοστρακισθῆναι τὸν ἥρωα. Eusebius, *Chronicorum canonum quae supersunt*, ed. Schoene, p. 50, Θησεύς, Ἀθηναίους κατὰ χώραν διεσπαρμένους εἰς ἓν συναγαγὼν ἤτοι εἰς μίαν πόλιν, πρῶτος ἐξωστρακίσθη αὐτὸς πρῶτος θεὸς τὸν νόμον. See the discussion by Carcopino, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-15.

<sup>18</sup> Even so careless a writer as Pausanias rejects the attribution to Theseus of Athenian Democracy, I, iii, 3.



sheath.”<sup>19</sup> Since we are told that the law was aimed at Hipparchos and since he was in fact its first victim—although not until 488/7—the unexplained delay argues against Kleisthenic authorship.<sup>20</sup> But this argument fails if the delay can be accounted for, and a proper understanding of the purposes of the institution provides such an explanation.

Ancient sources agree that the law was aimed at the party of the tyrants<sup>21</sup> and in particular at its leader, Hipparchos.<sup>22</sup> Hignett saw the weakness of Aristotle’s attempts to explain the delay in effecting Hipparchos’ ostracism and concluded that “the attribution of this motive to Kleisthenes is no more than a conjecture which deduces the purpose of the law from its results.”<sup>23</sup> This is itself only a conjecture and should not go unexamined. The sources for the *Athenaion Politeia* may have been of two kinds, documentary and traditional. If documentary sources existed,<sup>24</sup> they would be restricted to a statement of the law, the date it was passed and a reference to its originator; they would not go into the question of purpose except in so far as the wording of the law made that clear. There were, however, separate traditions concerning the origin of ostracism. These would have arisen less from the wording of the law itself than from the arguments of its proponents and detractors. It is natural that such traditions should include an alleged motive for the legislation along with more verifiable information; indeed, it would be surprising if a motive were not mentioned. It is this tradition—that Kleisthenes had originated the institution and had done so in order to attack the tyrannists and their leader Hipparchos—that Androtion passes on and Aristotle accepts, whatever its source. The only conjecture Aristotle makes is in the attempt to reconcile the purpose of the law, which he takes from the tradition, with the date that purpose was accomplished.

What, then, were the events which caused Kleisthenes to devise this weapon against the Peisistratids? The overthrow of the tyranny was accomplished by Kleomenes, King of Sparta, at the urging of the exiled Alkmaionids and with the support of some of the aristocrats who had remained in Athens. The common citizens were

<sup>19</sup> *Op. cit.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 2, p. 332.

<sup>20</sup> Raubitschek (*loc. cit.*) accepts 488/7 B.C. as the date of the origin of ostracism but brings Kleisthenes “out of retirement” like “Herbert Hoover, Winston Churchill and Carlo Sforza” to enact the legislation. For this there is not a scintilla of evidence; in fact, everything points the other way. It is unlikely that the return to power of such an important figure would go unnoticed by our sources. More positively, the election of Xanthippos to the archonship in 489 and the fact that it was he who prosecuted Miltiades in the same year, point to him as leader of the Alkmaionid group immediately after Marathon. Raubitschek’s arguments are ably refuted in detail by C. A. Robinson Jr., “Cleisthenes and Ostracism,” *A.J.A.*, LVI, 1952, pp. 23-26.

<sup>21</sup> Androtion, *loc. cit.*, διὰ τὴν ὑποψίαν τῶν περὶ Πεισίστρατον.

<sup>22</sup> *Ath. Pol.*, 22, 4, ὧν ἡγεμὼν καὶ προστάτης ἦν Ἱππάρχος.

<sup>23</sup> Hignett, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

<sup>24</sup> As Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.*, 29, 3) seems to indicate, *pace* Jacoby, *F.G.H.*, Suppl. I, p. 121 and Hignett, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

apathetic,<sup>25</sup> for the Peisistratids had come to power as a popular party, and such outrages as they may have committed were directed against the power of the aristocracy rather than against the demos. Shortly after the liberation, a struggle for power developed between Kleisthenes the Alkmaionid and Isagoras, a member of an old aristocratic family. Isagoras was successful in their first encounter, winning the archonship for the year 508/7 and it was then that Kleisthenes first gave any evidence of democratic interests.<sup>26</sup> The demos, largely Peisistratid in sympathy,<sup>27</sup> had to be won over, and Kleisthenes began by restoring to citizenship those who had been disenfranchised by Isagoras, and by leading the opposition to Isagoras' attempt to establish an oligarchy in Athens.<sup>28</sup> But he was far from becoming an instrument of the demos; his reforms were rather Solonian in spirit<sup>29</sup>—Solon's requirements for holding office and his class structure were left unchanged—and they brought about no radical change in Athenian political and social institutions. The constitution of Kleisthenes was a victory for the hoplite class over the nobles, and "the landed gentry of Athens were left by Kleisthenes in control of the executive and of the important judicial functions vested in the Areopagus."<sup>30</sup>

The expulsion of the Spartans and the oligarchs left Kleisthenes in command of the situation at Athens for the time but in great peril from abroad. The Spartans were sure to attempt a *revanche* to restore the oligarchs. Unity at home was essential to face the external threat, but as leader of the moderate party Kleisthenes could expect opposition from both sides. The right, it is true, was in disfavor and its leaders in exile; for the time being at least it was politically ineffective. The great political threat was from the left, from the lower classes who had supported the tyranny and who might be expected to support the tyrannists once the threat of oligarchy passed. It is a common characteristic of revolutions (notably the French and Russian) that even when their original aim is only moderate reform, they tend to become more radical as the excited lower classes press for greater changes. The threat of a renascent tyrannist party was Kleisthenes' first problem, compounded by the consideration that destruction of that party was no solution, for he needed the cooperation of the demos and its leaders to face the imminent threat of attack by Sparta and the oligarchs. External danger was the common ground on which all the opponents of oligarchy might meet, whatever their differences on internal questions. So long as Kleisthenes enjoyed the popularity which came from his opposition to Isagoras he could count on

<sup>25</sup> Hignett, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

<sup>26</sup> Herodotos, V, 66, 2, ἐσσομένου δὲ ὁ Κλεισθένης τὸν δῆμον προσεταιρίζεται.

<sup>27</sup> Hignett, *op. cit.*, p. 156; A. W. Gomme, "Athenian Notes," *A.J.P.*, LXV, 1944, p. 325.

<sup>28</sup> Herodotos, V, 72.

<sup>29</sup> *Ath. Pol.*, 29, 3, οὐ δημοτικὴν ἀλλὰ παραπλησίαν οὖσαν τὴν Κλεισθέωνος πολιτείαν τῇ Σόλωνος.

<sup>30</sup> Hignett, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

the effective support of the demos, but he was still not in a position to resist a determined effort on the part of the tyrannists to deprive him of that support.<sup>31</sup>

But while Kleisthenes could not afford to destroy the tyrannist party, he could, given the means, deprive it of its leader, and ostracism would provide precisely those means. The law doubtless had the stated intent of preventing the recurrence of tyranny, and being enacted when it was, it was sure to be popular. The decree would have been innocently free of names, since Kleisthenes could not afford the appearance of proposing arbitrary *ad hominem* legislation, but it must have been immediately apparent that a law against tyranny—one which provided for the exile of a single individual—was in fact most readily applicable against the leader of the tyrannist party, Hipparchos.<sup>32</sup> Kleisthenes would not trouble to refute this interpretation, for it suited his purpose admirably. Ostracism had the great virtue of serving as a threat to Hipparchos which need not be carried out if he were willing to cooperate with Kleisthenes. The fact that Kleisthenes was successful in having the law passed indicates that he controlled a majority of the votes, and this enabled him to present Hipparchos with the alternatives of cooperation or ostracism.

It is clear that Hipparchos chose to cooperate, for the next two decades give evidence of a coalition between the party of Kleisthenes and that of Hipparchos. In foreign policy both opposed Sparta and sought alliance with Persia. When Hippias took refuge at the Persian court it gave the tyrannists a tie with Persia, and Kleisthenes too, when menaced by a Spartan invasion, sought protection from Artaphernes, the Persian satrap of Lydia.<sup>33</sup> Again, at Marathon in 490 B.C. the tradition of Alkmaionid complicity in the flashing of a shield to signal the Persians, whatever its basis, gives evidence that in the popular mind the family of Kleisthenes was friendly to the tyrants. On the domestic scene the evidence is still more conclusive, for Hipparchos' archonship in 496<sup>34</sup> must have been his reward for support and cooperation.

Hence Kleisthenes' failure to use the law against the man who was undoubtedly its intended victim is seen to have been no failure at all. It had served its purpose so well in fact that the 'sword' could remain in its 'sheath' unused, and this is surely what Kleisthenes intended, for had he wanted merely to be rid of Hipparchos there was no lack of devices already available.<sup>35</sup> With the threat of ostracism Kleisthenes was able to check the political ambitions of Hipparchos and his party and to form an effective coalition based on their mutual opposition to oligarchy.

After Marathon the political scene was quite different from what it had been

<sup>31</sup> Gomme, *op. cit.*, p. 328.

<sup>32</sup> *Ath. Pol.*, 22, 5-6.

<sup>33</sup> Herodotus, V, 73; Hignett, *op. cit.*, p. 178; Walker, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-158.

<sup>34</sup> Dionysios of Halikarnassos, *Ant. Rom.*, VI, i, 1.

<sup>35</sup> E. g. the Solonian law against tyrants (*Ath. Pol.*, 16, 10).



twenty years before: Kleisthenes (*pace* Raubitschek, *loc. cit. supra*, note 15) was no longer in control; a new generation of political leaders had arisen including such eminent figures as Aristides, Xanthippos and Themistokles; the tyrannist party, already weakened by Kleisthenes, was now discredited as a result of the Persian attempt to restore Hippias. Party alignments had changed with the destruction of tyrannist power and the rise of the non-hoplite demos. Such new issues came to the fore as the naval policy of Themistokles and the extension of democracy in Athens. A personal struggle for power arose among the new leaders of the hoplite democracy established by Kleisthenes.

It is in this new context that the first ostracism must be understood. The attack on Hipparchos was not the long-delayed execution of Kleisthenes' intention to be rid of the tyrannist leader, but merely the first in a series of expulsions in the new struggle for political supremacy. Hipparchos (488/7) was followed into exile by Megakles (487/6), Xanthippos (485/4) and Aristides (483/2). Each of these men was either a tyrannist or an Alkmaionid, that is, a member of the coalition established by Kleisthenes. After Marathon this coalition lost power; its popular support passed to the new force in Athenian politics, and its political leaders were ostracized one by one. To the question *cui bono?*, the answer must be Themistokles.<sup>36</sup> It was his use of the weapon forged by Kleisthenes to eliminate opposition to himself and his policies that achieved the unity necessary to face the dangers and sacrifices of the second Persian invasion.<sup>37</sup>

Themistokles' judicious use of ostracism is a tribute to his political acumen. In 488 his opposition, though weakened, was not impotent, and his control of the demos was not yet complete. His choice of Hipparchos as the first victim was a master stroke. After Marathon the attack on a relative of the Peisistratids would seem an act of pure patriotism. Best of all, it would seem merely the fulfillment of Kleisthenes' intention. It would appear to be non-political and aimed against tyranny, yet by banishing a leader of the opposition it would accomplish a political aim. The choice of Megakles as the second victim was equally astute, for he too had been known as a friend of the tyrants<sup>38</sup> and was an Alkmaionid as well. By this time Themistokles was strong enough to lay aside the pretense of preventing tyranny, which was no longer a threat, and to direct ostracism against political opponents wholly unconnected with tyranny.<sup>39</sup>

It is clear, then, that the Atthidographers and Aristotle were in agreement on the

<sup>36</sup> Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

<sup>37</sup> J. A. R. Munro ("Marathon," *C.A.H.*, IV, p. 266) accepts Themistokles as the manipulator of ostracism in these years. He also attributes to Themistokles the law opening the archonship to the lot and considers his control of the state as the product of both these devices. His position is amplified and defended with great plausibility by C. A. Robinson Jr. in a series of articles summarized in the article cited *supra* note 20.

<sup>38</sup> *Ath. Pol.*, 22, 5-6.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

origin and early history of ostracism. Moreover, their account, most fully and clearly stated in the *Athenaion Politeia*, is substantially correct, holding that the law was introduced by Kleisthenes along with the rest of his constitutional reforms in 508/7 or shortly thereafter, that it was aimed primarily at the tyrannist party and its leader Hipparchos, and that the first ostracism was not accomplished until 488/7 B.C. when Hipparchos was exiled.

Did Kleisthenes intend nothing more in introducing ostracism? He had, to be sure, an immediate political purpose, but it is easy to believe that he intended it to be more than an *ad hominem* political weapon. His imaginative and far-sighted reorganization of the tribal system lends weight to this supposition as does the carefully designed and complicated machinery of the process of ostracism itself. So soon after the overthrow of tyranny, while the threat of its restoration was still a real one, the originator of ostracism surely meant to create a device to check the rise of future tyrants. But the great constitutional question facing the newly born democracy, one which faces every democracy, was how to prevent the dangers of faction and subversion while avoiding the extremes of inquisition, violence and mass expulsion resorted to by other Greek democracies with tragic consequences.<sup>40</sup> The difficulties confronting a democracy are aptly described by Grote:

The force in the hands of any government, to cope with conspirators or mutineers, was extremely small, with the single exception of a despot surrounded with his mercenary troops. Accordingly, no tolerably sustained conspiracy or usurper could be put down except by direct aid of the people in support of the government; which amounted to a dissolution, for the time, of constitutional authority, and was pregnant with reactionary consequences such as no man could foresee. To prevent powerful men from attempting usurpation was therefore of the greatest possible moment. Now a despot or an oligarchy might exercise at its pleasure preventive means, much sharper than the ostracism, such as the assassination of Kimon . . . directed by the Peisistratids. At the very least, they might send away any one, from whom they apprehended attack or danger, without incurring even so much as the imputation of severity. But in a democracy, where arbitrary action of the magistrate was the thing of all others most dreaded, and when fixed laws, with trial and defence as preliminaries to punishment, were conceived by the ordinary citizen as the guarantees of his personal security and as the pride of his social condition—the creation of such an exceptional power presented difficulties.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>40</sup> E.g. at Kerkira (Thucydides, III, 70, 81, 82.)

<sup>41</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 79-80.

It is a measure of the greatness of Kleisthenes' law on ostracism that it satisfied these difficulties. Its careful and deliberate procedure, the large quorum necessary for an ostracism, the lenity of the sentence and the immunity granted the victim's family and property put to rest the fear of arbitrary action. At the same time the annual vote on the need for an ostracism served as a reminder to the people and as a warning to potential revolutionaries. That the device was from the beginning used for political purposes must not be regarded as a perversion of its original aim. As a successful politician, Kleisthenes must have realized that his constitutional safeguard would be employed for political purposes and he shaped it accordingly. Throughout its history ostracism served both as a referendum on issues and as a vote of confidence in political leaders. Themistokles and Perikles followed the example and the intention of Kleisthenes when, as leaders of the majority, they used ostracism to rid themselves of dangerous political rivals. It was a safety valve that helped avoid the explosion of *stasis* which might have rent Athens with factional strife and prematurely destroyed its greatness.

The success of ostracism is attested on the one hand by the weakness of subversive groups so long as the law was in force, and on the other by the small number of ostracisms necessary for the safety of the state. In more than ninety years (508-417 B.C.) we know of fewer than twenty ostracisms,<sup>42</sup> of which only nine are certain.<sup>43</sup> It was only after the ostracism of Hyperbolos had shown the way to circumvent the institution that subversion was successful in Athens. Perhaps the end of ostracism and the coup d'état of 411 B.C. have a relationship that is more than coincidental.

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<sup>42</sup> Carcopino lists fifteen (*op. cit.*, pp. 11-12), to which Raubitschek adds another ("Menon son of Menokleides," *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pp. 288-289).

<sup>43</sup> Carcopino, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-178; list on p. 178.



## NEW FRAGMENTS OF SACRED GERUSIA 24

### (I. G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1108)

IN *The Sacred Gerusia* (*Hesperia* Supplement VI, 1941), pp. 2 and 120 Oliver pointed out that a previously unpublished stone in the Epigraphical Museum (EM 2763) was engraved by the same workman using the same arrangement as I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1108 (plus new fragments from the Agora Excavations). Though only one-tenth of the width of EM 2763 was preserved, Oliver had inferred that the original width was that of I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1108. Now B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* XXX, 1961, pp. 231-236, No. 31, has published a new fragment of I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1108. It actually joins EM 2763, so that the main inscription with letters of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus to or about the Gerusia of the Athenians, i. e. *Sacred Gerusia* 24 and 25, becomes more important than ever.

Oliver has suggested, both in *The Sacred Gerusia* and in his article "Gerusiae and Augustales," *Historia*, VII, 1958, pp. 476-477, that the Gerusia was established at Athens to help in the financing of festivals (Panathenaea and the imperial cult). In *Historia*, VII, p. 476, moreover, he pointed to the problem created by the death or alienation of Herodes Atticus, the last high priest of the Augusti for many a year. The new fragment reveals that in the first letter of the whole series Marcus Aurelius refers to his birthday, τὰ γενέ]θλια τὰ ἐμά, and this, I think, would support the view that the Gerusia undertook to finance the imperial cult. Once again estates are mentioned. But the really important contribution is the mention of "the four-hundred," which looks like the number of members, and the phrase οἱ ἐκκλησιάζον]τες κατὰ τὰ νο[μιζόμενα, which should be restored in the first letter (line 6) on the basis of the phrase ἐκ] τῶν ἐκκλησιάζον]των κατὰ τὰ νομ[ιζόμενα in the second letter (line 18), which discusses replacements. I say that the second letter deals with replacements first of all because line 22 contains a Greek rendering of the usual Latin phrase *in locum demortui*, though the epistle may also deal at first with the choice of the original four-hundred.

If my interpretation of the new fragment is correct the basic qualifications for membership in the Gerusia are age (unknown, but perhaps 50), wealth (unknown), and status as Athenian citizens eligible to participate in the *ekklesia*. That is, they do not have to be citizens eligible to participate in the Council of the Five Hundred. They do not have to be *curiales*, though of course they may be. At Sidyma the first enrollment of the Gerusia founded between A.D. 185 and 192 comprised 51 *bouleutai* and 50 *demotai*. In Meritt's line 23 ἐκ τῶν ἀστῶν εἰσάγ[ειν] δεήσει αἰ means presumably that the Gerusia will normally be recruited out of native free-born Athenians,

but in line 24 the word δημ]οποιήτων suggests that under certain circumstances others may be naturalized and accepted. This reminds us that among the 50 *demotai* of Sidyma recorded on *T.A.M.* II 176 there were one bastard and several ex-slaves. At Athens too certain social inferiors of apparent moral worth might be given the chance to serve the gods and the community with their wealth and so acquire a certain distinction, but they would have to be given Athenian citizenship first. Would it not be possible to restore χρῆ] γὰρ μετέχειν τῆς Ἀθ[ήν]ησιν [πολιτεί]ας in line 25 where Meritt offers [γερονσί]ας?<sup>1</sup>

On p. 236 Meritt publishes another inscription (No. 32) which too he says "belongs to an imperial letter." I do not think so. It contains a series of testamentary dispositions, each introduced by the phrase κεφάλαιον κωδικί[λλ—. This fragment seems to me to belong to a publication of a will which concerns the city of Athens by providing for distributions at certain celebrations. *Inscript. Cret.*, IV, 300 and Arangio-Ruiz, *Negotia*, 50, 53 and 54 offer illuminating parallels.<sup>2</sup>

Meritt's inscription No. 110 on p. 273 honors a man discussed within a wide frame by Oliver, *The Athenian Expounders*, Baltimore, 1950, pp. 78-81. His name was Sospis. Line 8 reads rather τῇδ' ἐπεὶ Ἑλλάδ[—.

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<sup>1</sup> For the phrase μετέχειν τῆς ἐν Μιλήτῳ πολιτείας and for the comparable case of sales of citizenship see L. Robert, *Hellenica*, I, 1940, pp. 37-42.

<sup>2</sup> For codicils designed to protect the cult of the dead (i. e. the testator himself), or the cult of remembrance, against possible neglect by the heirs in the second and third centuries see further E. F. Bruck, "Foundations for the Deceased in Roman Law, Religion and Political Thought," *Scritti in onore di Contardo Ferrini pubblicati in occasione della sua beatificazione*, IV, Milan, 1949, pp. 1-42.

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Marcus Aurelius: [Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσ]αρ θεοῦ Ἀντωνίνου[υ Εὐσεβοῦς υἱός, θεοῦ Οὐήρου Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου ἀδελφός, θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ Παρθικοῦ ἔγγονος, θεοῦ Νέρου]να ἀπόγονος, Μάρκ[ος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικὸς Σαρματικός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τ]ὸ ΔΒ, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ [θ̄, ὕπατος τὸ Γ̄, πατὴρ πατρίδος], 232 (31 9-11); Αὐτοκράτωρ Κα[ῖσαρ θεοῦ Ἀντωνίνου] υἱός, θεοῦ Οὐήρου Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου ἀδελφός, θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ υἱόνος, θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ] Παρθικοῦ ἔγγονος, θεοῦ Νέρου]να ἀπόγονος, Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικὸς Σαρματικός, ἀρχιερεὺς] μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς

ἐξ]ο[υσίας τὸ —', αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ —', ὕπατος τὸ Γ̄, πατὴρ πατρίδος], 234 (31 33-34) + Suppl. VI 111 (24 8-10)

Commodus: [Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λούκιος Αὐρήλιος Κόμμοδος Σεβαστὸς, αὐτοκρ]άτορος Ἀντωνίνου[υ Σεβα]στο[υ υἱός, θεοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς υἱόνος, θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ἔγγονος, θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ Παρθικοῦ καὶ θεοῦ Νέρου]να ἀπόγονος Γερμανικ[ὸς Σα]ρμα[τικὸς, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ Γ̄, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ Β̄, ὕπατος, πατὴρ πατρίδος], 232-233 (31 11-13); [Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Ἀντωνίνου υἱός, θεοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς υἱόνος, θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ἔγγονος, θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ Παρθικοῦ καὶ θεοῦ Νέρου]να ἀπόγονος Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Κόμ[μ]οδος Ἀντωνίνος Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικὸς Σαρματικός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ —', αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ —', ὕπατος] τὸ Γ̄, πατὴρ πατρίδος, ἀνθύπατος], 234 (31 6-8)

## MEN AND WOMEN

A[— — —] (Δημητριάδος), *ca. a.* 260/59 *a.*, father of [— — — στ]ρατος, 11 (7 9)

[Ἀβ]ροσύνη Θράιττα, *a.* 413 *a.*, slave of Axiochos, 26 15

Ἀγάθαρχος (Κεφαλειεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 276

Ἀγάθαρχος (Ὀτρυνεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 108

Ἀγάθη Εὐπόρου, *saec.* II *p.*, 284 (161)

Ἀγαθοκλῆς Ἀσκληπιάδου (Ἀναφλύστιος), councillor *init. saec.* II *p.*, 253 (52 11)

[Ἀ]γαθωνίδης (Δειραδιώτης), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 202

Ἀγησίλ[αος] Ἑρμοτ[...], *saec.* II *a.*, 281 (146)

Ἀγνόδημος (Θορίκιος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 268

Ἀγρέανος (?), *saec.* IV *a.*, father of Θεοδότη, 278 (131)

Ἀδείμ[αντος], *a.* 413 *a.*, 26 9-10

Ἀδραστος Ἀρίστωνος Κιανός, *saec.* IV *a.*, 277 (130 1); Ἀ. (Κ.), father of Φιλοθέα, Καλλίς, and Ἑρμογένης, 277 (130 3-5)

Ἀθήναιος (Συπαλήττιος), *fin. saec.* II *p.*, father of Ἀθήναιος, 255 (55 19)

Ἀθήναιος (Συπαλήττιος), councillor *init. saec.* III *p.*, 255 (55 19)

Ἀθήναϊς Εὐφροσύνου (Ἀναφλύστιος), councillor *init. saec.* II *p.*, 253 (52 10)

Ἀθηνόδωρος (Ἀλιμούσιος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 233

Αἴλιος: Αἴλ· Ἡρακλ[είδης] (Παλληνεύς), councillor *fin. saec.* II *p.*, 262 (73 4)



- Αἴλιος: Αἴλ· Σωσι[— —] (Παλληγεύς), councillor *fin. saec.* II *p.*, 262 (73 3)  
 Αἴλιος: [Αἴλ·] Φλάκ[κος] (Παλληγεύς), councillor *fin. saec.* II *p.*, 262 (73 2)  
 Αἴλιος: Αἴλ· Χρήστ[ος] (Παλληγεύς), councillor *fin. saec.* II *p.*, 262 (73 8)  
 Αἰσχυλίδης (Μυρρινούσιος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 177  
 <Α>κεστορίδης (Λευκονοιεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 229  
 Ἀλέξανδ[ρος — —] (Αἰαντίδος), *ephebos fin. saec.* II *a.*, 225 (22 22)  
 Ἀλέξανδρος (Ἰπποθωντίδος), *ephebos fin. saec.* II *a.*, 225 (22 16)  
 Ἀ[λε]ξίμα[χος] (ἐκ Κοίλης), *ca. a.* 408 *a.*, father of [Τε]σαμενός, 428 (37 3-4) = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1446  
 Ἀλκιβιάδης (Σκαμβωνίδης), *ca. a.* 446 *a.*, father of [Ἀξίохος], 26 11-12; [Ἀ.] father of Ἀξί[οχος], 28 13  
 Ἀλκιμος (Βησαιεύς), *fin. saec.* I *p.*, father of Ἀλκιμος, 253 (52 22); Ἀ. (Β.), father of Ἐπέραστος, 253 (52 23); Ἀ. (Β.), father of Ἡράκων, 253 (52 21)  
 Ἀλκιμος > (Βησαιεύς), councillor *init. saec.* II *p.*, 253 (52 22)  
 Ἀμύντας (Ἀναφλύστιος), *fin. saec.* I *p.*, father of Φιλήμων, 253 (52 12)  
 Ἀμύντας Ἡρακλέωνος (Ἀναφλύστιος), councillor *init. saec.* II *p.*, 253 (52 6)  
 [Ἀ]μφικτύ[ων], *saec.* III *a.*, 259 (63 5-6)  
 [Ἀμ]φίμαχος (Δαμπτρέυς), councillor *fin. saec.* III *a.*, 219 (15 8)  
 Ἀμφιτέλ[ης] (Παιανιεύς), *saec.* III *a.*, father of [— — — — —<sup>ca. 8</sup> — — —]τος, 217 (12)  
 Ἀν[— — — —], archon *a.* 223/4 *p.*, 256 (56)  
 Ἀν[— — — — —<sup>ca. 14</sup> — — — —] Ἀν[τιοχεύς], orator *a.* 112/1 *a.*, 229 (28 4-5); [Ἀν — — — — —] Ἀν[τιοχεύς], orator *a.* 111/0 *a.*, 230 (29 4-5)  
 Ἀναξι[— —], *saec.* IV *a.*, 276 (127)  
 Ἀνδρέας, archon *a.* 144/3 *a.* (?), 252 (51 1)  
 Ἀνδροκύδης (Εὐωνυμεύς), councillor *fin. saec.* III *a.*, 219 (15 41)  
 Ἀνδρομένης (Φρεάρριος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 216  
 Ἀνθεμίων (Εὐωνυμεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 31 7  
 Ἀνθεμίων (ἐκ Κολωνού), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 100  
 [Ἀνθης] (Παλληγεύς), *ca. med. saec.* II *p.*, father of Ἀττ[ικός], 262 (73 11). The name could be [Ἀνθος]  
 Ἀντ[— — —] : Πρεῖμα Ἀντ[— — —], *aet. Rom.*, 285 (166)  
 Ἀντίγονος (Βησαιεύς), councillor *init. saec.* II *p.*, 253 (52 25)  
 Ἀντίδοτ[ος] (Ἰαλιεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 170  
 Ἀντικλείδης (Κηφισιεύς), *ca. a.* 376 *a.*, father of Λεοντεύς, 38 note on line 36 [cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1590 16]  
 Ἀντικλῆς (Φιλαίδης), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 131  
 [Ἀ]ντιοχίς Ζωίλου Γαργηττίου γυνή, *aet. Rom.*, 287 (177)  
 Ἀντίοχος (Ἀναφλύστιος), *fin. saec.* I *p.*, father of Ἀντίοχος, 253 (52 15)  
 Ἀντίοχος > (Ἀναφλύστιος), councillor *init. saec.* II *p.*, 253 (52 15)  
 Ἀν<τί>πατρος (Φλυεύς), *ca. a.* 12/3 *p.*, father of [Ἀντίπατρο]ς [ν]εώτερος, 188 6  
 [Ἀντίπατρο]ς Ἀν<τι>πάτρου Φλυε|ύς ν|εώτερος, archon *a.* 45/6 *p.*, 188 6 [a correction of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3242]  
 [Ἀ]ντισθένης (Φηγαλιεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 77  
 [Ἀ]ντιφ[— — —] (Αἰγείδος), *saec.* III *a.*, father of an *ephebos*, 10 (4 4)  
 Ἀντιφάνης (Ποτάμιος), councillor of Leontis *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 208  
 Ἀντιφάτης (Εὐωνυμεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 31 11  
 Ἀντιφάτης (Κηφισιεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 31 37  
 Ἀντίφιλος (Θημακειεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 31 44  
 Ἀντιχάρης (Φρεάρριος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 210  
 Ἀντίχαρμος (Περγασεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 31 39  
 Ἀντώνιος: Ἀντ· Ποσειδώνιος (Αἰξωνεύς), councillor *init. saec.* III *p.*, 255 (55 14)  
 Ἄνυτος (Εὐωνυμεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 31 3

- [Ἀξίοχος] Ἀλκιβιάδου [Σκαμβωνίδης], *a.* 413 *a.*, 26 11-12; Ἀξί[οχο]ς [Ἀλκιβιάδου — —], 28 13  
 Ἀπο[— — —], *ephebos* (?) *saec.* I/II *p.*, 22 (14 3)  
 Ἀπόληξ[ις], *fin. saec.* I *a.*, 261 (71)  
 [Ἀπολ]λόδωρος, *saec.* III *a.*, 268 (94)  
 [Ἀ]π[ολ]λόδω[ρος] (Πλωθείς), *fin. saec.* V *a.*, father of [Διόδ]ωρ[ος], 275 (121)  
 Ἀπολλόθεμις (Ἀγρυλεύς), *councillor fin. saec.* III *a.*, 219 (15 49)  
 Ἀπολλοκράτης Ἰκαριεύς, *saec.* I *a.*, father of Ξενώ, 282 (153)  
 [Ἀπολ]λώνιος, *aet. Rom.*, father of Ἀρχίδαμ[ος], 273 (112)  
 Ἀπολλώνιος (Ἀγρυλεύς), *councillor fin. saec.* III *a.*, 219 (15 47)  
 Ἀπολλ[ώνιος] (Φαληρεύς), *saec.* III *a.*, father of Μητρο[...], 280 (143)  
 [Ἀπολλώνιος] (Ἀλεξανδρεύς), *ca. a.* 145 *a.*, father of N[— — —], 229 (28 2-3); Ἀ. (Ἀ.), *ca. a.* 144 *a.*, father of [N — — —], 230 (29 2-3); [Ἀ.] (Ἀ.), father of [N — — —], 230 (29 5-6)  
 [Ἀπολ]λώνιος (Ἀντιοχεύς), *saec.* I *a.* / *p.*, 283 (156)  
 [Ἀ]ρέτη Θράιττα, *a.* 413 *a.*, slave of Axiochos, 26 13  
 Ἀριστ[— — —] (Δημητριάδος), *ca. a.* 260/59 *a.*, father of [— — —]os, 11 (7 7)  
 Ἀρίσταρχος (Κυθήριος), *councillor a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 192  
 Ἀριστεύς Ἀριστοφώντος [— —], *saec.* IV *a.*, 250 (48 4)  
 Ἀριστοβούλη Λυκ[— —], a slave, *med. saec.* V *a.*, 248 (46 16)  
 Ἀριστογένης (Κυδαθηναίεύς), *councillor a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 159  
 Ἀριστόδημος, *init. saec.* III *p.*, 255 (55 4)  
 Ἀριστόδημος (Ἀγρυλεύς), *councillor fin. saec.* III *a.*, 219 (15 48)  
 Ἀριστόδημος (Κυδαθηναίεύς), *councillor a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 150  
 Ἀριστόδημος (Πλωθείς), *councillor a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 110  
 [Ἀριστοκλ]εί[δης] (Μελιτεύς), *post med. saec.* IV *a.*, father of [Θρασυκ]λ[ῆς], 279 (135); [Ἀ]ριστοκλεί[δης] Με[λ]ι[ι]τεύς, husband of [... ]αρέτη, 279 (135)  
 Ἀριστοκλῆς (Δαμπτρέύς), *councillor a.* 336/5 *a.*, 31 54  
 Ἀριστοκλῆς (Ποτάμιος), *councillor of Leontis a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 207  
 Ἀριστοκράτης (Περγασεύς), *councillor a.* 336/5 *a.*, 31 41  
 [Ἀρι]στομέ[...] (Κόπρειος), *councillor init. saec.* II *a.*, 260 (67 5)  
 Ἀριστονίκη ἐκ Μυλασέων, *saec.* IV *a.*, 277 (130 7)  
 Ἀριστοφάνης (Θορίκιος), *councillor a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 266  
 Ἀριστοφών, *saec.* IV *a.*, father of Ἀριστεύς, 250 (48 4)  
 Ἀριστοφών (Κολωνεύς), *councillor of Leontis a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 247  
 Ἀρίστων (Κιανός), *init. saec.* IV *a.*, father of Ἀδραστος, 277 (130 1)  
 Ἀρκεφών (Α — —) *init. saec.* IV *a.*, father of [Δ]ωρόθεος, 243 (39 6)  
 Ἀρτεμί[δωρος], *saec.* I *p.*, 21 (12 8-11)  
 Ἀρχέβι[ος], *med. saec.* V *a.*, owner of Ἱμέρα, 248 (46 13)  
 Ἀρχέβιος (Ἀναγυράσιος), *councillor fin. saec.* III *a.*, 219 (15 26)  
 Ἀρχέλαος: Μᾶ· Οὐλ· Ἀρχέλαος (Σημαχίδης), *councillor init. saec.* II *p.*, 253 (52 17)  
 [Ἀρχέσ]τρατος, 47 note 25 [cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1742 59]  
 [Ἀρ]χέστρατ[ος .....<sup>16</sup>.....], treasurer of the Other Gods *a.* 375/4 *a.*, 428 (37 3) correcting 241 (37 1)  
 Ἀρχέστρατος (Σκαμβωνίδης), *councillor a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 220  
 Ἀρχέστρατος (Σκαμβωνίδης), *councillor a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 222  
 Ἀρχέστρατος (Φρεάρριος), *councillor a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 213  
 Ἀρχίας (Δαμπτρέύς), *councillor a.* 336/5 *a.*, 31 56  
 Ἀρχίδαμ[ος] Ἀπολ[ωνίου] [— —], *aet. Rom.*, 273 (112)

- [Ἀρ]χικλῆς [— —] Σημ[αχίδης], *saec.* II *a.* (?), 282 (150)
- Ἀρχ[ι]κρ[άτης] (Δαμπτρεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 31 60
- Ἀρχ[ι]νος (Ἀναγυράσιος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 31 30
- [Ἀρχιπ]πος, archon *a.* 321/0 *a.*, 290 (184 3)
- Ἀσκληπιάδης (Ἀναφλύστιος), *fin. saec.* I *p.*, father of Ἀγαθοκλῆς, 253 (52 11)
- Ἀσωπόδ[ωρος] Κυδ[αθηναίους], treasurer of Athena *a.* 411 *a.*, 238 (35 204); [Ἀ.], 239 (35 228)
- Ἀσωποκ[λῆς] (Ἀγρυλῆθεν), *ca. a.* 154 *a.*, father of [Ἀσωποκλ]ῆς, 223 (20)
- [Ἀσωποκλ]ῆς Ἀσωποκ[λέους Ἀγρυλῆθεν], secretary *a.* 121/0 *a.*, 223 (20)
- Ἀταλάν[τη] Εὐτυχίδ[ου] Ἀντιοχέ[ως] γυνή, *aet. Rom.*, 286 (173)
- Αταταιας, graffito on a cup, *saec.* VII *a.*, 337 (F 38)
- Ἀττικός: Ἡρώδης Ἀ[ττικός] Μαραθώνιο[ς], *ca. med. saec.* II *p.*, 272 (107)
- Ἀττ[ικὸς Ἀνθου] (Παλληγεύς), councillor *fin. saec.* II *p.*, 262 (73 11)
- Αἰξήσῳ: Φλαβία Αἰξήσῳ, *saec.* I/II *p.*, 283 (158)
- Αἰρήλιος: Αὐ· Πρεῖμος (Βησαιεύς), councillor *init. saec.* II *p.*, 253 (52 19)
- Αἰρήλιος: Αὐρ· Στράτων, *saec.* III *p.*, infant son of Αὐρ· Στράτων Εὐπυρίδης, 205 (1 A)
- Αἰρήλιος: Μᾶρ· Αὐρ· Στράτων Μενέσθεως Εὐπυρίδης, *init. saec.* III *p.*, 205 (1B); Αὐρ· Στράτων Εὐπυρίδης, 205 (1A)
- Αὐτοκλείδης (Σφήττιος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 307
- [Αὐτοκλείδης] Σωστρά[του Φρεά]ρριος, secretary of treasurers of Athena *a.* 412/1 *a.*, 238 (35 203)
- Αὐτοκράτης (Δαμπτρεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 31 52
- Αὐτοφράδης (Θοραιεύς), *saec.* IV *a.*, father of [— — — —]τος, 249 (47 4-5)
- Ἀφρ[οδει — —], *saec.* II *p.*, 284 (161)
- Ἀφροδίσιος (Αἰξωνεύς), *fin. saec.* II *p.*, father of Ἀφροδίσιος, 255 (55 15)
- Ἀφροδίσιος ) (Αἰξωνεύς), councillor *init. saec.* III *p.*, 255 (55 15)
- Βάθυλλος (Ἐρχιεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 115
- Βάκχιος, *saec.* III/I *a.*, 281 (144)
- [Β]ερυλλανὸς (Ἀναφλύστιος), councillor *init. saec.* II *p.*, 253 (52 13)
- Βλέπης (Κηφισιεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 31 33
- Βλεψίας (Παιανιεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 140
- Βο[ιδ]ας [Δί]ον Ἡρ[ακ]λεώτης, *saec.* IV *a.*, 277 (130 10)
- Βρόμ(ιος) (Πιθεύς), *paullo ante a.* 200 *a.*, father of Δημήτριος, 220 (17 17)
- Γαῖος [— — —]σιανός, *saec.* II/III *p.*, 272 (109 6-7)
- Γαῖος Στράτων, φίλος γοργός *saec.* I *p.*, 21 (12 4)
- Γλανκίας, ephebos *saec.* I *p.*, 21 (12 4)
- Γλυκέρα, *fin. saec.* IV *a.*, 279 (137)
- [Γνᾶ]θις (?), secretary of a club *a.* 227/6 *a.*, 227 (26 3-4)
- Γοργὼ Κλεάρχου [— —], a slave, *med. saec.* V *a.*, 248 (46 17)
- [Γρ]υλίων Θράξ, *a.* 413 *a.*, slave of Axiochos, 26 14
- Δ[— — —] (Αἰαντίδος), *post med. saec.* II *a.*, father of Διονύσιος, 225 (22 20)
- Δ[α]μ[α]ίς (Λευκοιοιεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 230
- Δάμων Μυλασεύς, *saec.* IV *a.*, 217 (130 7)
- Δεινοκράτης (Μυρρινούσιος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 175
- Δημάδης (Παιανιεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 144
- Δ[ημα]ίνετος (Ἀναγυράσιος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 31 28
- Δήμαρχος (Φρεάρριος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 211
- Δημέας (Αἰξωνεύς), councillor *paullo post a.* 200 *a.*, 220 (17 28)
- [Δη]μέας Δημοστράτο[v] (Παιανιεύς), councillor (?) *saec.* III *a.*, 217 (12)
- Δημητρία X[— <sup>ca. 4-5</sup> —] Σαλαμ[ινία], *fin. saec.* IV *a.*, 279 (136)
- [Δ]ημήτριος, *ca. fin. saec.* IV *a.*, father of an ephebos of Hippothontis, possibly identical with [Δημ]ήτριος (Πειραιεύς), 9 (2 5)



- [Δ]ημήτριος, councillor *saec.* I *a.*, 261 (70)  
 [Δ]ημήτρι[ος] (Κόπρειος), councillor *init. saec.* II *a.*, 260 (67 4)  
 Δημήτριος (Κυδαθηναίος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 152  
 [Δημ]ήτριος (Πειραιεύς), *ca. fin. saec.* IV *a.*, father of an ephebos, 9 (2 4)  
 Δημήτριος Βρομ(ίου) (Πιθεύς), councillor *paullo post a.* 200 *a.*, 220 (17 17)  
 Δημήτριος (Ἡρακλεώτης), *saec.* I *a.*, father of Εἰρήνη, 282 (154)  
 Δημο[- - -], ephebos (?) *saec.* I/II *p.*, 22 (14 4)  
 [Δ]ημο[- - - Κ]τησιφ[ώντος], *saec.* IV *a.*, 297 (3)  
 Δημοκλείδης (Εἰταίος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 305  
 Δημοκλῆ[ς] Δημοφίλ[ου], *saec.* IV *a.*, 268 (92)  
 Δημοκλῆς (Παιανεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 138  
 Δημόστρατος (Εὐωνυμεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 31 10  
 Δημόστρατο[ς] (Παιανεύς), *saec.* III *a.*, father of [Δη]μέας, 217 (12)  
 [Δημ]όστρατος [Διονυ]σίου Παλληνεύς, hoplite general and priest of Roma and Augustus *post a.* 42 *p.*, 188 2-5  
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 Διονύσιος (Θορίκιος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 265  
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 Διονύσιος (Πιθεύς), councillor *paullo post a.* 200 *a.*, 220 (17 21)  
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- Δόκιμος (Ἀναγυράσιος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 31 25
- Δορκ[— —], *saec.* II/I *a.*, 282 (151)
- Δρομοκλέης (Γαργήτιος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 122
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- Εἰρήνη Δημητρίου Ἡρακλεωτίς, *saec.* I *a.*, 282 (154)
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- \*Εμμενίδης (Ἐκαλειεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 262
- [Ἐόρτιος] (Ἀχαρνεύς), *ca. a.* 219/8 *a.*, father of [Ἐρμόδωρος], 12 (8 10)
- \*Επαγρος (Κεφαλειεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 274
- \*Επέρastos Ἀλκίμου (Βησαιεύς), councillor *init. saec.* II *p.*, 253 (52 23)
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- \*Επίκτητος (Ἀναφλύστιος), *fin. saec.* I *a.*, father of Δημοχάρης, 253 (52 5)
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- \*Επιτέλης (Περγασεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 31 42
- \*Ερασεῖνος (Βησαιεύς), *fin. saec.* I *p.*, father of Ἰανᾶρις, 253 (52 26)
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- \*Εργοχάρ[ης] (Ξφήτιος), *ca. a.* 233 *a.*, 259 (65)
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- \*Ερμαῖσκος Τ[— — —], *saec.* II *p.*, 281 (145)
- \*Ερμᾶς, ephebos *saec.* I *p.*, 21 (12 7)
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- \*Ερμῖππος (Ἀγγελειεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 190
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- \*Ερμογένης Ἀδράστου Κιανός, *saec.* IV *a.*, 277 (130 5)
- \*Ερμογένης (Μιλήσιος), *saec.* I/II *p.*, 297 (4)
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- \*Ερμοτ[. . .], *saec.* II *a.*, father of Ἀγησίλ[αος], 281 (146)
- Εὔ[— — —], *saec.* IV *a.*, father of Φρῶνος, 276 (123)
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- [Εὐανδρος Ἐριθαλίω]νος Εὐωνυμεύς, secretary of treasurers of Athena *a.* 411 *a.*, 238 (35 203-204)
- Εὐάριστος (Κιανός), *saec.* IV *a.*, father of Θεανώ and Πόα, 277 (130 2 and 6)
- Εὐβιόδημος (Ἀλιμονύσιος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 232
- Εὐβ[ουλίδ]ης Κρωπίδης, sculptor *med. saec.* II *a.*, 256 (57)
- Εὐδ[η]μ[ο]ς (Λαμπρεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 31 61
- Εὐήμερος (Βησαιεύς), *fin. saec.* I *p.*, father of Εὐήμερος, 253 (52 24)

- Εὐήμερος ) (Βησαιεύς), councillor *init. saec.* II *p.*, 253 (52 24)
- Εὐθίδικος (Ἀγρυλκεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 31 19
- Εὐθινοῖς (Ἐρχιεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 116
- Εὐθυκλῆς (Ἀραφήμιος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 73
- Εὐθυ[κλῆς] (ἐκ Κηδῶν), *ca. a.* 408 *a.*, father of Πυθοκλῆς, 428 (37 1-2) = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1446
- Εὐθυκράτης (Ἀγγελελεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 189
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- Εὐθύμαχο[ς] (Δαμπτρεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 31 51
- Εὐθύφρων (ἐκ Κεραμέων), *ca. a.* 408 *a.*, father of Πολυδάμας, 428 (37 2-3) = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1446
- Εὐκαρπίδης Ἐκπάγλου Βερενικίδη[ς], kosmetes of the ephēboi *a.* 223/4 *p.*, 256 (56)
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- Εὐκτῆμων (ἐκ Κεραμέων), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 287
- [Ε]ὐ[μ]αρίδης Διοπαίθους Α[ἰ]γι(λιεύς), *saec.* IV *a.*, 250 (48 5)
- Εὐμαχος, *saec.* V/IV *a.*, 275 (120)
- Εὐνι[κος] — — — <sup>ca. 17</sup> — — —]σιος, νομοφύλαξ *a.* 112/1 *a.*, 229 (28 5-6)
- Εὐνοσιδης (Κεκροπίδος), councillor *paullo post a.* 200 *a.*, 220 (17 15)
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- Εὐτέρπη: [— — Εὐ]τέρπη — — —, *aet. Rom.*, 284 (164)
- Εὐτυχίδ[ης] Ἀντιοχ[εύς], *aet. Rom.*, husband of Ἀταλάν[τη], 286 (173)
- [Ε]ὐτυχὶς Ἡρακ[λεώτις], *saec.* II *a.*, 281 (145)
- Εὐφαντος (Ἀναγυράσιος), councillor *fin. saec.* III *a.*, 219 (15 30)
- Εὐφίλτος (Κικυννεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 325
- Εὐφ[ο]ρος (Τειθράσιος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 85
- Εὐφράντη, *fin. saec.* IV *a.*, 279 (137)
- Εὐφρόσυν[ος], ephēbos (?) *saec.* I/II *p.*, 22 (14 7)
- Εὐφρόσυνος (Ἀναφλύστιος), *fin. saec.* I *p.*, father of Ἀθήναϊς, 253 (52 10)
- [Εὐ]χειρ Κρωπιδης, sculptor *med. saec.* II *a.*, 256 (57)
- Εὐχειρίδης (Ἑρμειος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 295
- Εὐχέρης (Παμβωτάδης), *saec.* IV *a.*, father of [— — — —]ς, 249 (47 5-6)
- [Ζήνω]ν (Μαραθώνιος), *ante med. saec.* I *a.*, father of [Παμμένης], 248 (45)
- Ζωείλο[ς] (Κηφισιεύς), *saec.* I/II *p.*, father of Λεύκ[ιος], 283 (159)
- Ζωῖλος Γαργήτιος, *aet. Rom.*, husband of [Ἀ]ντιοχίς, 287 (177)
- Ζώσιμος (Βησαιεύς), *fin. saec.* I *p.*, father of Ζώσιμος, 253 (52 20)
- Ζώσιμος ) (Βησαιεύς), councillor *init. saec.* II *p.*, 253 (52 20)
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- Ἡρακλείδης: Αἴλ· Ἡρακλ[είδης] (Παλληνεύς), councillor *fin. saec.* II *p.*, 262 (73 4)
- Ἡρακλέων (Ἀναφλύστιος), *fin. saec.* I *p.*, father of Ἀμύντας, 253 (52 6)
- Ἡράκων Ἀλκίμου (Βησαιεύς), councillor *init. saec.* II *p.*, 253 (52 21)
- Ἡρώδης Ἀ[ττικὸς] Μαραθώνιο[ς], *ca. med. saec.* II *p.*, 272 (107)
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- Θεανὼ Εὐαρίστου Κιανή, *saec.* IV *a.*, 277 (130 2)
- Θεμ[— — —], *saec.* IV *a.*, 243 (39 10)
- [Θεόβουλος] (Ἐλευσίνιος), *ca. a.* 219/8 *a.*, father of [Θεόβουλος], 12 (8 7)
- [Θεόβουλος Θεοβούλου Ἐλευσίνιος], kosmetes *paullo ante a.* 186/5 *a.*, 12 (8 7)
- Θεόγνητος (Ἀλιμούσιος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 234
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- Θεόδοτος (Εὐπυρίδης), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 252
- Θεοδωρίδης (Κυδαθηναεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 149
- [Θ]εόδωρο[ς] (Κυδαθηναεύς), *ca. med. saec.* IV *a.*, father of [Ξτ]ησία[ς], 278 (134); Θεόδ[ωρος] (Κ.), father of [...]αρέτῃ, 279 (135)
- Θεόδωρος (Παιανιεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 146
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- Θεόφιλος (Κυδαθηναεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 155
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- Θεόφι[λος] Φρεάρριο[ς], *ca. a.* 325 *a.*, 246 (42 8-9)
- Θεόφρα[στος], ephebos *saec.* II *a.*, 269 (96)
- Θεοχάρης (Αἰξωνεύς), councillor *paullo post a.* 200 *a.*, 220 (17 36)
- [Θο]υδόσιο[ς — — —] (Φυλάσιος), councillor *saec.* IV/III *a.*, 261 (69)
- Θεοφάνης (Μυρρινούσιος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 179
- Θεραττίς, *saec.* IV *a.*, 267 (91)
- [Θρασ]υκλῆς Ναυσικράτου[ς] Θ[ρ]ιάσιος, registrar *a.* 321/0 *a.*, 290 (184 2-3)
- [Θρασυκ]λ[ῆς Ἀριστοκλ]εῖδ[ου Μελιτ]εύ[ς], *post med. saec.* IV *a.*, 279 (135)
- [Θ]ράσυλλ[ος Ἀ]εοντέω[ς] (Ἀχαρνεύς), councillor *saec.* IV/III *a.*, 261 (69)
- Θρασυμήδης (Παιανιεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 141
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 Καλλιιάδης (Σκαμβωνίδης), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 221  
 Καλλίας, *ca. a.* 400 *a.*, father of Νονμήνιος, 244 (40 11)  
 Καλλίας (Αἰξωνεύς), councillor *paullo post a.* 200 *a.*, 220 (17 34)  
 Καλλίας (Εἰρεσίδης), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 292  
 Καλλίας (Ἐρχιεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 113  
 Καλλίας (ἐκ Κεραμέων), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 285  
 Καλλίας (Ἐαρμόσιος), *saec.* II *a.*, father of [— — — — —]ν, 21 (13 3)  
 Καλλι[ας Σ]ωτᾶ [Σκα]μβω[νί]δης, herald *fin. saec.* I *a.*, 261-262 (72)  
 Καλλικράτης (Κικυνεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 326  
 Καλ<λ>ίμαχος, ephebos *saec.* I *p.*, 21 (12 5)  
 Καλλίμαχος (Αἰθαλίδης), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 240  
 Κάλλιππος (Εὐωνυμεύς), councillor *fin. saec.* III *a.*, 219 (15 36)  
 Καλλίς Ἀδράστου Κιανή, *saec.* IV *a.*, 277 (130 4)  
 [Κα]λλισ[— — — —] (Ἐρεχθεΐδος), *ca. a.* 260/59 *a.*, father of an ephebos, 11 (7 12)  
 Καλλ[ι]σ[— — —] (— — — εὐς), *aet. Rom.*, father of [— — — —]τίας, 274 (115)  
 Καλλισθένης Χα[— — — —], *post med. saec.* IV *a.*, 247 (44)  
 Καλλισ[θ]έν[ης] (Ἀμαξαντεύς), councillor *init. saec.* II *a.*, 260 (67 2)  
 [Κ]αλλισθένης (Λαμπιτρεύς), councillor *fin. saec.* III *a.*, 219 (15 10)  
 Καλλισθένης (Μυρρινούσιος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 178  
 [Κ]αλλιτέλης (Κυδαντίδης), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 127  
 Καλλιφάνης (Θορίκιος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 269  
 Καλλιφήμος (Ἀγνούσιος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 315

- Κέφαλ[ος — —] (Δημητριάδος), *ca. a.* 260/59 *a.*, father of an ephebos, 11 (7 10)
- Κηφισόδοτ[ος] (Ἀχαρνεύς), *ca. fin. saec. IV a.*, father of Τιμόδημο[ς], 261 (69)
- Κῆ[— — —] (᾽Ωαίεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 167
- Κιλ<ι>κάς, *saec. IV/III a.*, 279 (138)
- [Κ]ίλλης of IX 77 (11 11) corrected to [Φ]ίλλης, 37 note 12 [note the corrected reference]. But cf. p. 219 and *Addenda*, p. 428
- Κίλλης (Εὐωνυμεύς), councillor *fin. saec. III a.*, 219 (15 43)
- Κλαύδιος: [Τι]β· Κλ· ἐπὶ βωμῷ, *saec. II/III p.*, 273 (110 2). This was Τιβ· Κλ· Σῶσις, philosopher and Eleusinian altar priest; cf. above, p. 403
- Κλαύδιος: Κλ· Λεωσθένη[ς Μελιτεύς], προστάτης of epheboi *ca. a.* 225 *p.*, 255 (54)
- Κλαύδιος: Κλ· Νεικηφ[όρος] (Παλληγνεύς), councillor *fin. saec. II p.*, 262 (73 5)
- Κλέαρχος, *med. saec. V a.*, owner of Γοργώ, 248 (46 17)
- Κλεόβουλος (Εἰτεαῖος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 304
- Κλεόκριτος (Γαργήτιος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 123
- Κλεόμαχος, *saec. IV a.*, 276 (124)
- Κλέων (Ἀραφήνιος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 74
- <Κ>λέων (Εὐωνυμεύς), councillor *fin. saec. III a.*, 219 (15 39)
- Κλέων (Μυριναιῖος), *saec. I a./p.*, father of Ἡδῆα, 283 (157)
- Κόιντος, *zakoros saec. I/II p.*, 271 (104)
- [Κόνων] (Ἀναφλύστιος), *ca. a.* 386 *a.*, father of Τιμόθεο[ς], 267 (89)
- Κόρινθος (Ἀναφλύστιος), *fin. saec. I p.*, father of Κόρινθος, 253 (52 7)
- Κόρινθος ) (Ἀναφλύστιος), councillor *init. saec. II p.*, 253 (52 7)
- Κριτόβουλ[ος], *saec. IV a.*, 275 (122)
- Κτέων (Γαργήτιος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.* 32 120
- [Κ]τησιφ[ών], *saec. IV a.*, father of [Δ]ημο[ς] [— — —], 297 (3)
- [Κώ]μαρ[χος] (Ἀφιδναῖος), *ca. a.* 446 *a.*, father of Λευκα[ῖος], 238 (35 205)
- [Λ]ακλείδης (Αἰγινήτης), *saec. IV a.*, father of Πλαγγών, 428 [a corrected restoration of 277 (130 8)]
- Λακράτ[— —] (Λαμπρεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 31 50
- Λάχης (Υβάδης), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 249
- [Λ]εοντεὺ[ς] (Ἀχαρνεύς), *saec. IV a.*, father of [Θ]ράσυλλ[ος], 261 (69)
- Λεοντεὺς Ἀντικλείδου Κ[ηφισι(εὺς)] to be restored in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1590 16, 38 note on line 36
- Λεόντιος (Κηφισιεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 31 36
- Λεπτίας (Προβαλίσιος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 161
- Λευκα[ῖος Κω]μάρ[χου Ἀφιδναῖος], secretary of treasurers of Athena *a.* 413/2 *a.*, 238 (35 205)
- Λεύκιος, archon *a.* 59/8 *a.*, 270 (100)
- Λεύκ[ιος] Ζωείλο[υ] Κηφισιεύ[ς], *saec. I/II p.*, 283 (159)
- Λεωκράτης (Κυδαθηναεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 158
- Λέων (Βατειεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 104
- Λεωσθένης: Κλ· Λεωσθένη[ς Μελιτεύς], προστάτης of epheboi *ca. a.* 225 *p.*, 255 (54)
- Λυ[— — —], treasurer of the Other Gods *a.* 374/3 *a.*, 241 (37 5), 428 (37 7)
- Λυκ[— — —], *med. saec. V a.*, owner of Ἀριστοβούλη, 248 (46 16)
- Λυκῖνος (Παμβωτάδης), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 31 23
- Λυκῖνος (Συβρίδης), councillor *fin. saec. III a.*, 219 (15 22)
- [Λ]υκίσκ[ος — —], *saec. II/I a.*, 269 (98)
- Λύκων (Φρεάρριος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 214
- Λυσανδρίδης (Λευκονοιεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 228
- Λυσανίας (Υβάδης), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 250
- Λυσίθεος (Λαμπρεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 31 58
- Λυσιμένης (Ἀγνούσιος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 317
- Λύσιππος (Ἀγρυλεεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 31 17
- Λυσίστρατ[ος] Ἀχαρνέ[υς], *saec. IV a.*, 277 (128)



- Λυσίστρατος (Παιονίδης), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 242  
 Λυσιφῶν (Χολαργεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 300  
 Μ[— — —] (Αἰαντίδος), *post med. saec.* II *a.*, father of Μελίτων, 225 (22 19)  
 Μαλθάκη, *saec.* IV *a.*, 267 (91)  
 Μαλθάκη, *saec.* II *a.*, 281 (148)  
 Μάμας, *saec.* I/II *p.*, son-in-law of Ἑρμογένης, 297 (4)  
 Μάρκος (Ἀναφλύστιος), *fin. saec.* I *p.*, father of Μάρκος, 253 (52 8)  
 Μάρκος Δ (Ἀναφλύστιος), councillor *init saec.* II *p.*, 253 (52 8)  
 [Μεγ]ακλείδης Μυ[.....<sup>16</sup>.....], treasurer of the Other Gods *a.* 375/4 *a.*, 428 (37 4) correcting 241 (37 2)  
 Μειδοκράτης (Προβαλίστιος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 164  
 Μείδων (Μυρρινούσιος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 174  
 Μελανω[πίδης], to be restored instead of Μελάνω[πος] in Suppl. I 58 (16 28) = IX 113 (122 25), 48 (note the corrected restoration)  
 Μελανωπίδης (Κήτιος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 224  
 Μελίτων Μ[— — —] (Αἰαντίδος), ephebos *fin. saec.* II *a.*, 225 (22 19)  
 Μέμνων (Ἀναφλύστιος), *fin. saec.* I *p.*, father of Εὐπορος, 253 (52 9)  
 [Μέ]νανδρος, *saec.* I *p.*, 270 (101)  
 [Μενεκλ]ῆς, archon *a.* 267/6 *a.*, 250 (49 1)  
 [Μενεκράτης] (Φιλάδης), *ca. a.* 190 *p.*, father of Τελεσεφ[όρος], 256 (56)  
 Μενεσθεὺς (Εὐπυρίδης), *saec.* II/III *p.*, father of Μάρ· Αὔρ· Στράτων Εὐπυρίδης, 205 (1B)  
 Μενέστρατος (ἐκ Κεραμέων), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 288  
 Μενίσκος Κολωνῆθ[εν], paidotribes *a.* 59/8 *a.*, 270 (100)  
 Μενο[— — —], *saec.* IV *a.*, father of [— — —]ῶν, 210 (4 6-7)  
 [Μ]ένω[ν Πρ]οξενίδο[ν Ἀχα]ρνεύ[ς], *saec.* III *a.*, 280 (142)  
 Μήδε<ι>ος (Ἀναγυράσιος), councillor *fin. saec.* III *a.*, 219 (15 28)  
 Μην[— — —], *saec.* II *a.*, father of [— — —]ης, 21 (13 4)  
 Μηνόδωρος (Βησαιεύς), *fin. saec.* I *p.*, father of Ἰσίων, 253 (52 27)  
 Μηνόφ[ιλος .....<sup>19</sup>.....], orator *saec.* III *a.*, 11 (6 2)  
 Μητρο[....] Ἀπολλ[ωνίου Φ]αλη[ρεύς], *saec.* III/II *a.*, 280 (143)  
 [Μη]τρόδωρος (Συπαλήττιος), *ante med. saec.* I *a.*, 248 (45)  
 Μι[— — —] ([...]ηνα[...]), *saec.* II *a.* (?), father of [— — —]ιος, 269 (99)  
 Μίκα Μίκωνος Γ[— — —], a slave, *med. saec.* V *a.*, 248 (46 15)  
 Μίκων, *med. saec.* V *a.*, owner of Μίκα, 248 (46 15)  
 Μνησικράτης (Θορίκιος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 267  
 Μνησιφῶν (Φηγούσιος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 31 46  
 Μολοττὸς (Ἰφιστιάδης), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 302  
 Μοσ(—) (Πιθεύς), *paullō ante a.* 200 *a.*, father of Ἑργόφιλος, 220 (17 19)  
 [Μ]οσχίων (Δαμπτρέύς), councillor *fin. saec.* III *a.*, 219 (15 12)  
 Μόσχος (Εὐωνυμεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 31 12  
 Μυ[— — —], *ca. a.* 408 *a.*, father of [Μεγ]ακλείδης, 428 (37 4) correcting 241 (37 2)  
 Μυρτίλος (Στειριεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 186  
 Ν[— — — Ἀπολλωνίου Ἀ]λεξανδρεύς, ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ *a.* 112/1 *a.*, 229 (28 2-3); [Ν — — —] Ἀπολλωνίου Ἀλεξανδ[ρεύς], ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ *a.* 111/0 *a.*, 230 (29 2-3); [Ν — — — Ἀπολλωνίου] Ἀλεξανδρεύς, priest of the Great Gods *a.* 111/0 *a.*, 230 (29 5-6)  
 Νάνους Δίου [Ἡρακ]λεώτης, *saec.* IV *a.*, 277 (130 9)  
 Ναυσικράτης[ς] (Θριάσιος), *ca. a.* 354 *a.*, father of [Θρασ]υκλῆς, 290 (184 2-3)  
 Ναυσίστρατος (Φρεάρριος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 212

- Νέανδρ[ος] (ἐκ Κεραμίων), *ca. a.* 219/8 *a.*, father of Πεδιεύς, 12 (8 11)
- [Νέαν]δρος Χαρικλέ[- -] (Παιανιεύς), councillor (?) *saec.* III *a.*, 217 (12)
- Νεικηφό[ρος] (Βησαιεύς), *fin. saec.* I *p.*, father of Θεόπομπος, 253 (52 30)
- Νεικηφ[όρος]: Κλ· Νεικηφ[όρος] (Παλληνεύς), councillor *fin. saec.* II *p.*, 262 (73 5)
- Νεικίας (Βησαιεύς), *fin. saec.* I *p.*, father of Ίσιγένης, 253 (52 29)
- Νείνος [Μιλή]σιος, *saec.* III *a.*, husband of Ψόδιο[ν], 280 (140)
- Νεοκλ[ῆς] Βερεν[ικ]ίδης, flutist *paullo post a.* 200 *a.*, 220 (17)
- [Ν]εοπτόλεμος (ἐκ Μυρινούττης), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 80
- Νικ —: see Νεκ —
- Νίκανδρος (Αἰαντίδος), ephebos *fin. saec.* II *a.*, 225 (22 18)
- Νίκανδρος (Μυρρινούσιος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 176
- Νικίας (Ἐρχιεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 112
- Νικῶ[- - -] (Ὠαιεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 168
- Νικόβου[λος Π]ροσπά[λτιος], *ca. a.* 325 *a.*, 246 (42 15-16)
- [Ν]ικόμαχος Νίκω[νος - - <sup>ca. 7</sup> - -], orator *a.* 227/6 *a.*, 227 (26 2)
- [Νικόμαχος] (Ἀφιδναῖος), *ca. a.* 219/8 *a.*, father of [Νικόμαχος], 12 (8 8-9)
- [Νικόμαχος Νικομάχου Ἀφιδναῖος], akontistes *paullo ante a.* 186/5 *a.*, 12 (8 8-9)
- Νικόμαχος (Περγασεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 31 40
- Νικόστρατος (Αἰθαλίδης), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 239
- Νικόστρατος (Κολωνεύς), councillor of Leontis *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 246
- Νικόστρατος (Προσπάλτιος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 323
- Νίκω[ν], *ca. a.* 260 *a.*, father of [Ν]ικόμαχος, 227 (26 2)
- Νίκων (Ἐλευσίνιος), *ca. fin. saec.* IV *a.*, father of an ephebos of Hippothontis, 9 (2 6)
- Νουμήνιος Καλλίου [- - -], *ante med. saec.* IV *a.*, 244 (40 11)
- [Νου]μήνιος [. . .]μίδου [Χολ]αργεύς, *saec.* III *a.*, 280 (141)
- Ξεν[- - -] (Λαμπρεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 31 49
- Ξεννώ Ἀπολλοκράτου Ἰκαριεύς θ[υ]γ[άτηρ], *saec.* I *a.*, 282 (153)
- [Ξ]ενοκλέης (Κυδαντίδης), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 128
- Ξερόκλεια Ξενοκλέους θυγάτηρ Δικαιάρχου Θριασί[ου] γ[υνή], *ca. med. saec.* II *a.*, 281 (147)
- Ξενοκλῆς, *init. saec.* II *a.*, father of Ξερόκλεια, 281 (147)
- Ξενοκλῆς (Ψαμνούσιος), *saec.* IV *a.*, father of [- - -]ης, 249 (47 6-7)
- \*Ὀλυμπος (Πιθεύς), councillor *paullo post a.* 200 *a.*, 220 (17 20)
- \*Ὀμόφρων (Εὐωνυμεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 31 9
- \*Ὀνήσανδρος Ἰθαιμένου Ἐλευσίνιος, *post med. saec.* IV *a.*, 268 (93)
- \*Ὀνησίμη: Ῥοτειλία Ὀνησίμη Πάπον Μαραθωνία, *aet. Rom.*, 287 (179)
- \*Ὀνησίων (Πήληξ), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 256
- \*Ὀνήτ<ω>ρ (Εὐωνυμεύς), *post. med. saec.* III *a.*, father of Χαρίας, 219 (15 40)
- \*Ὀνομακλῆς (Παιονίδης), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 244
- Οὐλπιος: Μᾶ· Οὐλ· Ἀρχέλαος (Σημαχίδης), councillor *init. saec.* II *p.*, 253 (52 17)
- \*Ὀψιος (Λαμπρεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 31 53
- [Π]ακλείδης (Αἰγινήτης), *saec.* IV *a.*, father of Πλαγγόν, 277 (130 8). But see [Λ]ακλείδης
- [Παμμένης Ζήνων]ος Μαραθώνιος, *fin. saec.* I *a.*, 248 (45)
- Παντ[- - -], *ca. a.* 500 *a.*, 265 (83)
- Παντακλῆς, poet, *fin. saec.* V *a.*, 266 (85)
- Πάπος (Μαραθώνιος), *aet. Rom.*, father of Ῥοτειλία Ὀνησίμη, 287 (179)
- [Παρ]άμονος, archon *a.* 113/2 *a.*, 229 (28 7); [Π.], 229 (28 2)

- Πασίας (Κυδαθηναίεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 153
- Πεδιεύς Νέανδρ[ου ἐκ Κεραμέων], katapaltaphetes *paullo ante a.* 186/5 *a.*, 12 (8 11)
- Πειθ[— — —] (Ἰκαριεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 90
- Πειθι[— — —], *saec.* III *a.*, 259 (63 2-3)
- Πειλ[ε]στροτίδας [Θει]βήο[ς], *saec.* IV *a.*, 277 (129)
- Περικλῆ[ς — — — <sup>ca. 7</sup> — — —] Παι[ανιεύς], *aet. Rom.*, 273 (113)
- Περσαῖος [Ξυμμάχου Κικυννεύς], hoplomachos *paullo ante a.* 186/5 *a.*, 12 (8 9)
- Πλαγγών [Π]ακλείδου Αἰγινήτης, *saec.* IV *a.*, 277 (130) 8). But the patronymic should be [Α]ακλείδου, *q.v.*
- Πόα Εὐαρίστου Κιανή, *saec.* IV *a.*, 277 (130 6)
- Πολέμων (Αἰξωνεύς), councillor *paullo post a.* 200 *a.*, 220 (17 35)
- Πολύρα[τος] Χολαργ[εύς], *ca. a.* 325 *a.*, 246 (42 13-14)
- Πολυάρκης (Παιανιεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 135
- Πολυδάμας Εὐθύφρονος [ἐκ Κεραμέων], treasurer of the Other Gods *a.* 375/4 *a.*, 428 (37 2-3) = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1446
- Πολύευκτος (Προσπάτιος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 322
- Πολυκλῆς (Προβαλίσσιος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 163
- [Π]ολυκράτης (Φηγαίεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 78
- [Π]ολυκτῆμων Εὐκτῆ[μονος — — —], *saec.* IV *a.*, 250 (48 3)
- Πόπλιος [— — —], councillor *init. saec.* III *p.*, 255 (55 21)
- [Πορ]φυρίς [Ἐπι]γένου [Καρ]υστία, *saec.* II *a.*, 281 (149)
- Ποσειδίππος (Αἰξωνεύς), councillor *paullo post a.* 200 *a.*, 220 (17 32)
- Ποσειδίππος (Εὐωνυμεύς), councillor *fin. saec.* III *a.*, 219 (15 45)
- Ποσειδώνιος: Ἄντ· Ποσειδώνιος (Αἰξωνεύς), councillor *init. saec.* III *p.*, 255 (55 14)
- Ποσειδώνιος (Βησαιεύς), *fin. saec.* I *p.*, father of Ποσειδώνιος, 253 (52 28)
- Ποσειδώνιος ) (Βησαιεύς), councillor *init. saec.* II *p.*, 253 (52 28)
- Πουλυδάμας (Λαμπρεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 31 57
- Πρέιμα Ἄντ[— — —], *aet. Rom.*, 285 (166)
- Πρέιμος: Αὐ· Πρέιμος (Βησαιεύς), councillor *init. saec.* II *p.*, 253 (52 19)
- Προκλῆς (Γαργήτιος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 121
- Προκλῆς (Κεφαλειεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 277
- [Πρ]οκλείδης (Τειθράσιος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 82
- [Πρ]οξενίδης[ς] (Ἀχαρνεύς), *saec.* III *a.*, father of [Μ]ένω[ν], 280 (142)
- Πρόξενος (Κονθυλειεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 172
- [Πρόξενος] (Σφήττιος), *ca. a.* 219/8 *a.*, father of [Σῶσος], 12 (8 10-11)
- Πρόξενος (Χολαργεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 298
- Προσδο[κ — — —], ephebos (?) *saec.* I/II *p.*, 22 (14 5)
- Πρωτ[— — —] (Παλληνεύς), councillor *fin. saec.* II *p.*, 262 (73 9)
- Πρώταρχο[ς — — —] (Αἰαντίδος), ephebos *fin. saec.* II *a.*, 225 (22 21)
- [Πρωτ]όνικος ἐκ Κεραμέων Ἐπιχάρους, secretary of the hellenotamiai *a.* 434/3 *a.*, 263 (75)
- Πυθάρατος (Κυδαθηναίεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 148
- Πυθέας (Κυδαθηναίεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 157
- Πυθιάδης (ἐκ Κηδῶν), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 31 14
- [Π]υθό[δηλος] (Κολλυνεύς), *ante med. saec.* IV *a.*, father of [Κα]λλ[ι. . .], 278 (133)
- Πυθόδωρος (Φηγαίεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 76
- Πυθοκλῆς Εὐθυ[κλέους ἐκ Κηδῶν], treasurer of the Other Gods, *a.* 375/4 *a.*, 428 (37 1-2) = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1446
- [Πυθ]οκλῆς Φι[λαίδης], suggested restoration in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 37, 42 comment on line 130
- Πυθοκλῆς (Φιλαίδης), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 130



- Πύρρ[ος] (Ἰπποθωντίδης), *post med. saec.* II *a.*, father of Πύρρος, 225 (22 15)
- Πύρρος Πύρρ[ου — —] (Ἰπποθωντίδης), *ephebos fin. saec.* II *a.*, 225 (22 15)
- Πύρρος (Εὐωνυμεύς), *councillor fin. saec.* III *a.*, 219 (15 38)
- Ῥόδιο[ν] Νείνου [Μιλη]σίον γυν[ή], *saec.* III *a.*, 280 (140)
- Ῥοτελία Ὀνησίμη Πάπον Μαραθωνία, *aet. Rom.*, 287 (179)
- Ῥοῦφος (Συπαλήττιος), *fin. saec.* II *p.*, father of Ῥοῦφος, 255 (55 20)
- Ῥοῦφος ) (Συπαλήττιος), *councillor init. saec.* III Ῥοῦφος, 255 (55 20)
- Ξ[— — —], *med. saec.* V *a.*, owner of Σμικύθη, 248 (46 18)
- Ξ[— — —], *ca. a.* 325 *a.*, 247 (43 8)
- Ξ[— — —] (Κηφεισιεύς), *aet. Rom.*, father of [—<sup>2-3</sup>—] ὁδήμος, 285 (168)
- Ξαραπίων Διονυσίου Μιλήσιος, *aet. Rom.*, 286 (175)
- Ξιμάριστος (Τρινεμεύς), *councillor paullo post a.* 200 *a.*, 220 (17 24)
- Ξίμω[ν], *ephebos saec.* II *a.*, 269 (96)
- Ξμικύθη Ξ[— — —], a slave, *med. saec.* V *a.*, 248 (46 18)
- Ξμίκυθος (Κήττιος), *councillor a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 225
- Ξουν[ιεύς], *ca. a.* 409/8 *a.*, father of [— — —]ης, 80 (D), restored as suggested at 78 note 9
- Ξουνιεύς, *ephebos saec.* II *a.*, 269 (96)
- Ξπίρουσα, *aet. Rom.*, 285 (165)
- Ξπενυσίας (Ἀγνούσιος), *councillor a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 313
- Ξπίνθαρος (Ἐστιαιεύς), *councillor a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 102
- Ξτέφανος (Κηφισιεύς), *councillor a.* 336/5 *a.*, 31 35
- Ξτέφανος: Φλ· Ξτέφαν[ος] (Παλληνεύς), *councillor fin. saec.* II *p.*, 262 (73 6)
- [Ξτ]ησία[ς] Θ[εοδώρο]ν Κυδαθηναίει[ύς], *ca. fin. saec.* IV *a.*, 278 (134)
- Ξτράτων: Γαῖος Ξτράτων, φίλος γοργός *saec.* I *p.*, 21 (12 4)
- Ξτράτων: Αὐρ· Ξτράτων, *saec.* III *p.*, infant son of Αὐρ· Ξτράτων Εὐπυρίδης, 205 (1A)
- Ξτράτων: Μάρ· Αὐρ· Ξτράτων Μενεσθέως Εὐπυρίδης, *init. saec.* III *p.*, 205 (1B); Αὐρ· Ξτράτων Εὐπυρίδης, 205 (1A)
- Ξτράτων (Πόριος), *councillor a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 283
- [Σύμμαχος] (Κικυννεύς), *ca. a.* 219/8 *a.*, father of Περσαῖος, 12 (8 9)
- Σύμφορος: [— —] Σύνφ[ορ]ο[ς] ἐξ Οἴου, *saec.* II *p.*, 284 (162)
- Σωκ[— — —] (Κεκροπίδης), *ca. a.* 300 *a.*, father of [— —<sup>ca. 6</sup> — —] κλῆς, 250 (49 11)
- Σωκλείδης (Ποτάμιος), *councillor of Leontis a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 204
- Σωκλῆς (Εὐωνυμεύς), *councillor fin. saec.* III *a.*, 219 (15 42)
- Σωκρατ[.....<sup>16</sup>.....]δης, *secretary a.* 321/0 *a.*, 290 (184 4-5)
- Σωκράτης Φυλάσιος, *paidotribes med. saec.* II *a.*, 251 (50)
- Σωκρατίδης, *archon a.* 374/3 *a.*, 241 (37 3), 428 (37 5)
- [Σ]ώπατρος (Λαμπτρέύς), *councillor fin. saec.* III *a.*, 219 (15 15)
- Σωσθένης (Παιανιεύς), *councillor a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 137
- Σωσι[— —]: Αἰλ· Σωσι[— —] (Παλληνεύς), *councillor fin. saec.* II *p.*, 262 (73 3)
- Σωσίβιος, *ephebos saec.* I *p.*, 271 (103)
- Σωσικράτης, *archon a.* 111/0 *a.*, 230 (29 2)
- Σώσιππος (Ἀγρυλεεύς), *councillor a.* 336/5 *a.*, 31 18
- Σωσισθένης (Μυρρινούσιος), *saec.* IV *a.*, father of [— — —]ιος, 249 (47 2-3)
- Σώσος (Ἀχαρνεύς), *aet. Rom.*, 287 (178)
- [Σώσος Προξένου Σφήττιος], *toxotes paullo ante a.* 186/5 *a.*, 12 (8 10-11)
- Σώσπης: see Κλαύδιος: [Τι]β· Κλ· ἐπὶ βωμῷ
- Σώστ[ρα]τος (Ἀγκυλειεύς), *councillor a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 88
- Σώστρα[τος] (Φρεάρριος), *ca. a.* 445 *a.*, father of [Αὐτοκλείδης], 238 (35 203)
- Σωτάδης (Παιανιεύς), *councillor a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 139

- [Σ]ωτᾶς (Σκαμβωνίδης), *ca. med. saec. I a.*, father of Καλλί[ας], 261-262 (72)  
 Σωτ[ᾶς] Ἡρακλε[ώτης], *saec. II p.*, 284 (160)  
 Σωχάρης, *saec. IV/III a.*, 280 (139)
- Τ[- - -], *aet. Rom.*, father of Φιλόξ[ενος], 286 (172)  
 Ταραντῖνος (Τρινεμεεύς), councillor *paullo post a. 200 a.*, 220 (17 23)  
 [Τει]σαμενός Ἀ[λε]ξιμά[χου ἐκ Κοίλης], treasurer of the Other Gods *a. 375/4 a.*, 428 (37 3-4) = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1446  
 Τείσανδρος (Ἀναγυράσιος), councillor *a. 336/5 a.*, 31 27  
 Τεισίμαχος Τρικουρύσιος, *saec. V a.*, 275 (118)  
 Τελεσαρχίδης (Χολαργεύς), councillor *a. 336/5 a.*, 33 299  
 Τελεσίνοσ (Ἀχαρνεύς), *ca. a. 300 a.*, father of [Τελεσι]νος, 250 (49 10)  
 [Τελεσι]νος Τελεσίνου Ἀχ[αρνεύς], *a. 267/6 a.*, 250 (49 10)  
 Τελεσφ[όρος Μενεκράτους Φιλάδης], paidotribes *a. 223/4 p.*, 256 (56)  
 Τίμανδρος (Πρασιεύς), councillor *a. 336/5 a.*, 32 181  
 Τιμόδημο[ς] Κηφισοδότ[ου] (Ἀχαρνεύς), councillor *saec. IV/III a.*, 261 (69)  
 Τιμόθεο[ς] Κόνωνος Ἀναφλύστιος], *ca. a. 353 a.*, 267 (89)  
 Τιμόθεος (ἐκ Κεραμέων), councillor *a. 336/5 a.*, 33 289  
 Τιμοκλείδης (Εὐπυρίδης), councillor *a. 336/5 a.*, 33 253  
 Τιμοκλῆς (Αἰξωνεύς), councillor *paullo post a. 200 a.*, 220 (17 30)  
 Τιμοκλῆς (Σφήττιος), councillor *a. 336/5 a.*, 33 309  
 Τιμοκλῆς (Χολαργεύς), councillor *a. 336/5 a.*, 33 297  
 Τιμοκράτης, *saec. IV a.*, 276 (124)  
 Τιμοκράτη[ς], *saec. IV a.*, 276 (124)  
 Τιμοκράτης (Ἀγρυλεεύς), councillor *a. 336/5 a.*, 31 20  
 Τιμοξένη Καλ[- - -], a slave, *med. saec. V a.*, 248 (46 14)
- Τιμοχάρης (Πρασιεύς), councillor *a. 336/5 a.*, 32 182  
 Τίμων (Ἀναγυράσιος), councillor *fin. saec. III a.*, 219 (15 29)  
 Τιμωνίδης (Προσπάλιος), councillor *a. 336/5 a.*, 33 321
- Υἱας Διδυμάρχου [- -], *aet. Rom.*, 286 (174)  
 Υἱλλος (Αἰξωνεύς), *fin. saec. II p.*, father of Υἱλλος, 255 (55 13)  
 Υἱλλος ) (Αἰξωνεύς), councillor *init. saec. III p.*, 255 (55 13)
- Φαβιανός: [Φάβιος Φ]αβιαν[ὸς Μαραθώνιος], *ca. med. saec. II p.*, 272 (107)  
 [Φάβιος Φ]αβιαν[ὸς Μαραθώνιος], *ca. med. saec. II p.*, 272 (107)  
 Φανοκλέης (Παιανιεύς), councillor *a. 336/5 a.*, 32 136  
 Φανόστρατος (Φιλαίδης), councillor *a. 336/5 a.*, 32 132  
 Φάσων, graffito on a skyphos, *ante fin. saec. VII a.*, 366 (H 25)  
 Φείδων (Πήληξ), councillor *a. 336/5 a.*, 33 255  
 Φι[ . . . ]ο[ς] (Ἀναγυράσιος), councillor *a. 336/5 a.*, 31 29  
 [Φίλ]αγρος [- - -] (Ἀντιγονίδος), ephebos *ca. a. 240/39 a.*, 11 (7 4)  
 Φιλαθήναιος, ephebos *saec. I p.*, 21 (12 6-7)  
 Φιλέας (Παιονίδης), councillor *a. 336/5 a.*, 33 243  
 Φιλήμων Ἀμύντου (Ἀναφλύστιος), councillor *init. saec. II p.*, 253 (52 12)  
 Φιλιάδης (Πόριος), *init. saec. IV a.*, father of [Φιλοκράτης], 50 note 29 [a suggestion for the restoration of XXVI 217 (70); note the corrected reference]  
 Φιλῖνος, archon *a. 269/8 a.*, 213 (8)  
 Φίλιππος (ἐκ Κολωνού), councillor *a. 336/5 a.*, 32 99  
 Φιλίσκος, Athenian commander at Abydos *a. 376/5 a.*, 79 (A)  
 Φιλισιδης (Κεφαλειεύς), councillor *a. 336/5 a.*, 33 272

- [Φ]ίλλης, to be restored instead of [Κ]ίλλης in IX 77 (11 11), 37 note 12 [note the corrected reference]. But cf. p. 219 and *Addenda*, p. 428
- Φίλλης (Εὐωνυμείς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 31 6
- Φιλόδημος (Κυδαθηναίεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 156
- Φιλόδημος (Παιανεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 142
- Φιλοθέα Ἀδράστον Κιανή, *saec.* IV *a.*, 277 (130 3)
- Φιλοκλήδης (Εὐωνυμείς), councillor *fin. saec.* III *a.*, 219 (15 37)
- Φιλοκλή[ς] Ἀγνούσι[ος], *ca. a.* 325 *a.*, 246 (42 11-12)
- Φιλοκλῆς (Αἰξωνεύς), councillor *imit. saec.* III *p.*, 255 (55 16)
- Φιλοκλῆς (Σφήττιος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 310
- Φιλοκλῆς (Φρεάρριος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 215
- Φιλοκράτης (Πόριος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 281
- [Φιλοκράτης] Φιλιάδον Π[όριος], 50 note 29 [a suggestion for the restoration of XXVI 217 (7)]
- [Φιλόμ]ηλος (Ἀλαιοεύς), councillor of Aigeis *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 67
- Φιλόξ[ενος] Τ[---], *aet. Rom.*, 286 (172)
- Φίλων, graffito on a cup, *post med. saec.* VII *a.*, 377 (S 17)
- Φιλωνίδης (Κεφαλειεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 278
- Φιλωτίνη, *aet. Rom.*, 285 (167)
- Φλαβία Αὔξησώ, *saec.* I/II *p.*, 283 (158)
- Φλάβιος: Φλ· Διονύσι[ος] (Παλληνεύς), councillor *fin. saec.* II *p.*, 262 (73 7)
- Φλάβιος: Φλ· Στέφαν[ος] (Παλληνεύς), councillor *fin. saec.* II *p.*, 262 (73 6)
- Φλάκκος: [Αἰλ·] Φλάκ[κος] (Παλληνεύς), councillor *fin. saec.* II *p.*, 262 (73 2)
- [Φ]ορμ[ί]φ[ν] (Αἰγείδος), *saec.* III *a.*, father of an ephebos, 10 (4 3)
- Φρύνος Εὐ[---], *saec.* IV *a.*, 276 (123)
- [Φωκίω]ν, archon *a.* 121/0 *a.*, 223 (20)
- Φωκίων (Ποτάμιος), councillor of Leontis *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 205
- Χ[---] (Σαλαμίνιος), *saec.* IV *a.*, father of Δημητρία, 279 (136)
- Χα[---], *ante med. saec.* IV *a.*, father of Καλλισθένης, 247 (44)
- [Χα]ῖρ[εδ]ημίδης (Ἀλαιοεύς), councillor of Aigeis *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 68 [a corrected restoration]
- Χαιρέδημος (Ἀγνούσιος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 316
- [Χα]ίρέστρα[τος - - -] (Ἀντιγονίδος), ephebos *ca. a.* 240/39 *a.*, 11 (7 5)
- Χαιρέστρατος (Αἰξωνεύς), councillor *paullo post a.* 200 *a.*, 220 (17 31)
- [Χ]αί[ρέ]φιλος .....<sup>12</sup>.....]s, treasurer of the Other Gods *a.* 375/4 *a.*, 428 (37 2) = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1446
- [Χα]ῖρ[ιδ]ημίδης (Ἀλαιοεύς), 32 68 [the restoration should be corrected to [Χα]ῖρ[εδ]ημίδης, *q.v.*]
- Χαρι[---], *saec.* IV *a.*, 242 (38 1)
- Χαρίας (Εὐωνυμείς), councillor *fin. saec.* III *a.*, 219 (15 35)
- Χαρίας Ὀνήτ<ο>ρ[ος] (Εὐωνυμείς), councillor *fin. saec.* III *a.*, 219 (15 40)
- Χαρίας (Κηφισιεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 31 34
- Χαρίας (Πρασιεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 183
- Χαρίδημος (Στειριεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 185
- Χαρίδημος (Χολληίδης), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 237
- Χαρικλε[---] (gen.) (Παιανεύς), *saec.* III *a.*, father of [Νέαν]δρος, 217 (12)
- Χ[α]<ρε>κλείδης (Ἀναγυράσιος), councillor *fin. saec.* III *a.*, 219 (15 31)
- Χαρινάδης (Παιανεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 145
- Χαρίσανδρος (Προβαλίσσιος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 162
- Χερσίπη, *saec.* IV *a.*, 297 (2)
- Χίωνις (ἐξ Οἴου), councillor of Leontis *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 258
- Χο[---], *ca. a.* 325 *a.*, 247 (43 10)
- Χρήστος: Αἰλ· Χρήστ[ος] (Παλληνεύς), councillor *fin. saec.* II *p.*, 262 (73 8)



- [...]ανδρος (Δαμπτρεύς), councillor *fin. saec.* III a., 219 (15 14)
- [...]αρέτη Θεοδ[ώρου Κυ]δαθηναί[έως 'Α]ριστοκλεί[δου Με]λ[ι]τέως γυ[νή], *post med. saec.* IV a., 279 (135)
- [---]ἀτης ('Αξηνιεύς), *saec.* III a., father of an ephebos of Hippothontis, 10 (5 4)
- [---]ατος Πλωθε[ύς], secretary *ante med. saec.* IV a., 244 (40 3-4)
- [---]αυλος (Φιλαίδης), *saec.* IV a., 249 (47 7)
- [. . .<sup>5</sup>. . .]αχος (Σουνιεύς), councillor a. 336/5 a., 33 196
- [---]Δ]ημοκλέου [ἐκ Κεραμέω]ν, allotted secretary of the grain-commissioners *init. saec.* II a., 225 (23 13-14). The patronymic may have been [Τ]ιμοκλέου.
- [---<sup>5-6</sup>---]δης Ἰσηγόρου Κεφ[αλήθεν], a. 267/6 a., 250 (49 9)
- [. . .<sup>5</sup>. . .]διππος ('Ικαριεύς), councillor a. 336/5 a., 32 93
- [...]ε[.]ος (Τειθράσιος), councillor a. 336/5 a., 32 84
- [---]ένιππος [...<sup>7</sup>. . .]ς, *ante med. saec.* IV a., 244 (40 7)
- [---]εος (Κεκροπίδος), councillor *paullo post a.* 200 a., 220 (17 8)
- [...]εὺς Σκύθης, a. 413 a., a slave of Axiochos, 26 17
- [---<sup>ca. 6</sup>---]η Θράιτ[τα], *med. saec.* V a., 248 (46 12)
- [---]ηλος (Πο ---), *ca. a.* 354 a., 290 (184 9)
- [---]ης Μην[---], ephebos *saec.* II a., 21 (13 4)
- [...<sup>7</sup>. . .]ῆς (Κολλυτεύς), councillor a. 336/5 a., 32 97
- [---]ης Εὐόδ[ου Μαραθ]ώνιος, *aet. Rom.*, 284 (163)
- [---]ης Ξενοκλέου[ς] 'Ραμνού[σιος], *saec.* IV a., 249 (47 6-7)
- [---]ης Σουν[ιεύς], sculptor a. 376/5 a., 80 (D). The restoration may be Σουν[ιεύς]; cf. 78 note 9
- [...<sup>7</sup>. . .]ίας Κ[---], proedros *init. saec.* III a., 258 (61 2-3)
- [---]ίδης Εὐ[---] (Δημητριάδος), ephebos *ca. a.* 240/39 a., 11 (7 8)
- [...]ίθεος (Διομειεύς), councillor a. 336/5 a., 32 71
- [---]ιμος (--- εὺς), *aet. Rom.*, father of [Διον]ύσιος, 285 (169)
- [...]ίνιππος ('Αλαιεύς), councillor of Aigeis a. 336/5 a., 32 69
- [...]ινος (Σουνιεύς), councillor a. 336/5 a., 33 199
- [---]ιος Σωσισθένους Μυρρ[ινούσιος], *saec.* IV a., 249 (47 2-3)
- [---]ιος Μ[---]ηνα[...], *saec.* II/I a., 269 (99)
- [---]ισθένον Σικυνώνιος, honored at Athens *init. saec.* III a., 212 (7 8-9): [---]ισθένον Σ., 212 (7 2-3)
- [---]ίων, *aet. Rom.*, 285 (170)
- [---]ίων Μενο[---], honored at Athens *fin. saec.* IV a., 210 (4 6-7)
- [...]κλειτος (Δαμπτρεύς), councillor *fin. saec.* III a., 219 (15 16)
- [---]κλῆς, graffito on a cup, *saec.* VIII a., 353 (G 33)
- [---<sup>ca. 6</sup>---]κλῆς Σωκ[---] (Κεκροπίδος), a. 267/6 a., 250 (49 11)
- [...κ]ράτης ('Αλ ---), *saec.* IV a., father of [...μαχος], 209 (3 7)
- [...]λέης (Σουνιεύς), councillor a. 336/5 a., 33 198
- [---<sup>ca. 5</sup>---]λης (Κεκροπίδος), councillor *paullo post a.* 200 a., 220 (17 9)
- [---]λος ('Αλαιεύς), *ca. fin. saec.* IV a., father of an ephebos of Kekropis, 9 (2 1)
- [...<sup>6</sup>. . .]λος ('Ικαριεύς), councillor a. 336/5 a., 32 94
- [---]μαχος Εὐκλέου[ς ---], *ca. med. saec.* II a., 269 (97)
- [...]μαχος ('Αλαιεύς), councillor of Aigeis a. 336/5 a., 32 66
- [...μαχος . . . κ]ράτους 'Αλ[...<sup>6</sup>. . .], honored at Athens *post med. saec.* IV a., 209 (3 7-8); [...μαχος], 209 (3 3)
- [---]μενος (Κυδαθηναιεύς), *saec.* I p., father of [---<sup>ca. 4</sup>---]μενος, 271 (104)

- [— <sup>ca. 4</sup> —]μενος > [Κνυδαθ]ναιεύς, *saec.* I/II *p.*, 271 (104)
- [.]μίας (Δειραδιώτης), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 201
- [...]μίδης (Χολαργεύς), *saec.* III *a.*, father of [Νου]μήνιος, 280 (141)
- [— — — —]ν ('Ελευσίνιος), *saec.* III *a.*, father of an ephebos of Hippothontis, 10 (5 6)
- [— — — —]ν Καλλίου 'Ρα[μνούσιος], ephebos *saec.* II *a.*, 21 (13 3)
- [— — — —]νη<ς> Θημακ<ε>ύς, *ca. a.* 200 *a.*, 268 (95)
- [— — — —]νον Δαιδαλίδης, ephebos *fin. saec.* II *a.*, 225 (22 6)
- [— <sup>2-8</sup> —]όδημος > [— — <sup>ca. 7</sup> — —] Κηφεισι[εύς], *aet. Rom.*, 285 (168)
- [...]όδοτος (Παμβωτάδης), councillor *fin. saec.* III *a.*, 219 (15 19)
- [...]όθεος ('Ικαριεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 92
- [...]οκλῆς (Κολλυτεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 96
- [— — — —]ολέμο[v — — — —], elected secretary of the grain-commissioners *init. saec.* II *a.*, 225 (23 16-17)
- [— — —]ος 'Αριστ[— — —] (Δημητριάδος), ephebos *ca. a.* 240/39 *a.*, 11 (7 7)
- [— — — —]ος Διαιτρέφους Θορίκι[ος], *saec.* IV *a.*, 249 (47 3-4)
- [— — — —]ου Μελιτεύς, ephebos *fin. saec.* II *a.*, 225 (22 8)
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- [. <sup>5</sup> ...]ράδης (Σουινεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 33 197
- [— — — —]ρακοντ[— —] (gen.) (Πανδιονίδος), *saec.* III *a.*, father of an ephebos, 10 (4 6)
- [— — — —]ρμος ('Αχαρνεύς), *saec.* IV *a.*, 249 (47 1)
- [.]ρξίμενης ('Ιωνίδης), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 125
- [.]ροφ[— — —], ephebos (?) *saec.* I/II *p.*, 22 (14 9)
- [— <sup>ca. 4</sup> —]ρο[s] (Κεκροπίδος), councillor *paullo post a.* 200 *a.*, 220 (17 10)
- [— — — —]ρος ('Αθμονεύς), *init. saec.* II *a.*, 251 (50)
- [— — — —]ρος (gen.) 'Επεικίδης, ephebos *fin. saec.* II *a.*, 225 (22 5)
- [— — — —]ρον 'Αλαιοεύς, ephebos *fin. saec.* II *a.*, 225 (22 7)
- [... <sup>6</sup> ...]ς ('Αλαιοεύς), councillor of Aigeis *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 65
- [— — — — — — —]ς Κοθωκίδης, allotted secretary of the grain-commissioners *init. saec.* II *a.*, 226 (24 4)
- [... <sup>7</sup> ...]ς (Κολλυτεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 97 *bis*
- [— — — —]ς Ευχέρους [Πα]μβωτάδη[s], *saec.* IV *a.*, 249 (47 5-6)
- [— — — —]σιανός: Γαῖος [— — — —]σιανός, *saec.* II/III *p.*, 272 (109 6-7)
- [.]σίας (Δαμπτρέύς) councillor *fin. saec.* III *a.*, 219 (15 13)
- [.]σιγένης, councillor *saec.* I *a.*, 261 (70)
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- [...]σις (Τειθράσιος), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 32 83
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- [— — — —]στ[ρατος Α[— — — —]] (Δημητριάδος), ephebos *ca. a.* 240/39 *a.*, 11 (7 9)
- [— — — —]τίας Καλλ[ι]σ[— — — —]εύς, *aet. Rom.*, 274 (115)
- [— — — —]Τ[ιμοκλέου [ἐκ Κεραμέω]ν], allotted secretary of the grain-commissioners *init. saec.* II *a.*, 225 (23 13-14). The patronymic may have been [Δ]ημοκλέου
- [— — —]τ[ι]ππος, *saec.* IV *a.*, 243 (39 10)
- [— — — —]τος Αὐτοφράδους Θορα[ιεύς], *saec.* IV *a.*, 249 (47 4-5)
- [— — <sup>ca. 8</sup> — —]τος 'Αμφιτέλ[ους] (Παιανεύς), councillor (?) *saec.* III *a.*, 217 (12)
- [— — — —]τριφ[ς — — —] ('Ερεχθείδος), *ca. a.* 260/59 *a.*, father of an ephebos, 11 (7 13)
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- [...] *χάρης* (Εὐνομυεύς), councillor *a.* 336/5 *a.*, 31 4  
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- [-----] *ων* (Ἀμαξαντεύς), *ca. fin. saec.* IV *a.*, father of an ephebos of Hippothontis, 9 (2 3)  
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 Τριτοπατρείς: Τριτοπατρέων Εὐεργιδῶν, 264 (80)

Υβάδης: Υβάδαι, 33 248

Φαληρεύς: [Φ]αλη[ρεύς], 280 (143)  
 Φάληρον: Φαληροί, 17 (10 76)= *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1006  
 Φηγαιεύς: [Φη]γαιής, 32 75  
 Φηγούσιος: Φηγούσιοι, 31 45, 219 (15 23)  
 Φιλαίδης: Φιλ[αί]δης, 249 (47 7); Φι[λαίδης], 42 comment on line 130; [Φιλάδου], 256 (56); Φι[λα]ίδαι, 32 129  
 Φλυεύς: Φλυέ[ως], 188 6  
 Φρεάρριος: Φρεάρριο[ς], 246 (42 9); [Φρεά]ρριος, 238 (35 203); Φ[ρεάρριος], 10 (4 8), 246 (42 7); Φρεάρριοι, 33 209  
 Φυλάσιος: [Φ]υλάσιος, 225 (22 3); Φυλασίον, 251 (50); [Φ]υλάσιοι, 261 (69)  
 Φωκεύς: Φωκέω[ν], 258 (62 3)

Χαλκιδικός: Χαλκιδικά, 239 (35 219)  
 Χολ[---], 226 (24 1)  
 Χολαργεύς: Χολαργ[εύς], 246 (42 14); [Χολ]αργεύς, 280 (141); Χολαργής, 33 296  
 Χολληίδης: Χολληίδαι, 33 235

Ώαιεύς: [Ώαιής], 32 166 (a corrected reading; see p. 45)

[---]άσιο[ς], 268 (95)

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 Αἶας: Αἶαντι, 17 (10 73)= *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1006  
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Ἰακχος: Ἰάκχωι, 17 (10 74)= *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1006; Ἰαχ[ον], 224 (21 5)



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 Μεγάλοι Θεοί: Μεγάλων Θεών, 230 (29 8)  
 Μητήρ θεών: Μητρὸς Θεών, 270 (101)
- Νίκη: [Ἀθηναίας Νίκης], 239 (35 223, 224-225)
- Παλλάς: Παλλάδα, 17 (10 76) = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1006  
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 Τύχη: [Τύχῃ], 262 (74)
- Φεβρονάριος: Καλανδῶν Φ[εβροναρίων], 288 (180)
- Χάριτες: [τοῦ Δήμου καὶ τῶν Χαρίτων], 224 (21 4)

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## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

- p. 32, line 68: for [Xa]ιρ[ιδ]ημίδης read [Xa]ιρ[εδ]ημίδης  
 p. 33, line 166: for [Ῥαιῆ]ς read [Ῥαιῆς]  
 p. 33, line 235: for Χολλήιδαι read Χολληίδαι  
 p. 37, note 12, last line: for line 6 read line 11. The restoration in IX 77 (11 11) may be either [Κ]ίλλης or [Φ]ίλλης; cf. p. 219  
 p. 38, comment on line 37: for *Rhamnounte* read *Rhamnonte*  
 p. 50, note 29, first line: for no. 7 read no. 70  
 p. 188, line 5: the article τοῦ should be restored before the patronymic  
 p. 205 (1 B): read Μεγεσθέως (as also on p. 207)  
 p. 233, first line: read δημ]οποιήτων  
 p. 240, in the Greek text: read Λέσβο  
 pp. 240-241: On the Lesbian shield and the Illyrian helmet, see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1373, lines 3-4  
 pp. 241-242(37): David Lewis rejects (by letter) the attribution of No. 37 to the treasurers of Athena, and suggests (rightly) that it belongs with *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1446, to the treasurers of the Other Gods. He also determines the right margin and gives the text as follows:

## No. 37

a. 375/4 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 56

[ταμίαι τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν οἱ ἐπὶ Ἱπποδά]μαντος ἄρχοντος Πυθοκλής Εὐθυ[κλ]  
 [έος ἐκ Κηδῶν, X]αι[ρέφιλος .....]ς, Πολυδάμας Εὐθύφρονος [ἐκ Κε]  
 [ραμέων, Ἀρ]χέστρατ[ος .....], Τει]σαμενός Ἀ[λε]ξιμά[χο ἐκ Κο]  
 [ίλης, Μεγ]ακλείδης Μυ[..... τάδε πα]ρέ[δοσαν τοῖς ταμίαι]  
 5 [ς τοῖς ἐ]πὶ Σωκρατίδο [ἄρχοντος - - - - -]  
 [...<sup>6</sup>...]ι Διονυσίο Κυ[δαθηναίει - - - - -]  
 [...<sup>7</sup>...]Ἀ]γακαίει, Λυ[- - - - -]

Some letters in lines 6-7 are slightly crowded. Note the new readings in lines 2, 3, 4, and 7. The name Μεγ[ακλείδης Μυ.....] should now be restored in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1445, lines 8-9, in the dative case.

- p. 257: the chequer pattern of No. 59 measures 0.0096 m. (not 0.0076 m.)  
 p. 277 (130, line 8): The patronymic should be [Δ]ακλείδου; Jean Bousquet refers to the name Λακλῆς in *I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, 1, 28, line 50  
 p. 277 (130): read Πλαγγών instead of Πλάγγων  
 p. 294, third line above note 3: read ἱερεῖώσυνα  
 p. 295: read οὐλοχύται

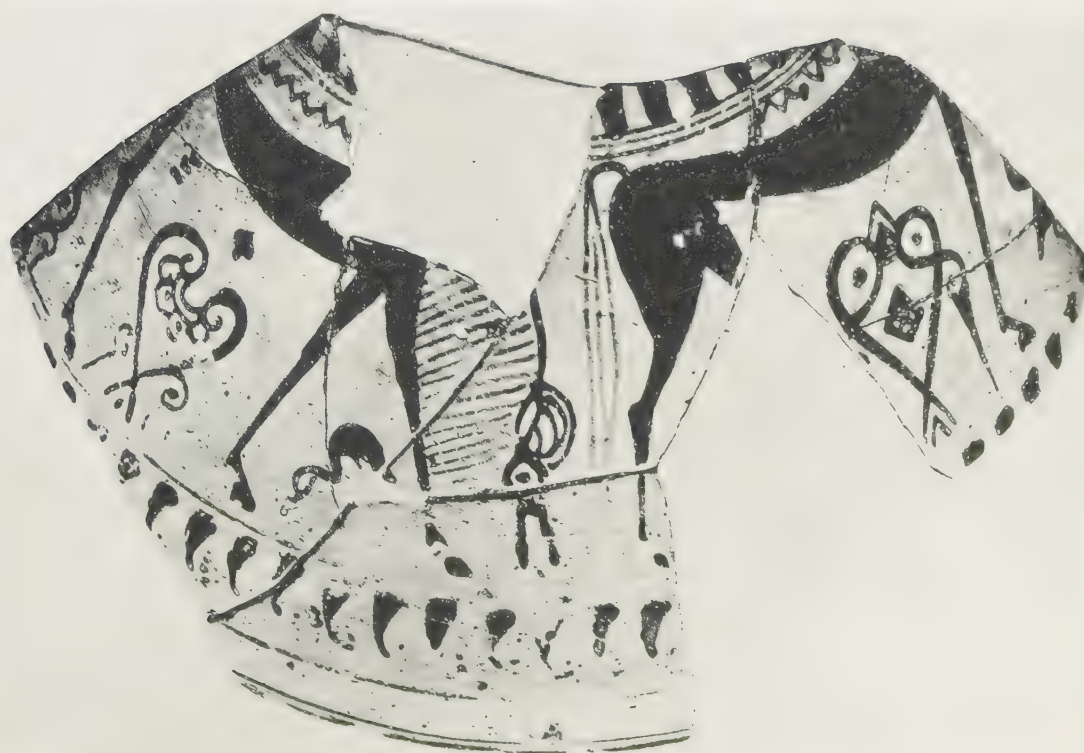




E 1, Side A



E 1, Side B

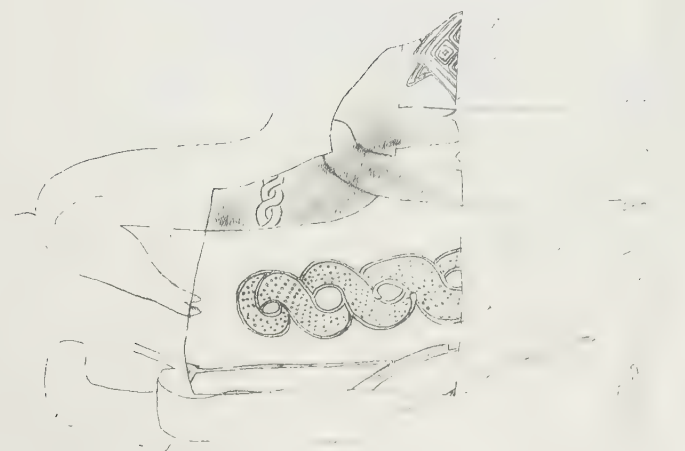


P 13264 (under E 1)





Schliemann Krater, Athens (under H 1)



H 1, b



H 1, c



H 1



H 1, a



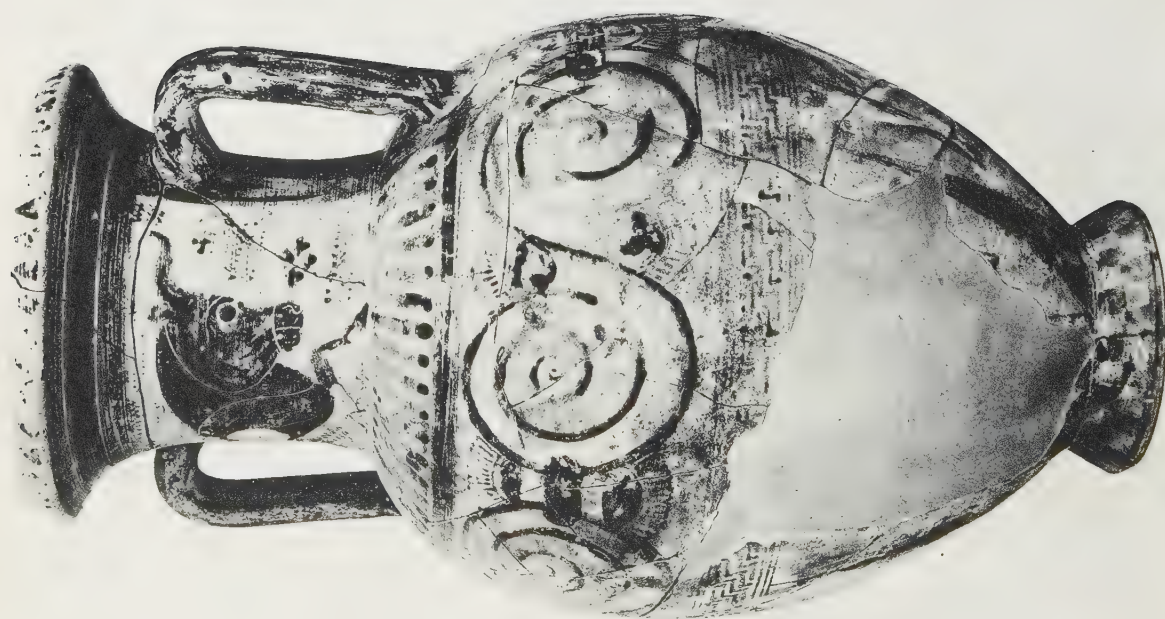
H 2



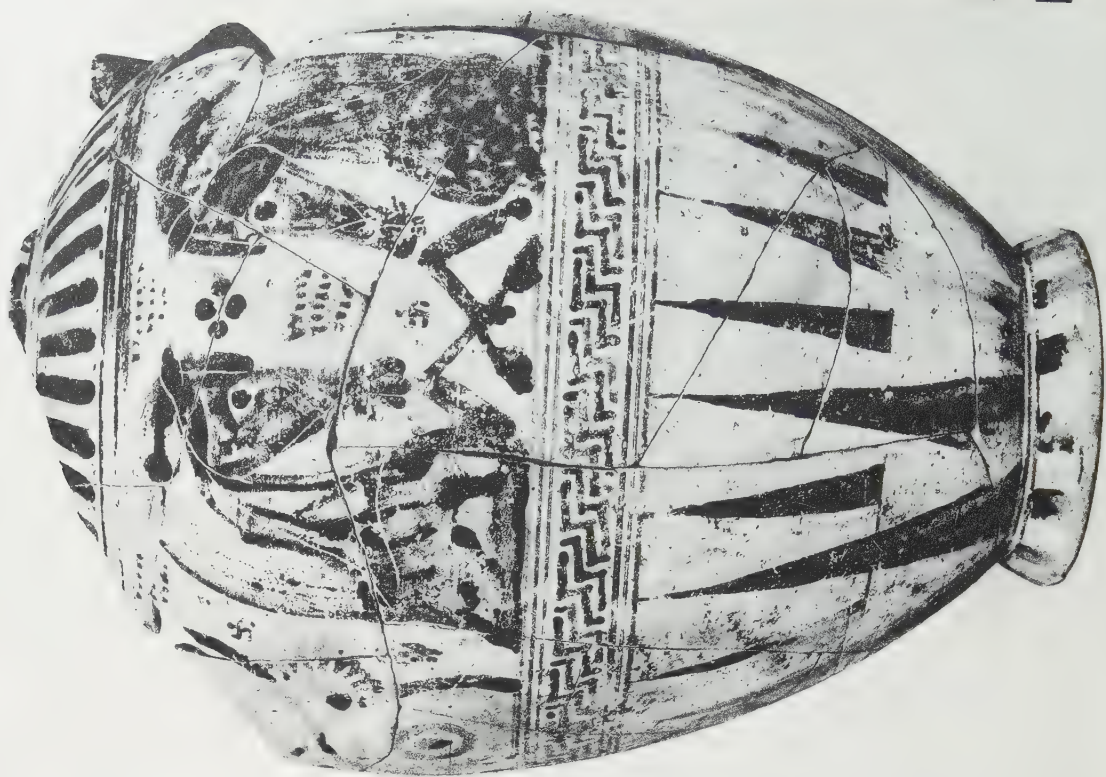
Thera Museum

EVA BRANN: PROTOATTIC WELL GROUPS FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA





F 4



G 4

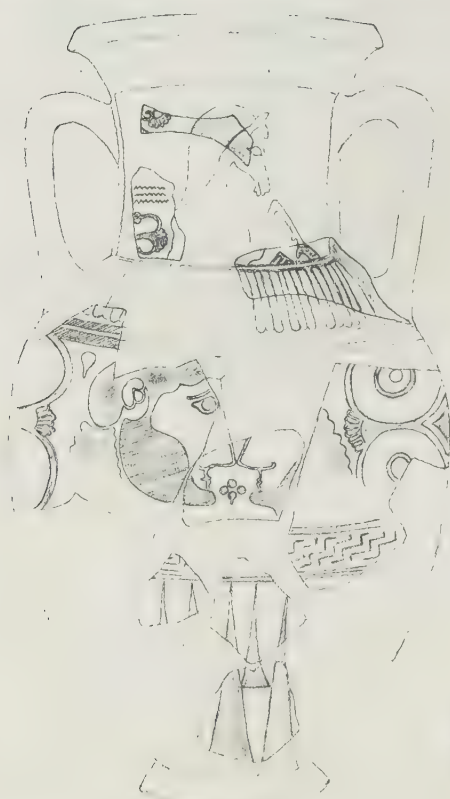
EVA BRANN: PROTOATTIC WELL GROUPS FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA



F 4



G 4



P 18525 (under F 4)



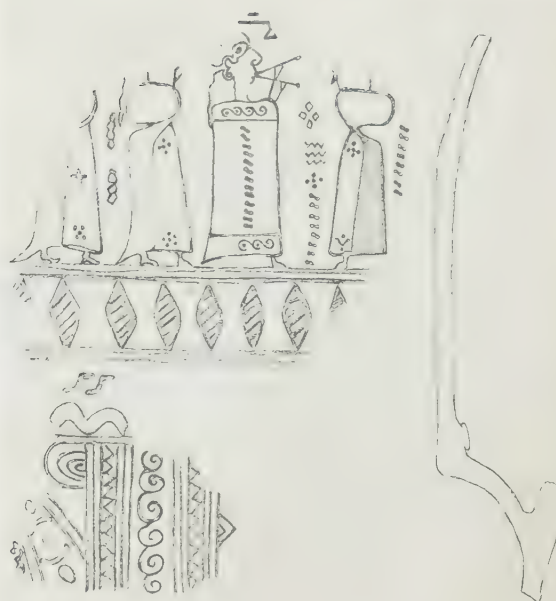
G 5





Young B 68 (under H 4) F 5  
EVA BRANN: PROTOATTIC WELL GROUPS FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA

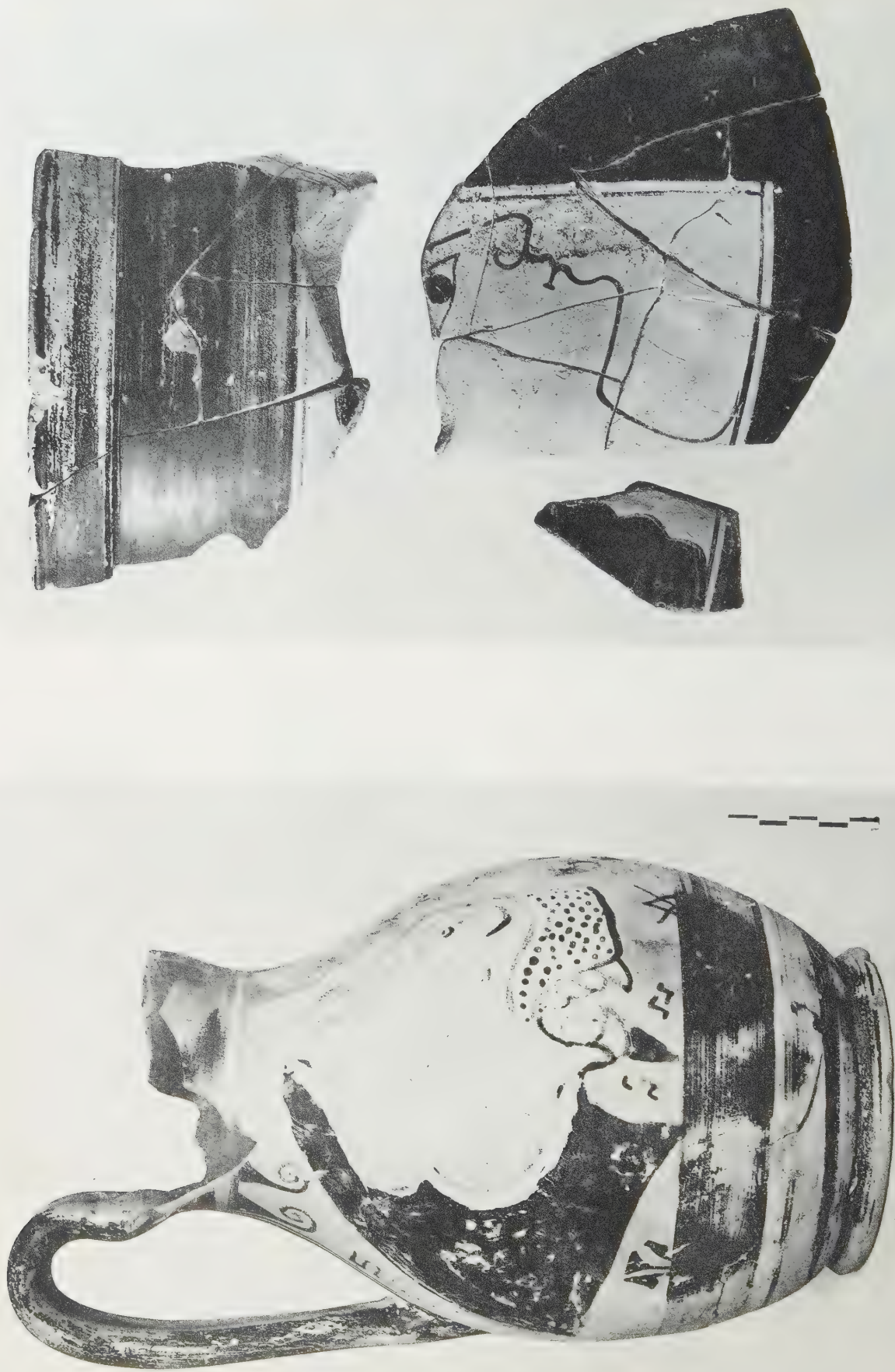




F 10



P18525 (under F 4)

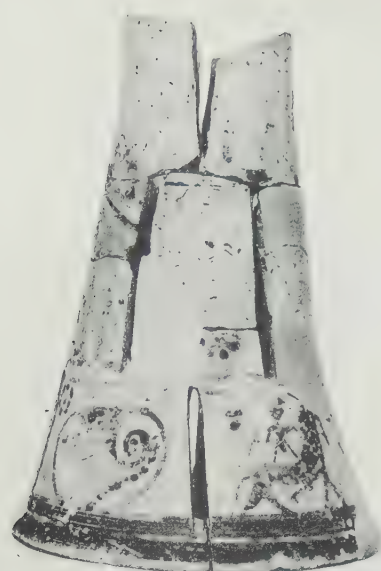


H 6

G 5

EVA BRANN: PROTO-ATLANTIC WARE. GERMANY.





F 15



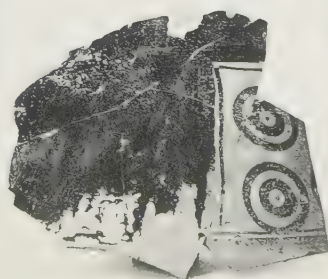
F 14



F 20



F 6

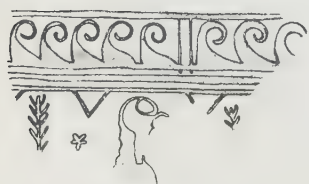
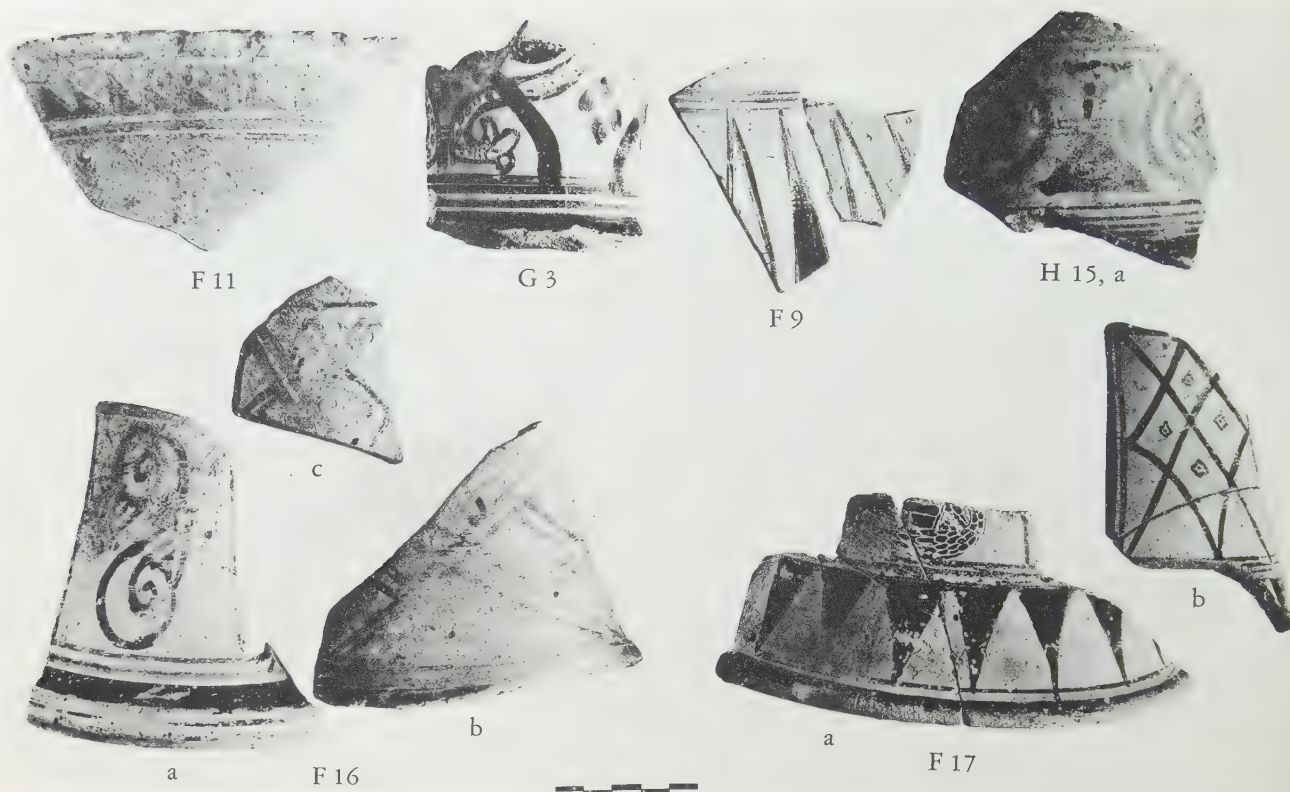


H 5

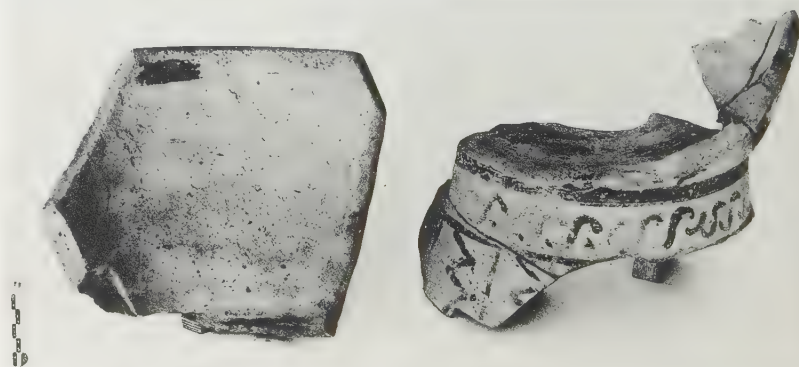


H 7



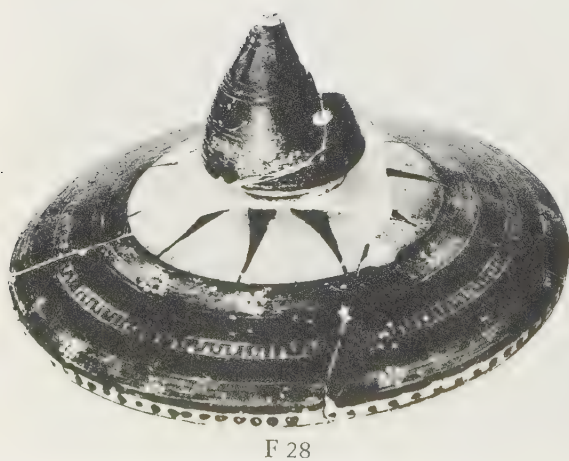


F 11



F 18, a

H 16



F 28





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F 19



H 17



F 23



F 22



H 19



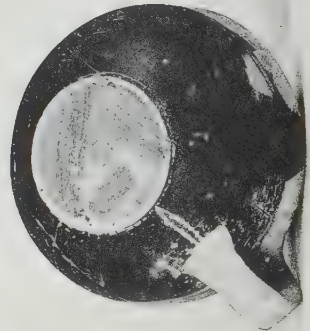
H 18



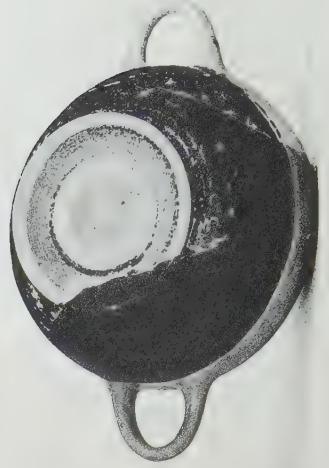
H 39



G 32



H 24







F 29



H 20



H 21



F 34



F 33



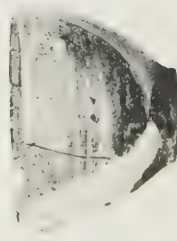
G 23



G 24



H 31



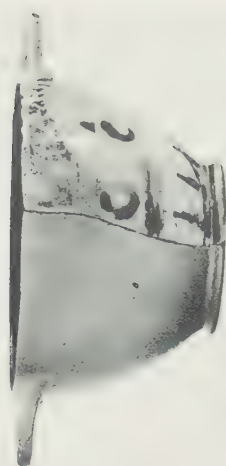
E 2



F 30



F 31

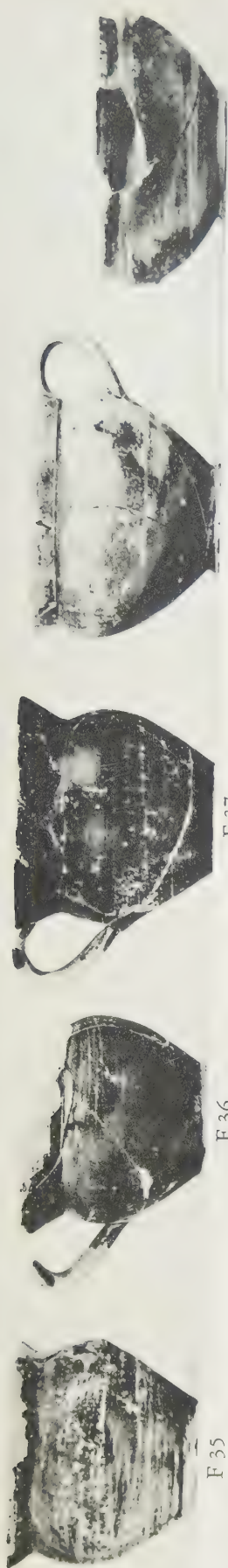


G 22

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F 39



G 28

G 27

G 26

G 25



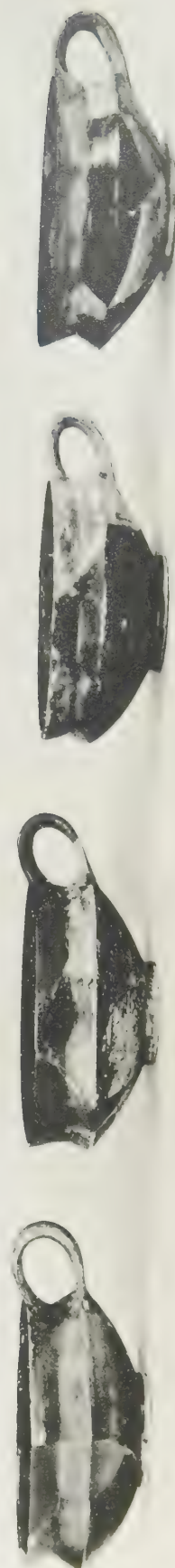
G 29

H 32

H 33

H 35

H 38



G 30

G 31

H 36

H 37

(2:5)





F 41



F 42



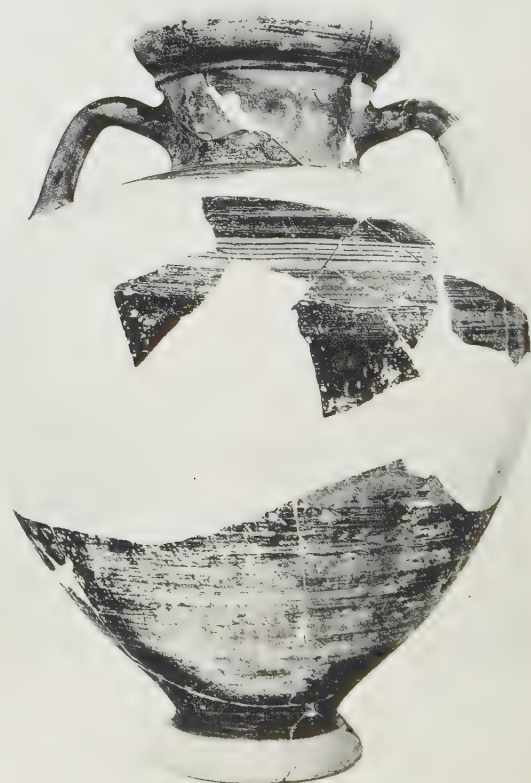
G 37



H 46



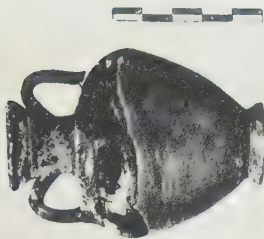
F 40



H 45



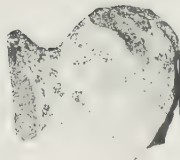
Thasos (under H 44)



H 44



H 42



H 41



G 35



G 36



G 34



F 38



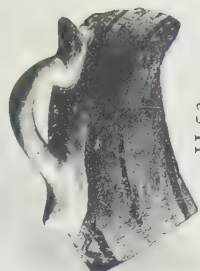
G 38



G 33



H 52



H 53



H 54



H 51



H 50



H 47



H 48



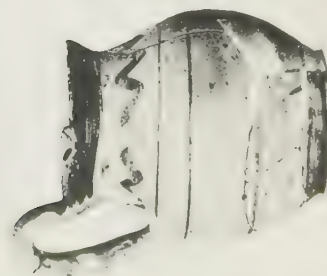
H 49



F 45



F 44



F 43





F 46



G 40



G 41



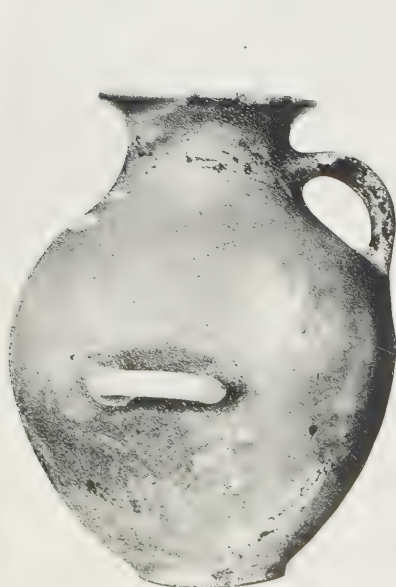
H 55



H 56



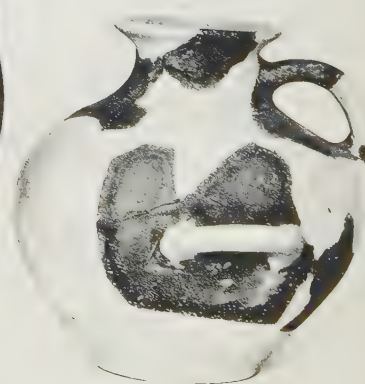
H 57



F 47

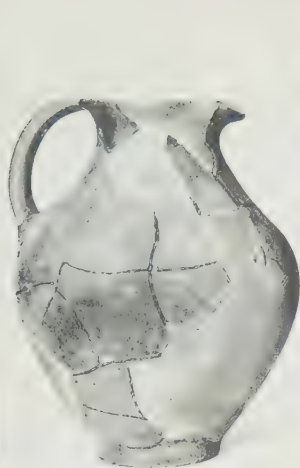


G 42



H 58





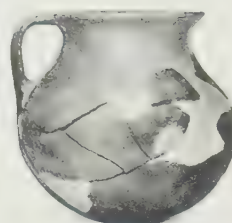
F 48



F 49



G 43



F 52



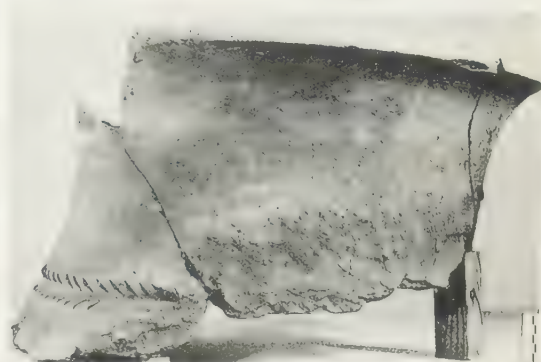
F 50



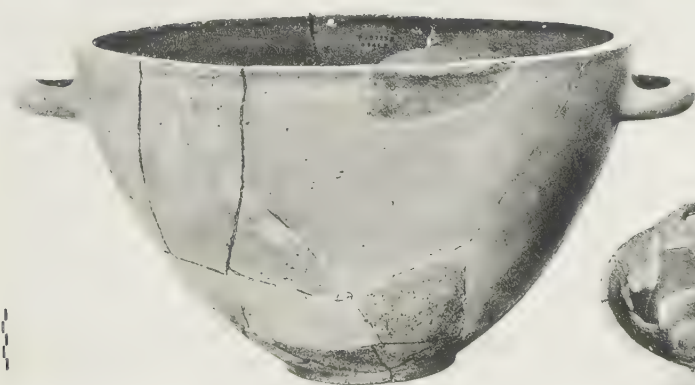
F 51



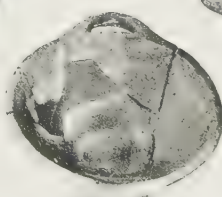
H 59



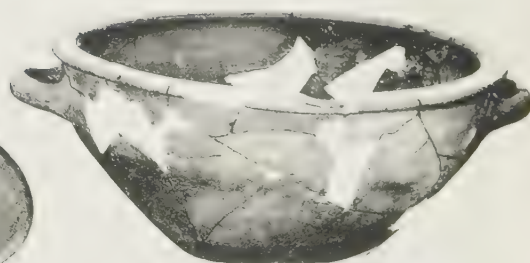
F 55



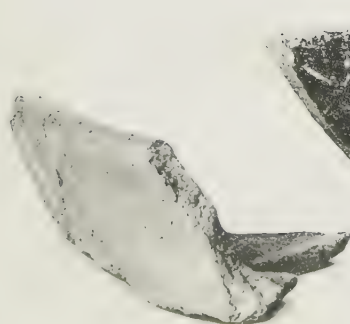
F 53



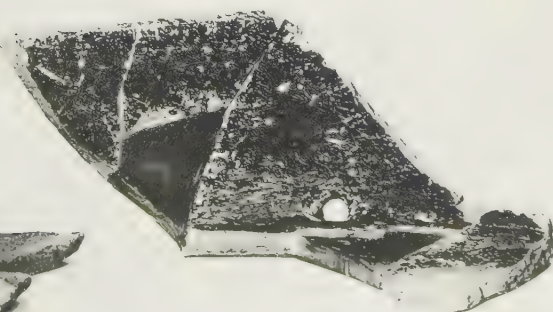
F 54



H 61



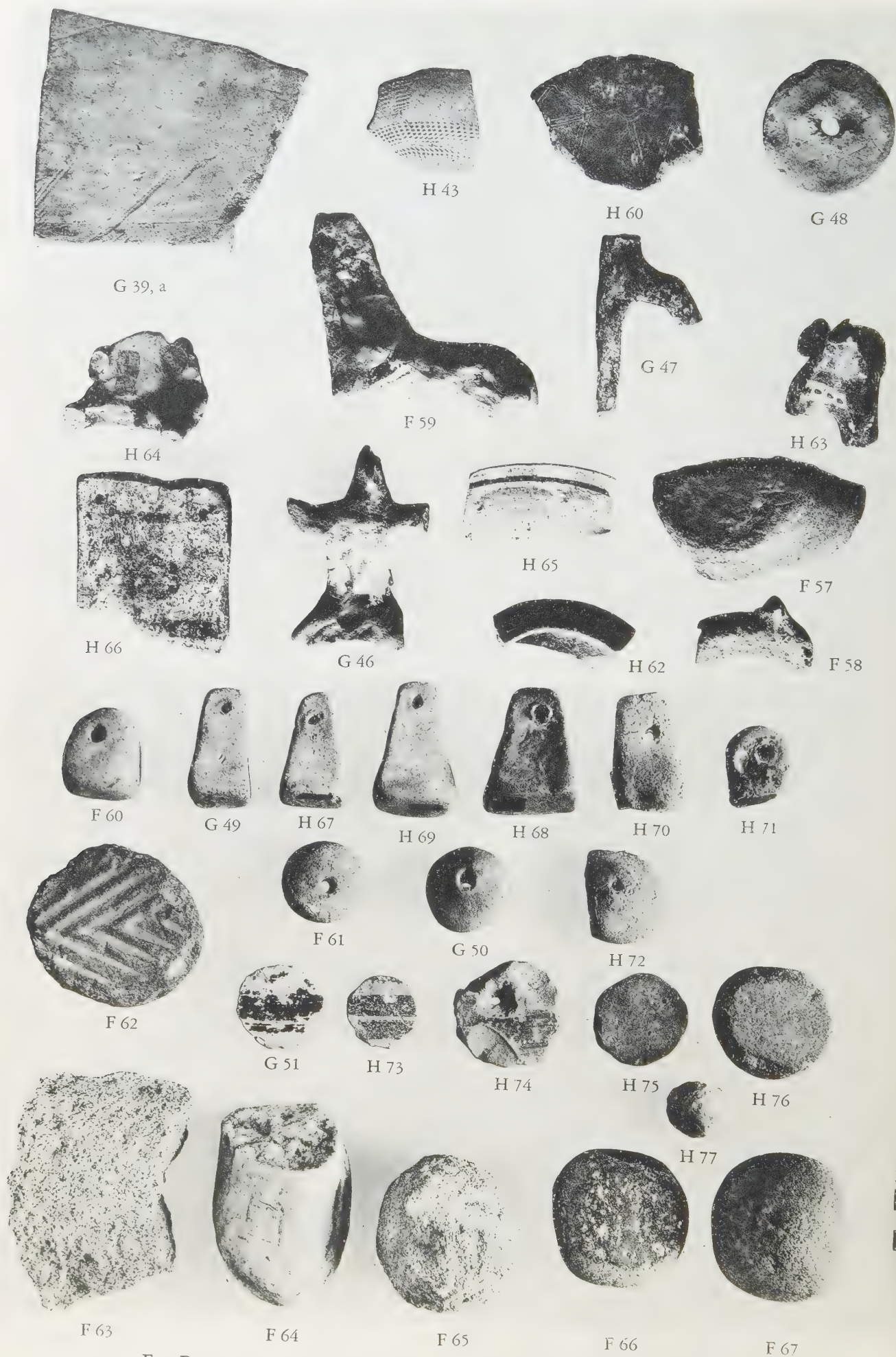
F 56



G 44



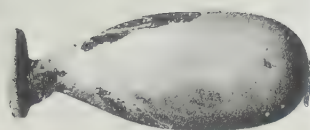
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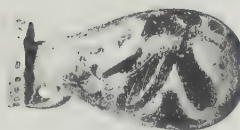




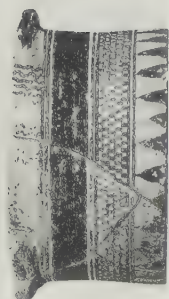
G 52



H 79



G 52



F 70



F 69



F 68



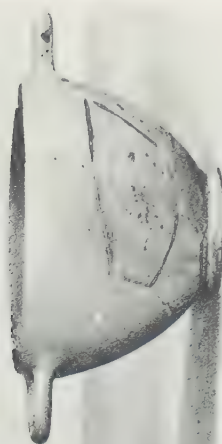
E 5



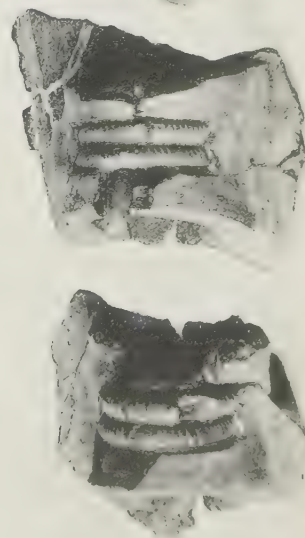
F 71



F 72



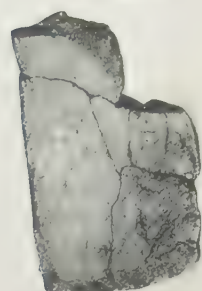
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F 75



F 76



F 77



H 80

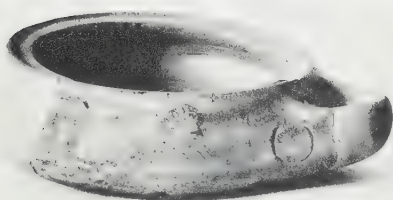




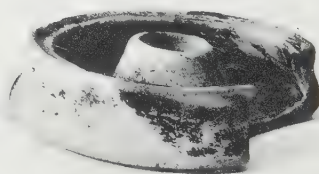
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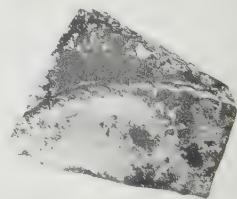
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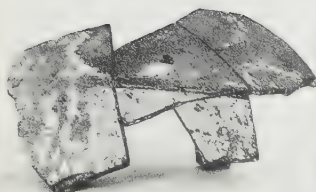
H 81



G 56



G 57



F 79



F 80



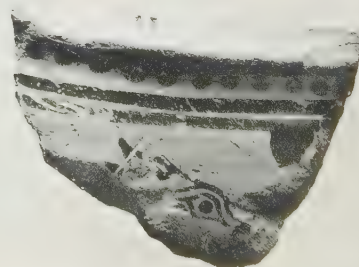
F 78



F 74



F 21



P 7984 (under F 21)



S 3  
(1:2)



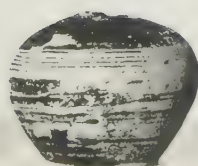
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(1:2)



S 19  
(1:2)



S 5



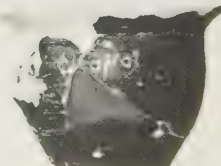
S 14



S 15



S 16



S 17

(1:5)





S 11

S 12

S 13

S 21



S 30



S 28



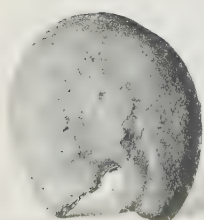
S 29



S 31



S 32 (1-10)



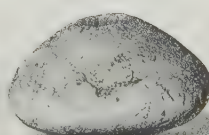
S 22



S 23



S 24



S 25



S 26



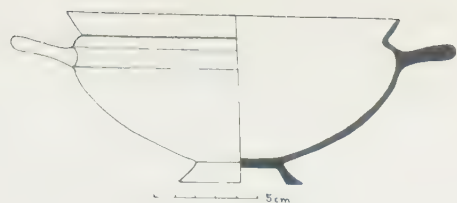
S 27

(1:2)

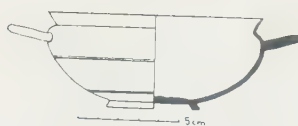
(1:5 except where indicated)

EVA BRANN: PROTOATTIC WELL GROUPS FROM

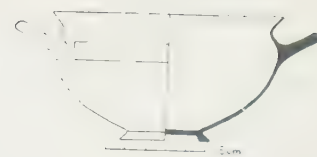




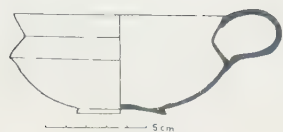
G 12



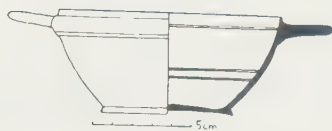
G 11



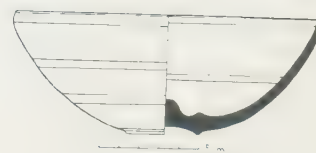
H 25



G 30



G 18



F 24



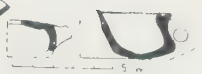
G 25



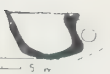
G 14



F 57



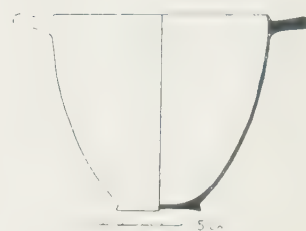
F 58



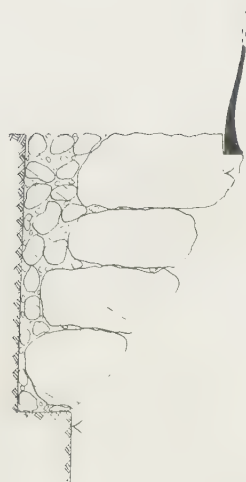
G 56



H 62



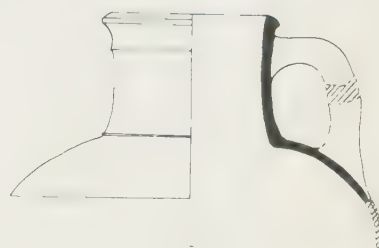
E 5



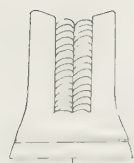
0.5cm

1.10m

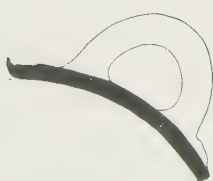
H 78



F 80



F 75



F 6



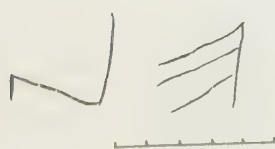
G 9



F 32



H 6



F 41



H 10



G 33



F 64



F 38



H 25



F 3



F 8



G 2



F 1



F 21 P 7984 (under F 21)



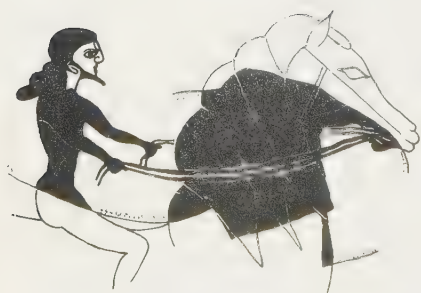
F 15



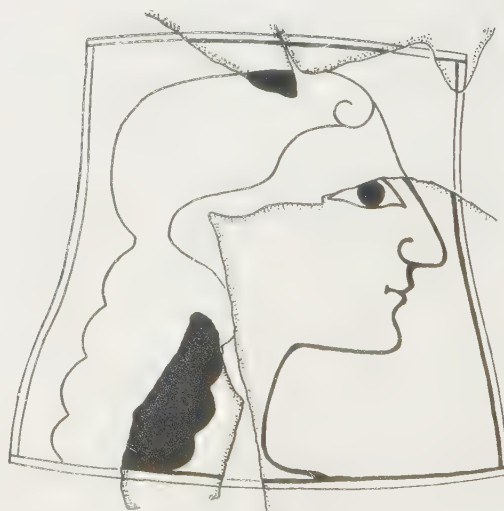
F 5



H 16



Young B68 (under H 4)



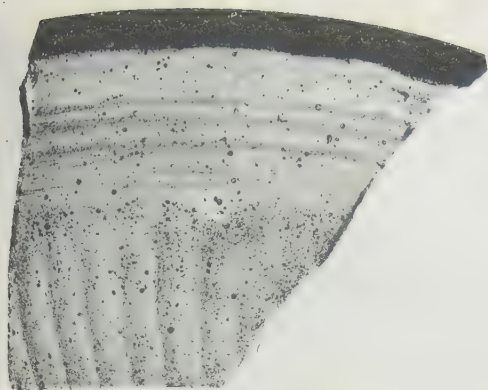
5 cm  
H 6



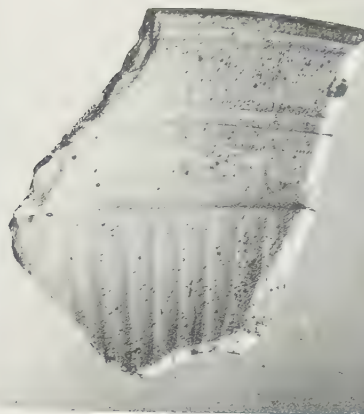
F 14



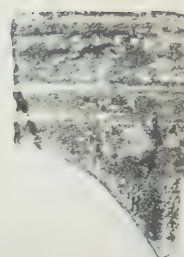
F 20



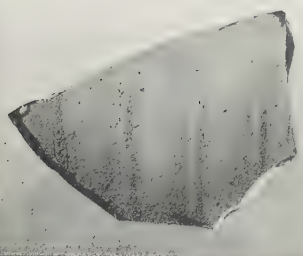
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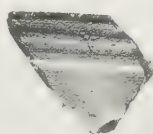
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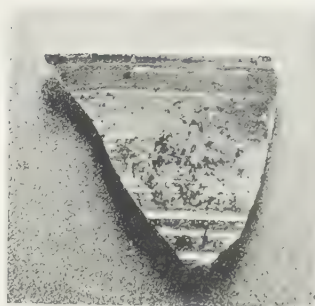
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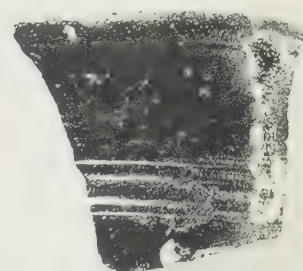
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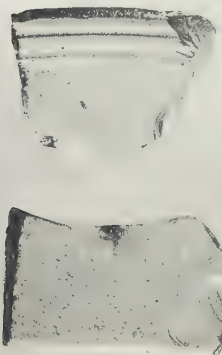
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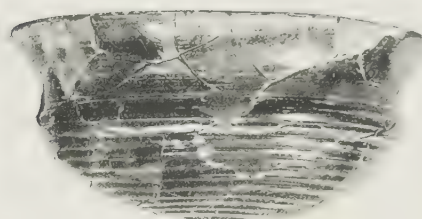
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No. 7



No. 8

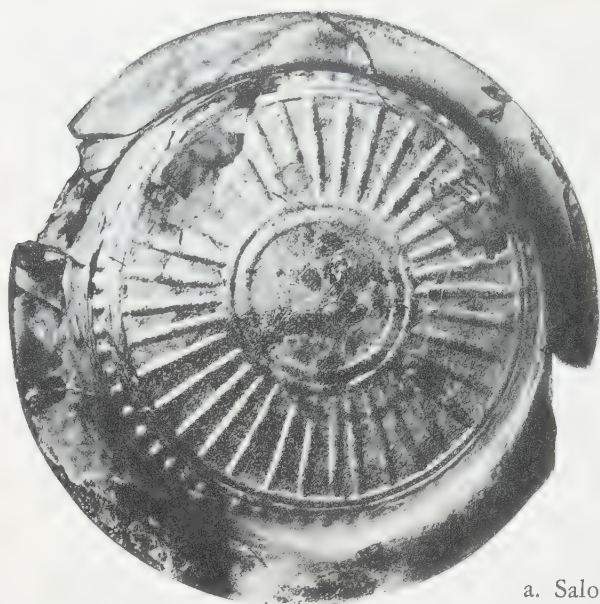


a. Black-glazed Phiale, Geroulanos Collection, Athens

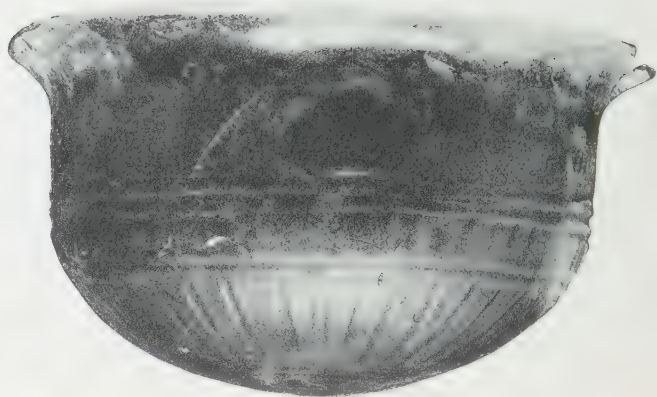


b. Bronze Bowl, Art Museum, Princeton (54-124)

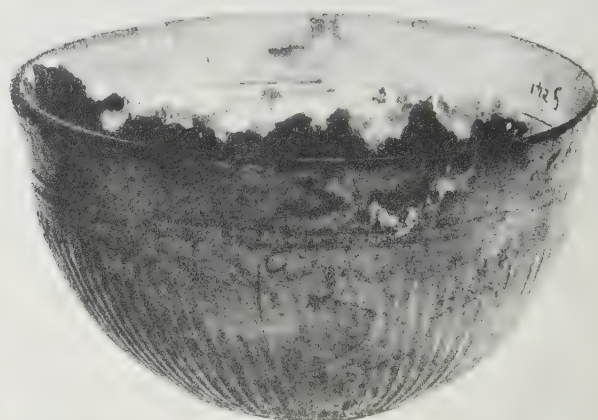




a. Salonica Museum



b. Museum Haaretz, Tel Aviv (60658)



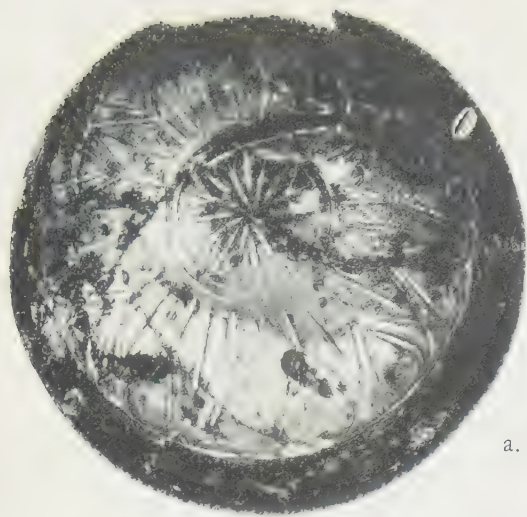
c. Palestine Archaeological Museum (G 241)



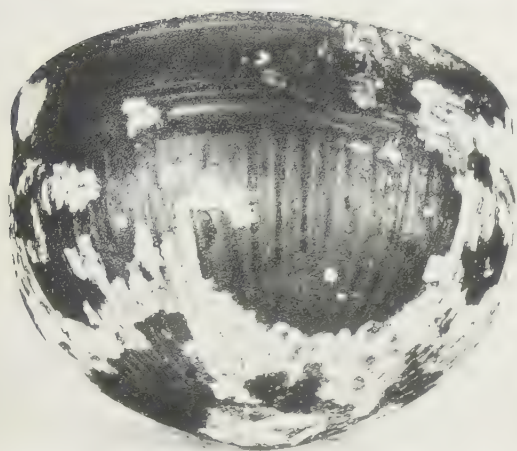
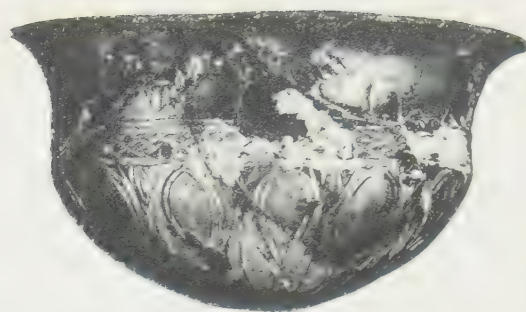
d. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (86.53)



e. Museum Haaretz, Tel Aviv (15259)



a. Naples Museum (12001)



b. Villa Giulia Museum



c. Toledo Museum of Art (354.732)

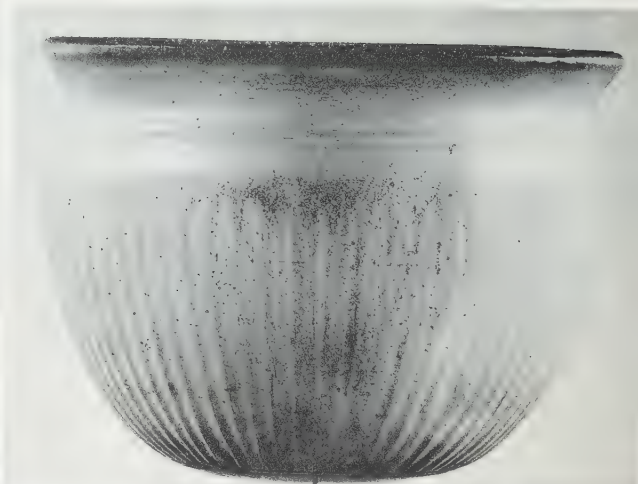


d. Pottery Kantharos, Athenian Agora (P 5719)





a. Jerome Strauss Collection (S 463)



b. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York  
(17.194.322)



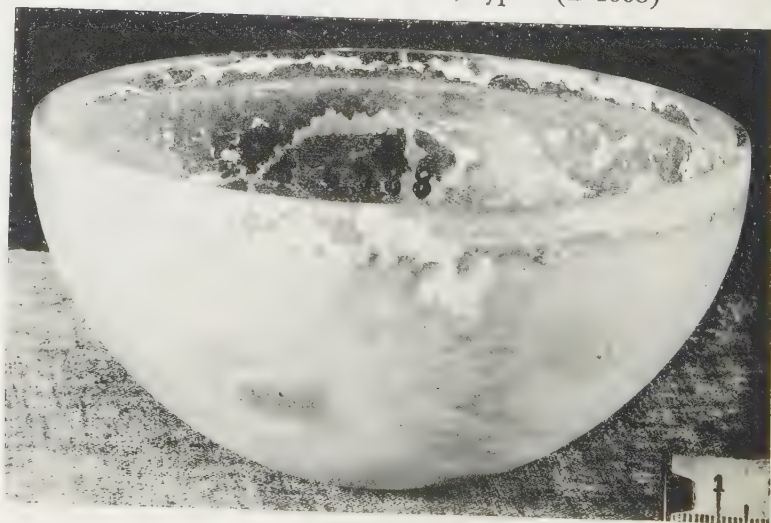
c. Louvre Museum, Paris (9184)



d. Nicosia Museum, Cyprus (D 1008)

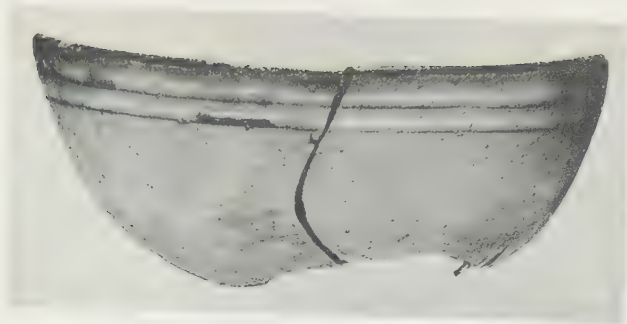


e. Silver Bowl from Vouni, Cyprus

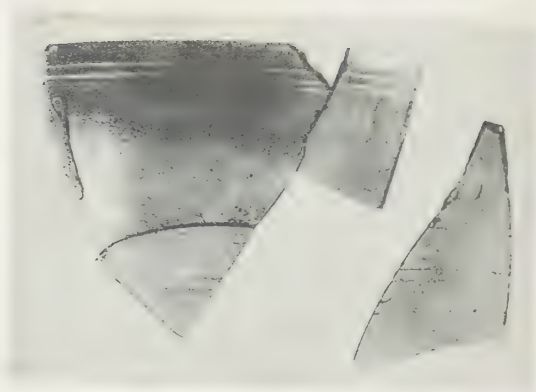


f. Reggio Museum (8849)

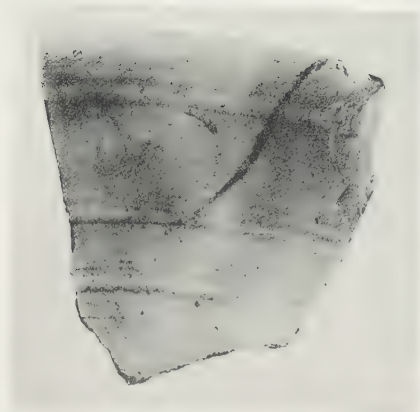




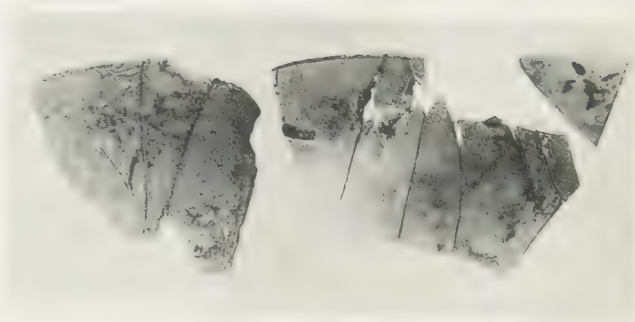
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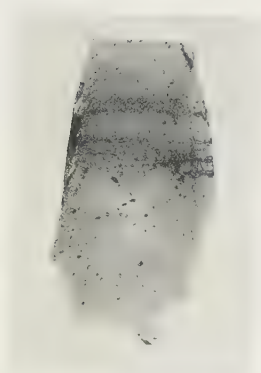
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No. 11



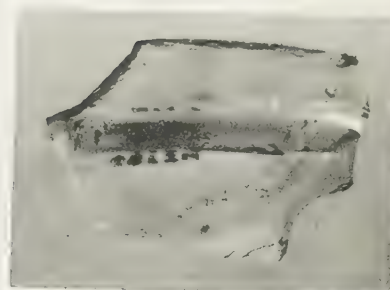
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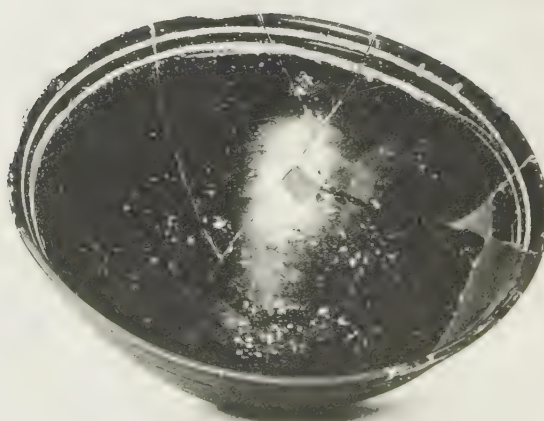
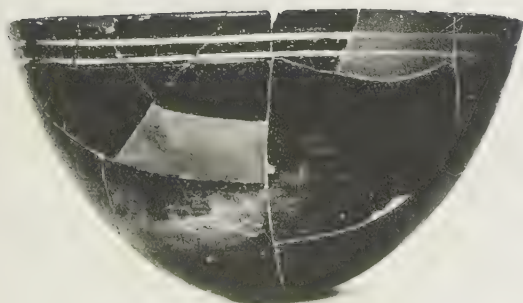
No. 13



No. 14



No. 17



a. Pottery Bowls, Athenian Agora (P 18705, P 18704)



# HESPERIA

## JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

VOLUME XXX: NUMBER 4

OCTOBER — DECEMBER

1961



AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

1961



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NEW PUBLICATIONS  
OF  
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THE ATHENIAN AGORA

RESULTS OF EXCAVATIONS CONDUCTED BY  
THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

VOLUME VI

TERRACOTTAS AND PLASTIC LAMPS OF THE  
ROMAN PERIOD

By CLAIRÈVE GRANDJOUAN

The first of the volumes dealing with the terracotta figurines found in the Athenian Agora catalogues a selection of some nine hundred figurines plus over two hundred plastic lamps ranging in date from the 1st into the 5th century after Christ, but mostly from the 3rd and 4th centuries. This material, as shown by the analysis of style and subject matter, gives "for the first time evidence for large-scale terracotta production in the later Empire outside Egypt" and shows Athens to have been the center of a vigorous linear style which offers "revealing glimpses into the life of Roman Athens, especially its cults, and detailed illustrations of the evolution of the Classical into the Late Antique style." Both figurines and plastic lamps, closely akin in their types as well as style, are grouped by types, including deities, genre figures, theatrical figures, busts, masks, grotesques, animals, plants and inanimate objects; there are also plaques with relief designs, both medallion and magical or votive.

Particularly valuable to all students of terracotta industries is the tracing of the genealogy of successive archetypes and moulds. To all interested in the late Roman empire both the stylistic and the iconographical evidence presented here out of the author's widespread knowledge of terracottas throughout the Roman provinces opens welcome new paths with invaluable guides for understanding; this is a real contribution to late Roman studies.

Published August, 1961. xii + 106, 7 figs. in the text, 33 pls. Quarto. Cloth. \$10.00.

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VOLUME VII

LAMPS OF THE ROMAN PERIOD

By JUDITH PERLZWEIG

This second volume dealing with lamps found in the Athenian Agora includes some 3000 selected lamps of the 1st to the 7th centuries which are definitely Roman in character as distinct from the survivals of Hellenistic lamps which were included in Volume IV. The classification is first as local or imported, then chronologically, from the 1st and 2nd centuries, the 3rd and 4th, the 5th and 6th, or the 7th century, and finally (in the catalogue) by pattern on the disk. In the Introduction special attention is given to the Athenian workshops (particularly of the 3rd and 4th centuries) of which the dates, style, and especially the repertory of patterns are worked out in detail, as well as the relationships between shops both in the same and in succeeding generations. The connection between imported and local patterns and styles in the different centuries and the evidence both the local and imported lamps give for the economic picture as well as the artistic taste of Athens through the Roman centuries are analysed.

Beginning with the chronological evidence from the Agora deposits the author has been able to set in order a vast mass of terracotta material, to show the relationships of potter, lampmaker and coroplast, and to indicate the strength and significance of the popular art on everyday essential lamps in the periods of artistic poverty in Athens. To both the economic and the art historians of Roman Athens this volume offers a challenging new chapter.

Published June, 1961. xv + 240, frontispiece + 53 pls. Quarto. Cloth. \$17.50.

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NEW JERSEY, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.



# CORINTH

RESULTS OF EXCAVATIONS CONDUCTED BY  
THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

VOLUME I PART V

THE SOUTHEAST BUILDING, THE TWIN BASILICAS, THE MOSAIC HOUSE

By SAUL S. WEINBERG

This one of the volumes dealing with the monuments in and around the Agora at Corinth treats of the buildings which close the east end of the Agora, the Julian Basilica and the Southeast Building, and with them the twin of the Basilica, the South Basilica immediately behind the South Stoa, and the Mosaic House adjoining it. The Southeast Building is described in detail in its present state from which are reconstructed its two periods, soon after 44 B.C. and second quarter of the 1st century after Christ. It is identified as probably the Tabularium and Library of Corinth. Its second period is the rebuilding necessitated by the erection of the adjoining Julian Basilica which, with the South Basilica, was built about A.D. 40; the interior colonnades of both were rebuilt in marble in the Hadrianic period. These basilicas have a cryptoporticus on the ground floor and on the main floor an interior colonnade supporting a clerestory and three exedras on the side away from the Agora. Detailed descriptions of each building are followed by a reconstruction of the pair and by a discussion of this type of basilica among other basilica plans and of its probable uses. Analysis of the mosaics in the House date it about A.D. 200.

It is not only for the architecture and topography of Corinth that this volume is valuable; its contributions to the study of that particularly significant Roman building, the basilica, will be eagerly welcomed.

Published May, 1960. xviii + 128 pp., 29 figs. in the text, 57 pls., 10 plans. Quarto. Cloth. \$12.50.

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32 pages

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### No. 4 THE ATHENIAN CITIZEN

A brief description of the Athenian democracy is illustrated (35 figures) with finds from the Athenian Agora which show the actual functioning of its numerous legislative, judicial and economic processes. April, 1960.

### No. 5 ANCIENT PORTRAITS FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA

45 pictures of portraits in stone of various sizes, on terracotta medallions and on coins, dating from the 1st century B.C. to the 4th century after Christ. December, 1960.

### No. 6 AMPHORAS AND THE ANCIENT WINE TRADE

73 pictures and text trace the origin of wine jars in the Near East and their development and use in several of the famous Greek wine producing centers. June, 1961.

### No. 7 THE MIDDLE AGES IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA

67 pictures illustrate material of various kinds from the 3rd to the 17th centuries with special emphasis on the 11th century Church of the Holy Apostles. December, 1961.







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